GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

THE INDIAN PENAL CODE
(ACT XLV OF 1860)

AS MODIFIED UP TO THE 1st AUGUST, 1929
WITH AN INDEX.

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S. 64 amended by	Act 10 of 1886, s. 21 (*2*).
S. 67 amended by	Act 8 of 1882, s. 3.
S. 71 amended by	Act 8 of 1882, s. 4.
S. 73 amended by	Act 8 of 1882, s. 5.
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Ss. 120A and 120B (Chapter VA) inserted by	Act 8 of 1913, s. 3.
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S. 121A amended by	Act 16 of 1921, s. 3.
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S. 177 amended by	Act 3 of 1894, s. 5.
S. 178 amended by	Act 10 of 1873, s. 15.
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S. 375 amended by	Act 10 of 1891, s. 1.
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S. 410 amended by	Act 8 of 1882, s. 9.
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S. 435 amended by	Act 8 of 1882, s. 10.
S. 477A added by	Act 3 of 1895, s. 4.
Ss. 478 to 489 substituted by . . .	Act 4 of 1889, s. 3.
Ss. 489A to 489D inserted by . . .	Act 12 of 1899, s. 2.
Ss. 490 and 492 repealed by . . .	Act 3 of 1925, s. 2 and Schedule.
S. 505 substituted by	Act 4 of 1898, s. 6.
S. 505 amended by	Act 10 of 1927, s. 2 and Schedule I.
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ACT No. XLV OF 1860.[1]

[*6th October, 1860*]

The Indian Penal Code.

[As modified up to the 1st August 1929]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide a general Penal Code for British India, It is enacted as follows — Preamble.

1. This Act shall be called the Indian Penal Code, and shall take effect[2] * * * throughout the whole of the territories Title and extent of operation of the Code.

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[1] The Indian Penal Code is superseded by Reg 5 of 1872 in the Sindh Frontier District—*see* s 11 (Bom Code Vol I, p 272) in so far as that Regulation is inconsistent with it

The Indian Penal Code has been applied to offences committed before the 1st January, 1862, in the Punjab—*see* the Punjab Laws Act, 1872 (4 of 1872) s 39, Punj and N -W Code and in Ajmer Merwara—*see* the Ajmer Laws Regulation, 1877 (3 of 1877), s 29, Aj Code

It has been declared in force—

in the Sonthal Parganas by s 3 of the Sonthal Parganas Settlement Regulation 1872 (3 of 1872), as amended by the Sonthal Parganas Justice and Laws Regulation, 1899 (3 of 1899) B and O Code Vol I,

in the Arakan Hill District by s 2 of the Arakan Hill District Laws Regulation, 1916 (1 of 1916), Bur Code, Vol I,

in Upper Burma generally, except the Shan States by s 4 (1) and Sch I of the Burma Laws Act, 1898 (13 of 1898), Bur Code, Vol I,

in British Baluchistan by the British Baluchistan Laws Regulation, 1913 (2 of 1913), s 3, Bal Code,

in the Angul District by the Angul Laws Regulation 1913 (3 of 1913) s 3, B and O Code Vol I

in the Chittagong Hill tracts by the Chittagong Hill tracts Regulation, 1900 (1 of 1900) Ben Code Vol I,

(with modifications) in the Kachin Hill tracts as regards hill tribes by the Kachin Hill tribes Regulation 1895 (1 of 1895) s 3 Bur Code Vol I, and

similarly in the Chin Hills as regards hill tribes by the Chin Hills Regulation, 1896 (5 of 1896), Bur Code, Vol I

in the Pargana of Manpur by s 2 and schedule of the Manpur Laws Regulation 1926 (2 of 1926),

in Panth Piploda by s 2 and Schedule of the Panth Piploda Laws Regulation 1929 (1 of 1929)

It has been declared under s 3 (*a*) of the Schedule Districts Act, 1874 (14 of 1874) to be in force in the following Scheduled Districts, namely the United Provinces Tarai Districts—*see* Gazette of India, 1876 Pt I p 505, the Districts of Hazaribagh Lohardaga [now called the Ranchi District *see* Calcutta Gazette, 1899, Pt I, p 44] and Manbhum and Pargana Dhalbhum and the Kolhan in the District of Singbhum—*see* Gazette of India 1881, Pt I p 504

It has been extended under s 5 of the same Act to the Lushai Hills—*see* Gazette of India, 1898 Pt II, p 345

[2] The words and figures "on and from the first day of May, 1861," were repealed by the Amending Act, 1891 (12 of 1891)

territories which are or may become vested in Her Majesty by the [1]Statute 21 and 22 Victoria, Chapter 106, entitled "An Act for the better government of India" [2]* * *

Punishment of offences committed within the said territories.

2. Every person shall be liable to punishment under this Code and not otherwise for every act or omission contrary to the provisions thereof, of which he shall be guilty within the said territories [3]* * * *.

Punishment of offences committed beyond, but which by law may be tried within the territories.

3. Any person liable, by any law passed by the Governor General of India in Council, to be tried for an offence committed beyond the limits of the said territories shall be dealt with according to the provisions of this Code for any act committed beyond the said territories in the same manner as if such act had been committed within the said territories.

Extension of Code to extra-territorial offences.

4. [4] The provisions of this Code apply also to any offence committed by—

(1) any Native Indian subject of Her Majesty in any place without and beyond British India;

(2) any other British subject within the territories of any Native Prince or Chief in India;

(3) any servant of the Queen, whether a British subject or not, within the territories of any Native Prince or Chief in India.

Explanation.—In this section the word "offence" includes every act committed outside British India which, if committed in British India, would be punishable under this Code.

Illustrations.

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[1] Coll. Stats. Ind., Vol. I May now be cited as the Government of India Act, 1858, *see* the Short Titles Act, 1896 (59 & 60 Vict., C. 14). The whole of the Act with the exception of s. 4 was repealed by 5 & 6, Geo. 5, c. 61, now called the Government of India Act.

[2] The words "except the settlement of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca," were repealed by the Amending Act, 1891 (12 of 1891).

[3] The words and figures "on or after the said first day of May, 1861," were repealed by the Amending Act, 1891 (12 of 1891).

[4] The original s. 4 was repealed and this section substituted by s 2 of the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1898 (4 of 1898).

Illustrations

(a) A a coolie, who is a Native Indian subject, commits a murder in Uganda He can be tried and convicted of murder in any place in British India in which he may be found

(b) B a European British subject commits a murder in Kashmir He can be tried and convicted of murder in any place in British India in which he may be found

(c) C a foreigner who is in the service of the Punjab Government commits a murder in Jhind He can be tried and convicted of murder at any place in British India in which he may be found

(d) D a British subject living in Indore, instigates E to commit a murder in Bombay D is guilty of abetting murder

5 Nothing in this Act is intended to repeal, vary, suspend, or affect any of the provisions of the [1]Statute 3 & 4 William IV, Chapter 85, or of any Act of Parliament passed after that Statute in anywise affecting the East India Company or the said territories, or the inhabitants thereof or any of the provisions of any [2]Act for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers [3][soldiers or airmen] in the service of Her Majesty [4]* * * * or of any special or Local [5]law

Certain laws not to be affected by this Act

CHAPTER II

General Explanations

6 Throughout this Code every definition of an offence, every penal provision and every illustration of every such definition

Definitions in the Code to be understood subject to exceptions

[1] Coll Stats Ind Vol I May now be cited as the Government of India Act 1833—*see* the Short Titles Act, 1896 (59 & 60 Vict c 14) The whole of the Act with the exception of s 112 was repealed by 5 & 6 Geo 5 ch 61, now called the Government of India Act

[2] *See* now the Army Act 44 & 45 Vict c 58 (Coll Stats Ind) as continued and amended by subsequent Annual Army Acts

[3] These words were substituted for the words "and soldiers" by s 2 and First Schedule of the Repealing and Amending Act 1927 (10 of 1927)

[4] The words "or of the East India Company, or of any Act for the government of the East India Company", were repealed by the Repealing Act, 1870 (14 of 1870)

[5] A similar saving as to special and local laws was enacted in the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s 15

definition or penal provision, shall be understood subject to the exceptions contained in the [1]chapter entitled "General Exceptions," though those exceptions are not repeated in such definition, penal provision or illustration.

Illustrations.

(*a*) The sections in this Code, which contain definitions of offences, do not express that a child under seven years of age cannot commit such offences; but the definitions are to be understood subject to the general[2] exception which provides that nothing shall be an offence which is done by a child under seven years of age.

(*b*) A, a police-officer, without warrant, apprehends Z who has committed murder. Here A is not guilty of the offence of wrongful confinement; for he was bound by law to apprehend Z, and therefore the case falls within the general [3]exception which provides that "nothing is an offence which is done by a person who is bound by law to do it."

Sense of expression once explained.

7. Every expression which is explained in any part of this Code, is used in every part of this Code in conformity with the explanation.

Gender.

8. The pronoun "he" and its derivatives are used of any person, whether male or female.

Number.

9. Unless the contrary appears from the context, words importing the singular number include the plural number, and words importing the plural number include the singular number.

"Man." "Woman."

10. The word "man" denotes a male human being of any age: the word "woman" denotes a female human being of any age.

"Person."

11. The word "person" includes any Company or Association, or body of persons, whether incorporated or not.

"Public."

12. The word "public" includes any class of the public or any community.

"Queen."

13. The word "Queen" denotes the Sovereign for the time being of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Servant of the Queen."

14. The words "servant of the Queen" denote all officers or servants continued, appointed or employed in India by or under the authority of the said [4]Statute 21 & 22 Victoria, Chapter 106, entitled "An Act for the better government of India,"

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[1] Chapter IV, *infra*.
[2] In s. 82, *infra*.
[3] In s. 76, *infra*.
[4] *See* footnote 1 on p. 28, *supra*.

India," or by or under the authority of the Government of India or any Government

15 The words "British India" denote the territories which are or may become vested in Her Majesty by the said [1]Statute 21 & 22 Victoria, Chapter 106, entitled "An Act for the better government of India" [2]* * * * British India

16 The words "Government of India" denote the Governor General of India in Council, or during the absence of the Governor General of India from his Council, the President in Council or the Governor General of India alone as regards the powers which may be lawfully exercised by them or him respectively Government of India

17 The word [3]"Government" denotes the person or persons authorized by law to administer executive Government in any part of British India Government

18 The word "Presidency" denotes the territories subject to the Government of a Presidency Presidency

19 The word "Judge" denotes not only every person who is officially designated as a Judge, but also every person Judge

who is empowered by law to give, in any legal proceeding, civil or criminal, a definitive judgment, or a judgment which, if not appealed against would be definitive or a judgment which, if confirmed by some other authority would be definitive, or

who is one of a body of persons which body of persons is empowered by law to give such a judgment

Illustrations

(*a*) A collector exercising jurisdiction in a suit under [4]Act X of 1859 is a Judge

(*b*) A Magistrate exercising jurisdiction in respect of a charge on which he has power to sentence to fine or imprisonment with or without appeal is a Judge

(*c*) A member of a panchayat which has power under [5]Regulation VII 1816, of the Madras Code to try and determine suits, is a Judge

(*d*) A Magistrate exercising jurisdiction in respect of a charge on which he has power only to commit for trial to another Court, is not a Judge

20 The

[1] *See* footnote 1 on p 28 *supra*
[2] The words "except the settlement of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca" were repealed by the Amending Act 1891 (12 of 1891)
[3] *See* also s 263A (4) *infra*
[4] Ben Code
[5] Madras Regulation 7 of 1816 has been repealed by the Madras Civil Courts Act 1873 (3 of 1873) Mad Code

"Court of Justice."

20. The words "Court of Justice" denote a Judge who is empowered by law to act judicially alone, or a body of Judges which is empowered by law to act judicially as a body, when such Judge or body of Judges is acting judicially.

Illustration.

A panchayat acting under[1] Regulation VII, 1816, of the Madras Code, having power to try and determine suits, is a Court of Justice.

"Public servant."

21. The words [2]"public servant" denote a person falling under any of the descriptions hereinafter following, namely:—

First.—Every Covenanted servant of the Queen;

Second.—Every Commissioned Officer in the Military, [3][Naval or Air] Forces of the Queen while serving under the Government of India or any Government;

Third.—Every Judge;

Fouth.—Every officer of a Court of Justice whose duty it is, as such officer, to investigate or report on any matter of

law

[1] Madras Regulation 7 of 1816 has been repealed by the Madras Civil Courts Act, *1873 (3 of 1873)*, Mad. Code.

[2] Various other functionaries have been declared to be "public servants" for the purposes of the Indian Penal Code by later Acts and Regulations which are too numerous to be mentioned. For some instances, *see* the Ajmer Government Wards Regulation, 1888 (1 of 1888), s. 11 (*2*), Aj. Code; the Oudh Talukdars Relief Act, 1870 (24 of 1870), s. 22, U. P. Code; the Madras Forest Act, 1882 (Mad. Act. 5 of 1882), s. 60, Mad. Code; the Burma Forest Act, 1902 (Bur. Act. 4 of 1902), s. 75, Bur. Code; the Glanders and Farcy Act, 1899 (13 of 1899), s. 4 (*2*); the Indian Factories Act, 1911 (12 of 1911), s. 4; the Presidency Small Cause Courts Act, 1882 (15 of 1882), s. 52; the British Baluchistan Forest Regulation, 1890 (5 of 1890), s. 36, Bal. Code; the Sind Incumbered Estates Act, 1896 (20 of 1896), s. 35, Bom. Code; the Burma Steam Boilers and Prime Movers Act, 1882 (18 of 1882), s. 12 (*3*), Bur. Code; *the Punjab Military Transport Animals Act, 1903 (Punj. Act 1* of 1903), s. 4 (*2*), Punj. and N.-W. Code; the Prisons Act, 1894 (9 of 1894), s. 23; the Coroners Act, 1871 (4 of 1871), s. 5, Bom. Code; the Bengal Public Parks Act, *1904* (Ben. Act 2 of 1904), s. 7, Ben. Code; the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, 1901 (6 of 1901), s. 4 (*2*), Assam Code; the Burma Canal Act, 1905 (Bur. Act 2 of 1905), s. 67, Bur. Code; the Rangoon Port Act, *1905* (Bur. Act 4 of 1905), s. 106, Bur. Code; the Punjab Court of Wards Act, 1903 (Punj. Act 2 of 1903), s. 42, Punj. and N.-W. Code; the United Provinces Municipal Act, 1916 (U. P. Act 2 of 1916), s. 84, U. P. Code.

[3] These words were substituted for the words "or Naval" by s. 2 and First Schedule of the Repealing and Amending Act, 1927 (10 of 1927).

law or fact, or to make, authenticate, or keep any document, or to take charge or dispose of any property, or to execute any judicial process, or to administer any oath, or to interpret, or to preserve order in the Court, and every person specially authorized by a Court of Justice to perform any of such duties,

Fifth —Every juryman, assessor or member of a panchayat assisting a Court of Justice or public servant,

Sixth —Every arbitrator or other person to whom any cause or matter has been referred for decision or report by any Court of Justice, or by any other competent public authority,

Seventh —Every person who holds any office by virtue of which he is empowered to place or keep any person in confinement,

Eighth —Every officer of Government whose duty it is, as such officer, to prevent offences, to give information of offences, to bring offenders to justice, or to protect the public health, safety or convenience,

Ninth —Every officer whose duty it is, as such officer, to take, receive, keep or expend any property on behalf of Government, or to make any survey, assessment or contract on behalf of Government, or to execute any revenue process, or to investigate, or to report, on any matter affecting the pecuniary interests of Government, or to make, authenticate or keep any document relating to the pecuniary interests of Government, or to prevent the infraction of any law for the protection of the pecuniary interests of Government, and every officer in the service or pay of Government or remunerated by fees or commission for the performance of any public duty,

Tenth —Every officer whose duty it is, as such officer, to take, receive, keep or expend any property, to make any survey or assessment or to levy any rate or tax for any secular common purpose of any village, town or district, or to make, authenticate or keep any document for the ascertaining of the rights of the people of any village, town or district

[1]*Eleventh*

[1]*Eleventh.*—Every person who holds any office in virtue of which he is empowered to prepare, publish, maintain or revise an electoral roll or to conduct an election or part of an election.

Illustration.

A Municipal Commissioner is a public servant.

Explanation 1.—Persons falling under any of the above descriptions are public servants, whether appointed by the Government or not.

Explanation 2.—Wherever the words "public servant" occur, they shall be understood of every person who is in actual possession of the situation of a public servant, whatever legal defect there may be in his right to hold that situation.

[2]*Explanation 3.*—The word "election" denotes an election for the purpose of selecting members of any legislative, municipal or other public authority, of whatever character, the method of selection to which is by, or under, any law prescribed as by election.

"Moveable property."

22. The words "moveable property" are intended to include corporeal property of every description, except land and things attached to the earth or permanently fastened to anything which is attached to the earth.

"Wrongful gain."

23. "Wrongful gain" is gain by unlawful means of property to which the person gaining is not legally entitled.

"Wrongful loss."

"Wrongful loss" is the loss by unlawful means of property to which the person losing it is legally entitled.

Gaining wrongfully.

Losing wrongfully.

A person is said to gain wrongfully when such person retains wrongfully, as well as when such person acquires wrongfully. A person is said to lose wrongfully when such person is wrongfully kept out of any property, as well as when such person is wrongfully deprived of property.

"Dishonestly."

24. Whoever does anything with the intention of causing wrongful gain to one person or wrongful loss to another person, is said to do that thing "dishonestly."

25. A

[1] This entry was inserted by s. 2 of the Indian Elections Offences and Inquiries Act, 1920 (39 of 1920).

[2] This explanation was added by s. 2 of the Indian Elections Offences and Inquiries Act, 1920 (39 of 1920).

25 A person is said to do a thing fraudulently if he does that thing with intent to defraud but not otherwise — "Fraudulently"

26 A person is said to have "reason to believe" a thing if he has sufficient cause to believe that thing but not otherwise — Reason to believe

27 When property is in the possession of a person's wife, clerk or servant on account of that person, it is in that person's possession within the meaning of this Code — Property in possession of wife clerk or servant

Explanation —A person employed temporarily or on a particular occasion in the capacity of a clerk or servant, is a clerk or servant within the meaning of this section

28 A person is said to "counterfeit" who causes one thing to resemble another thing intending by means of that resemblance to practise deception, or knowing it to be likely that deception will thereby be practised — Counterfeit

[1]*Explanation 1* —It is not essential to counterfeiting that the imitation should be exact

[1]*Explanation 2* —When a person causes one thing to resemble another thing and the resemblance is such that a person might be deceived thereby, it shall be presumed until the contrary is proved, that the person so causing the one thing to resemble the other thing intended by means of that resemblance to practise deception or knew it to be likely that deception would thereby be practised

29 The word "document" denotes any matter expressed or described upon any substance by means of letters figures or marks, or by more than one of those means intended to be used or which may be used, as evidence of that matter — Document

Explanation 1 —It is immaterial by what means or upon what substance the letters figures or marks are formed or whether the evidence is intended for or may be used in, a Court of Justice or not

Illustrations

A writing expressing the terms of a contract which may be used as evidence of the contract is a document

A cheque upon a banker is a document

A power-of Attorney is a document

A map or plan which is intended to be used or which may be used as evidence is a document

A writing containing directions or instructions is a document

Explanation 2 —

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[1] These Explanations were substituted for the original Explanations by the Metal Tokens Act 1889 (1 of 1889) s 9

Explanation 2.—Whatever is expressed by means of letters, figures or marks as explained by mercantile or other usage, shall be deemed to be expressed by such letters, figures or marks within the meaning of this section, although the same may not be actually expressed.

Illustration.

A writes his name on the back of a bill of exchange payable to his order. The meaning of the endorsement, as explained by mercantile usage, is that the bill is to be paid to the holder. The endorsement is a document, and must be construed in the same manner as if the words "pay to the holder" or words to that effect had been written over the signature.

"Valuable security."

30. The words "valuable security" denote a document which is, or purports to be, a document whereby any legal right is created, extended, transferred, restricted, extinguished or released, or whereby any person acknowledges that he lies under legal liability, or has not a certain legal right.

Illustration.

A writes his name on the back of a bill of exchange. As the effect of this endorsement is to transfer the right to the bill to any person who may become the lawful holder of it, the endorsement is a "valuable security."

"A will."

31. The words "a will" denote any testamentary document.

Words referring to acts include illegal omissions.

32. In every part of this Code, except where a contrary intention appears from the context, words which refer to acts done extend also to illegal omissions.

"Act."
"Omission."

33. The word "act" denotes as well a series of acts as a single act: the word "omission" denotes as well a series of omissions as a single omission.

Acts done by several persons in furtherance of common intention.

[1]**34.** When a criminal act is done by several persons, in furtherance of the common intention of all, each of such persons is liable for that act in the same manner as if it were done by him alone.

When such an act is criminal by reasons of its being done with a criminal knowledge or intention.

35. Whenever an act, which is criminal only by reason of its being done with a criminal knowledge or intention, is done by several persons, each of such persons who joins in the act with such knowledge or intention is liable for the act in the same

[1] This section was substituted for the original section by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 1.

same manner as if the act were done by him alone with that knowledge or intention

36 Wherever the causing of a certain effect, or an attempt to cause that effect, by an act or by an omission, is an offence, it is to be understood that the causing of that effect partly by an act and partly by an omission is the same offence Effect caused partly by act and partly by omission

Illustration

A intentionally causes Z's death partly by illegally omitting to give Z food, and partly by beating Z A has committed murder

37. When an offence is committed by means of several acts, whoever intentionally co operates in the commission of that offence by doing any one of those acts, either singly or jointly with any other person, commits that offence Co-operation by doing one of several acts constituting an offence

Illustrations

(a) A and B agree to murder Z by severally and at different times giving him small doses of poison A and B administer the poison according to the agreement with intent to murder Z Z dies from the effects of the several doses of poison so administered to him Here A and B intentionally co-operate in the commission of murder and as each of them does an act by which the death is caused, they are both guilty of the offence though their acts are separate

(b) A and B are joint jailors, and, as such have the charge of Z, a prisoner, alternately for six hours at a time A and B, intending to cause Z's death knowingly co operate in causing that effect by illegally omitting each during the time of his attendance to furnish Z with food supplied to them for that purpose Z dies of hunger. Both A and B are guilty of the murder of Z

(c) A, a jailor has the charge of Z a prisoner A intending to cause Z's death, illegally omits to supply Z with food in consequence of which Z is much reduced in strength but the starvation is not sufficient to cause his death A is dismissed from his office, and B succeeds him B, without collusion or co-operation with A illegally omits to supply Z with food, knowing that he is likely thereby to cause *Z's death Z dies of hunger* B *is guilty of murder but* as A did not co operate with B, A is guilty only of an attempt to commit murder

38. Where several persons are engaged or concerned in the commission of a criminal act, they may be guilty of different offences by means of that act Persons concerned in criminal act may be guilty of different offences

Illustration

A attacks Z under such circumstances of grave provocation that his killing of Z would be only culpable homicide not amounting to murder B having ill will towards Z and intending to kill him, and not having been subject to the provocation, assists A in killing Z Here though A and B are both engaged in causing Z's death B is guilty of murder, and A is guilty only of culpable homicide

39 A

"Voluntarily." **39.** A person is said to cause an effect "voluntarily" when he causes it by means whereby he intended to cause it, or by means which, at the time of employing those means, he knew or had reason to believe to be likely to cause it.

Illustration.

A sets fire, by night, to an inhabited house in a large town, for the purpose of facilitating robbery, and thus causes the death of a person. Here, A may not have intended to cause death, and may even be sorry that death has been caused by his act: yet, if he knew that he was likely to cause death, he has caused death voluntarily.

"Offence." [1]**40.** Except in the chapter and sections mentioned in clauses 2 and 3 of this section, the word "offence" denotes a thing made punishable by this Code.

In Chapter IV, [2][Chapter VA] and in the following sections, namely, sections [3]64, [3]65, [3]66, [3]67, [3]71, 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 187, 194, 195, 203, 211, 213, 214, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 347, 348, 388, 389 and 445, the word "offence" denotes a thing punishable under this Code, or under any special or local law as hereinafter[4] defined.

And in sections 141, 176, 177, 201, 202, 212, 216, and 441 the word "offence" has the same meaning when the thing punishable under the special or local law is punishable under such law with imprisonment for a term of six months or upwards, whether with or without fine.

"Special law." **41.** A "special law" is a law applicable to a particular subject.

"Local law." **42.** A "local law" is a law applicable only to a particular part of British India.

"Illegal." **43.** The word "illegal" is applicable to everything which is an offence or which is prohibited by law, or which furnishes ground for a civil action: and a person is said to be

"Legally bound to do." "legally bound to do" whatever it is illegal in him to omit.

44. The

[1] This section was substituted for the original s. 40 by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 2.

[2] The word, figure and letter "Chapter VA" were inserted by s. 2 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1913 (8 of 1913).

[3] The figures 64, 65, 66 and 71 were inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882), s. 1, and the figures 67 by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1886 (10 of 1886), s. 21 (*1*).

[4] In ss. 41, 42.

44 The word "injury" denotes any harm whatever illegally caused to any person, in body, mind, reputation or property Injury

45 The word "life" denotes the life of a human being, unless the contrary appears from the context Life

46 The word "death" denotes the death of a human being unless the contrary appears from the context Death

47 The word "animal" denotes any living creature, other than a human being Animal

48 The word "vessel" denotes anything made for the conveyance by water of human beings or of property Vessel

49 Wherever the word "year" or the word "month" is used it is to be understood that the year or the month is to be reckoned according to the British calendar Year Month

50 The word "section" denotes one of those portions of a chapter of this Code which are distinguished by prefixed numeral figures Section.

51 The word "oath" includes a solemn affirmation substituted by law for an oath and any declaration required or authorized by law to be made before a public servant or to be used for the purpose of proof whether in a Court of Justice or not Oath

52 Nothing is said to be done or believed in "good faith" which is done or believed without due care and attention Good faith

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CHAPTER III

OF PUNISHMENTS

53 The punishments to which offenders are liable under the provisions of this Code are,— Punishments

First—Death,

Secondly—Transportation,

Thirdly—Penal servitude

Fourthly,—Imprisonment which is of two descriptions namely—

(1) Rigorous that is with hard labour,

(2) Simple,

Fifthly—

Fifthly,—Forfeiture of property:

Sixthly,—Fine.

Commutation of sentence of death.

54. In every case in which sentence of death shall have been passed, the Government of India or the Government of the place within which the offender shall have been sentenced may, without the consent of the offender, commute the punishment for any other punishment provided by this Code.

Commutation of sentence of transportation for life.

55. In every case in which sentence of transportation for life shall have been passed, the Government of India or the Government of the place within which the offender shall have been sentenced may, without the consent of the offender, commute the punishment for imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding fourteen years.

Sentence of Europeans and Americans to penal servitude.

56. Whenever any person being an European or American is convicted of an offence punishable under this Code with transportation, the Court shall sentence the offender to penal servitude instead of transportation according to the provisions of [1]Act XXIV of 1855:

Proviso as to sentence for term exceeding ten years, but not for life.

[2] *Provided that*, where an European or American offender would, but for such Act, be liable to be sentenced or ordered to be transported for a term exceeding ten years, but not for life, he shall be liable to be sentenced or ordered to be kept in penal servitude for such term exceeding six years as to the Court seems fit, but not for life.

Fractions of terms of punishment.

57. In calculating fractions of terms of punishment, transportation for life shall be reckoned as equivalent to transportation for twenty years.

Offenders sentenced to transportation how dealt with until transported.

58. In every case in which a sentence of transportation is passed, the offender, until he is transported, shall be dealt with in the same manner as if sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, and shall be held to have been undergoing his sentence of transportation during the term of his imprisonment.

Transportation instead of imprisonment.

59. In every case in which an offender is punishable with imprisonment for a term of seven years or upwards, it shall be competent to the Court which sentences such offender, instead of awarding sentence of imprisonment, to sentence the offender

to

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[1] The Penal Servitude Act, 1855.

[2] This proviso was added by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 3.

to transportation for a term not less than seven years, and not exceeding the term for which by this Code such offender is liable to imprisonment

[1]60 In every case in which an offender is punishable with imprisonment which may be of either description, it shall be competent to the Court which sentences such offender to direct in the sentence that such imprisonment shall be wholly rigorous or that such imprisonment shall be wholly simple or that any part of such imprisonment shall be rigorous and the rest simple

Sentence may be (in certain cases of imprisonment) wholly or partly rigorous or simple

61 [*Sentence of forfeiture of property*] Repealed by s 4 of Act XVI of 1921

62 [*Forfeiture of property, in respect of offenders punishable with death, transportation or imprisonment*] Repealed by s 4 of Act XVI of 1921

[1]63 Where no sum is expressed to which a fine may extend the amount of fine to which the offender is liable is unlimited but shall not be excessive

Amount of fine,

[1]64 [2]In every case of an offence punishable with imprisonment as well as fine in which the offender is sentenced to a fine whether with or without imprisonment,

Sentence of imprisonment for non-payment of fine

and in every case of an offence punishable [3][with imprisonment or fine or] with fine only in which the offender is sentenced to a fine

it

[1] As to the application of ss 60 and 63 to 74 to sentences passed in a Punjab Frontier District in the North West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation 1901 (3 of 1901) ss 13 (2) 61 Punj and N W Code

As to the application of ss 60, 63 64 65 and 68 to 74 inclusive to the Sindh Frontier *see* s 28 (1) of the Sindh Frontier Regulation 1892 (3 of 1892) Bom Code Vol I

[2] The First two clauses of s 64 were substituted for the words " in every case in which an offender is sentenced to a fine " by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1882 (8 of 1882) s 2 These two first clauses do not apply in the case of hill tribes to which the Kachin Hill tribes Regulation 1895 (1 of 1895) is applied—*see* ss 1 (3) and 3 of that Regulation Bur Code Vol I

In the case of the hill tribes to which the Chin Hills Regulation 1896 (5 of 1896) is applied—for the two said clauses the words " In every case in which an offender is sentenced to a fine " is substituted—*see* s 3 and the Schedule to that Regulation Bur Code Vol I

[3] These words were inserted by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1886 (10 of 1886) s 21 (2)

it shall be competent to the Court which sentences such offender to direct by the sentence that, in default of payment of the fine, the offender shall suffer imprisonment for a certain term, which imprisonment shall be in excess of any other imprisonment to which he may have been sentenced or to which he may be liable under a commutation of a sentence.

Limit to imprisonment for non-payment of fine when imprisonment and fine awardable.

[1]65. The term for which the Court directs the offender to be imprisoned in default of payment of a fine shall not exceed one-fourth of the term of imprisonment which is the maximum fixed for the offence, if the offence be punishable with imprisonment as well as fine.

Description of imprisonment for non-payment of fine.

[1]66. The imprisonment which the Court imposes in default of payment of a fine may be of any description to which the offender might have been sentenced for the offence.

Imprisonment for non-payment of fine when offence punishable with fine only.

[1]67. If the offence be punishable with fine only, [2][the imprisonment which the Court imposes in default of payment of the fine shall be simple, and] the term for which the Court directs the offender to be imprisoned, in default of payment of fine, shall not exceed the following scale, that is to say, [3][for any term not exceeding two months when the amount of the fine shall not exceed fifty rupees, and for any term not exceeding four months when the amount shall not exceed one hundred rupees, and for any term not exceeding six months in any other case].

Imprisonment to terminate on payment of fine.

[1]68. The imprisonment which is imposed in default of payment of a fine shall terminate whenever that fine is either paid or levied by process of law.

Termination of imprisonment on payment of proportional part of fine.

[1]69. If, before the expiration of the term of imprisonment fixed in default of payment, such a proportion of the fine

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[1] *See* the footnote to s. 60, *supra*.

[2] These words were inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882), s. 3.

[3] In the case of the hill-tribes to which the Kachin Hill-tribes Regulation, 1895 (1 of 1895), is applied, the following words have been substituted, namely:—

> "for any term not exceeding four months when the amount of the fine shall not exceed fifty rupees, and for any term not exceeding eight months when the amount shall not exceed one hundred rupees, and for any term not exceeding twelve months in any other case." *See* Regulation 1 of 1895, ss. 1 (*3*) and 3, Bur. Code, Vol. I.

This substitution is also made in the case of the hill-tribes to which the Chin Hills Regulation, 1896, is applied, *see* Reg. 5 of 1896, Bur. Code, Vol. I.

fine be paid or levied that the term of imprisonment suffered in default of payment is not less than proportional to the part of the fine still unpaid, the imprisonment shall terminate

Illustration

A is sentenced to a fine of one hundred rupees and to four months imprisonment in default of payment Here, if seventy five rupees of the fine be paid or levied before the expiration of one month of the imprisonment, A will be discharged as soon as the first month has expired If seventy five rupees be paid or levied at the time of the expiration of the first month or at any later time while A continues in imprisonment, A will be immediately discharged If fifty rupees of the fine be paid or levied before the expiration of two months of the imprisonment A will be discharged as soon as the two months are completed If fifty rupees be paid or levied at the time of the expiration of those two months or at any later time while A continues in imprisonment A will be immediately discharged

[1]**70.** The fine, or any part thereof which remains unpaid, may be levied at any time within six years after the passing of the sentence, and if, under the sentence, the offender be liable to imprisonment for a longer period than six years, then at any time previous to the expiration of that period, and the death of the offender does not discharge from the liability any property which would after his death, be legally liable for his debts

Fine leviable within six years or during imprisonment

Death not to discharge property from liability

[1]**71.** Where anything which is an offence is made up of parts, any of which parts is itself an offence the offender shall not be punished with the punishment of more than one of such his offences, unless it be so expressly provided

Limit of punishment of offence made of several offences

[2][Where anything is an offence falling within two or more separate definitions of any law in force for the time being by which offences are defined or punished or

where several acts, of which one or more than one would by itself or themselves constitute an offence, constitute, when combined, a different offence,

the offender shall not be punished with a more severe punishment than the Court which tries him could award for any one of such offences]

Illustrations

(*a*) A gives Z fifty strokes with a stick Here A may have committed the offence of voluntarily causing hurt to Z by the whole beating and also by each of the blows which make up the whole beating If A were liable to punishment for every blow, he might be imprisoned for

[1] *See* the footnote to s 60, *supra*
[2] This clause was added by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882), s 4

for fifty years, one for each blow. But he is liable only to one punishment for the whole beating.

(*b*) But if, while A is beating Z, Y interferes, and A intentionally strikes Y, here, as the blow given to Y is no part of the act whereby A voluntarily causes hurt to Z, A is liable to one punishment for voluntarily causing hurt to Z, and to another for the blow given to Y.

Punishment of person guilty of one of several offences, the judgment stating that it is doubtful of which.

[1]72. In all cases in which judgment is given that a person is guilty of one of several offences specified in the judgment, but that it is doubtful of which of these offences he is guilty, the offender shall be punished for the offence for which the lowest punishment is provided if the same punishment is not provided for all.

Solitary confinement.

[1]73. Whenever any person is convicted of an offence for which under this Code the Court has power to sentence him to rigorous imprisonment, the Court may, by its sentence, order that the offender shall be kept in solitary confinement for any portion or portions of the imprisonment to which he is sentenced, not exceeding three months in the whole, according to the following scale, that is to say—

a time not exceeding one month if the term of imprisonment shall not exceed six months:

a time not exceeding two months if the term of imprisonment shall exceed six months and [2][shall not exceed one] year:

a time not exceeding three months if the term of imprisonment shall exceed one year.

Limit of solitary confinement.

[1]74. In executing a sentence of solitary confinement, such confinement shall in no case exceed fourteen days at a time, with intervals between the periods of solitary confinement of not less duration than such periods, and when the imprisonment awarded shall exceed three months, the solitary confinement shall not exceed seven days in any one month of the whole imprisonment awarded, with intervals between the periods of solitary confinement of not less duration than such periods.

75. Whoever,

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[1] *See* the footnote to s. 60, *supra*.

[2] These words were substituted for the words "be less than a" by s. 5 of the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882).

[1]**75.** Whoever, having been convicted,— *Enhanced punishment for certain offences under Chapter XII or Chapter XVII after previous conviction*

(*a*) by a Court in British India, of an offence punishable under Chapter XII or Chapter XVII of this Code with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards, or

(*b*) by a Court or tribunal in the territories of any Native Prince or State in India acting under the general or special authority of the Governor General in Council or of any Local Government, of an offence which would, if committed in British India, have been punishable under those Chapters of this Code with like imprisonment for the like term,

shall be guilty of any offence punishable under either of those Chapters with like imprisonment for the like term, shall be subject for every such subsequent offence to transportation for life, or to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years [2]

CHAPTER IV

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[1] S 75 was substituted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1910 (3 of 1910) The original section as amended by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1886 (10 of 1886), s 22, ran as follows —

> Whoever, having been convicted of an offence punishable under Chapter XII or Chapter XVII of this Code with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards, shall be guilty of any offence punishable under either of those Chapters with imprisonment of either [illegible] ears or upwards, shall be [illegible] *offence to transportation* [illegible] either description for a [illegible] years

[2] In its application to hill tribes to which the Kachin Hill tribes Regulation, 1895 (1 of 1895), is applied, *see* ss 1 (*3*) and 3 of that Regulation Bur Code, Vol I, the Code is to be read as if the following additional section were inserted —

> "75A Notwithstanding anything in this Code or in any other enactment for the time being in force, a person convicted of any offence punishable under this Code or under any other enactment shall be punishable with fine in lieu of or in addition to any other punishment to which he may be liable"

In the Chin Hills the Code is to be read as if a section similar to the preceding, save a few verbal differences, and similarly numbered, were inserted—*see* the Chin Hill Regulation, 1896 (5 of 1896) Bur Code Vol I.

[1]CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL EXCEPTIONS.

Act done by a person bound, or by mistake of fact believing himself bound, by law.

76. Nothing is an offence which is done by a person who is, or who by reason of a mistake of fact and not by reason of a mistake of law in good faith believes himself to be, bound by law to do it.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A, a soldier, fires on a mob by the order of his superior officer, in conformity with the commands of the law. A has committed no offence.

(*b*) A, an officer of a Court of Justice, being ordered by that Court to arrest Y, and, after due enquiry, believing Z to be Y, arrests, Z. A has committed no offence.

Act of Judge when acting judicially.

77. Nothing is an offence which is done by a Judge when acting judicially in the exercise of any power which is, or which in good faith he believes to be, given to him by law.

Act done pursuant to the judgment or order of Court.

78. Nothing which is done in pursuance of, or which is warranted by the judgment or order of, a Court of Justice, if done whilst such judgment or order remains in force, is an offence, notwithstanding the Court may have had no jurisdiction to pass such judgment or order, provided the person doing the act in good faith believes that the Court had such jurisdiction.

Act done by a person justified, or by mistake of fact believing himself justified by law.

79. Nothing is an offence which is done by any person who is justified by law, or who by reason of a mistake of fact and not by reason of a mistake of law in good faith, believes himself to be justified by law, in doing it.

Illustration.

A sees Z commit what appears to A to be a murder. A, in the exercise, to the best of his judgment, exerted in good faith, of the power which the law gives to all persons of apprehending murderers in the act, seizes Z, in order to bring Z before the proper authorities. A has committed no offence, though it may turn out that Z was acting in self-defence.

Accident in doing a lawful act.

80. Nothing is an offence which is done by accident or misfortune, and without any criminal intention or know-

ledge

[1] Ch. IV applies to offences punishable under ss. 121A, 124A, 225A, 225B, 294A and 304A—*see* the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 13, as amended by the Amending Act, 1891 (12 of 1891).

ledge in the doing of a lawful act in a lawful manner by lawful means and with proper care and caution.

Illustration.

A is at a work with a hatchet; the head flies off and kills a man who is standing by. Here, if there was no want of proper caution on the part of A, his act is excusable and not an offence.

81. Nothing is an offence merely by reason of its being done with the knowledge that it is likely to cause harm, if it be done without any criminal intention to cause harm, and in good faith for the purpose of preventing or avoiding other harm to person or property.

Act likely to cause harm, but done without criminal intent and to prevent other harm

Explanation.—It is a question of fact in such a case whether the harm to be prevented or avoided was of such a nature and so imminent as to justify or excuse the risk of doing the act with the knowledge that it was likely to cause harm.

Illustrations

(*a*) A, the captain of a steam vessel, suddenly and without any fault or negligence on his part, finds himself in such a position that, before he can stop his vessel, he must inevitably run down a boat B with twenty or thirty passengers on board, unless he changes the course of his vessel, and that, by changing his course, he must incur risk of running down a boat C with only two passengers on board, which he may possibly clear Here, if A alters his course without any intention to run down the boat C and in good faith for the purpose of avoiding the danger to the passengers in the boat B, he is not guilty of an offence, though he may run down the boat C by doing an act which he knew was likely to cause that effect, if it be found as a matter of fact that the danger which he intended to avoid was such as to excuse him in incurring the risk of running down C.

(*b*) A, in a great fire, pulls down houses in order to prevent the conflagration from spreading He does this with the intention in good faith of saving human life or property Here, if it be found that the harm to be prevented was of such a nature and so imminent as to excuse A's act , A is not guilty of the offence.

82. Nothing is an offence which is done by a child under seven years of age.

Act of a child under seven years of age.

83. Nothing is an offence which is done by a child above seven years of age and under twelve, who has not attained sufficient maturity of understanding to judge of the nature and consequences of his conduct on that occasion.

Act of a child above seven and under twelve of immature understanding

84. Nothing is an offence which is done by a person who, at the time of doing it, by reason of unsoundness of mind, is incapable of knowing the nature of the act, or that he is doing what is either wrong or contrary to law.

Act of a person of unsound mind

85. Nothing

Exclusion of acts which are offences independently of harm caused.

91. The exceptions in sections 87 and 88 and 89 do not extend to acts which are offences independently of any harm which they may cause, or be intended to cause or be known to be likely to cause, to the person giving the consent, or on whose behalf the consent is given.

Illustration.

Causing miscarriage (unless caused in good faith for the purpose of saving the life of the woman) is an offence independently of any harm which it may cause or be intended to cause to the woman. Therefore, it is not an offence "by reason of such harm"; and the consent of the woman or of her guardian to the causing of such miscarriage does not justify the act.

Act done in good faith for benefit of a person without consent.

92. Nothing is an offence by reason of any harm which it may cause to a person for whose benefit it is done in good faith, even without that person's consent, if the circumstances are such that it is impossible for that person to signify consent, or if that person is incapable of giving consent, and has no guardian or other person in lawful charge of him from whom it is possible to obtain consent in time for the thing to be done with benefit: Provided—

Provisos.

First.—That this exception shall not extend to the intentional causing of death, or the attempting to cause death;

Secondly.—That this exception shall not extend to the doing of anything which the person doing it knows to be likely to cause death, for any purpose other than the preventing of death or grievous hurt or the curing of any grievous disease or infirmity.

Thirdly.—That this exception shall not extend to the voluntary causing of hurt, or to the attempting to cause hurt, for any purpose other than the preventing of death or hurt;

Fourthly.—That this exception shall not extend to the abetment of any offence, to the committing of which offence it would not extend.

Illustrations.

(a) Z is thrown from his horse, and is insensible. A, a surgeon, finds that Z requires to be trepanned. A, not intending Z's death, but in good faith, for Z's benefit, performs the trepan before Z recovers his power of judging for himself. A has committed no offence.

(b) Z.

(b) Z is carried off by a tiger A fires at the tiger knowing it to be likely that the shot may kill Z, but not intending to kill Z, and in good faith intending Z s benefit A's ball gives Z a mortal wound A has committed no offence

(c) A, a surgeon, sees a child suffer an accident which is likely to prove fatal unless an operation be immediately performed There is not time to apply to the child's guardian A performs the operation in spite of the entreaties of the child, intending, in good faith, the child's benefit A has committed no offence

(d) A is in a house which is on fire, with Z, a child People below hold out a blanket A drops the child from the housetop, knowing it to be likely that the fall may kill the child, but not intending to kill the child, and intending, in good faith, the child s benefit Here, even if the child is killed by the fall, A has committed no offence

Explanation —Mere pecuniary benefit is not benefit within the meaning of sections 88, 89 and 92

93 No communication made in good faith is an offence by reason of any harm to the person to whom it is made, if it is made for the benefit of that person Communication made in good faith

Illustration

A, a surgeon, in good faith, communicates to a patient his opinion that he cannot live The patient dies in consequence of the shock A has committed no offence, though he knew it to be likely that the communication might cause the patient's death

94 Except murder, and offences against the State punishable with death, nothing is an offence which is done by a person who is compelled to do it by threats, which, at the time of doing it, reasonably cause the apprehension that instant death to that person will otherwise be the consequence Provided the person doing the act did not of his own accord, or from a reasonable apprehension of harm to himself short of instant death, place himself in the situation by which he became subject to such constraint Act to which a person is compelled by threats

Explanation 1 —A person who, of his own accord, or by reason of a threat of being beaten, joins a gang of dacoits, knowing their character, is not entitled to the benefit of this exception, on the ground of his having been compelled by his associates to do anything that is an offence by law

Explanation 2 —A person seized by a gang of dacoits, and forced by threat of instant death, to do a thing which is an offence by law, for example, a smith compelled to take his tools and to force the door of a house for the dacoits to enter and plunder it, is entitled to the benefit of this exception

95 Nothing

Fourthly.—An assault with the intention of gratifying unnatural lust;

Fifthly.—An assault with the intention of kidnapping or abducting;

Sixthly.—An assault with the intention of wrongfully confining a person, under circumstances which may reasonably cause him to apprehend that he will be unable to have recourse to the public authorities for his release.

When such right extends to causing any harm other than death.

101. If the offence be not of any of the descriptions enumerated in the last preceding section, the right of private defence of the body does not extend to the voluntary causing of death to the assailant, but does extend, under the restrictions mentioned in section 99 to the voluntary causing to the assailant of any harm other than death.

Commencement and continuance of the right of private defence of the body.

102. The right of private defence of the body commences as soon as a reasonable apprehension of danger to the body arises from an attempt or threat to commit the offence though the offence may not have been committed; and it continues as long as such apprehension of danger to the body continues.

When the right of private defence of property extends to causing death.

103. The right of private defence of property extends, under the restrictions mentioned in section 99, to the voluntary causing of death or of any other harm to the wrong-doer, if the offence, the committing of which, or the attempting to commit which occasions the exercise of the right, be an offence of any of the descriptions hereinafter enumerated, namely:—

First.—Robbery;

Secondly.—House-breaking by night;

Thirdly.—Mischief by fire committed on any building, tent or vessel, which building, tent or vessel is used as a human dwelling, or as a place for the custody of property;

Fourthly.—Theft, mischief or house-trespass, under such circumstances as may reasonably cause apprehension that death or grievous hurt will be the consequence, if such right of private defence is not exercised.

When such right extends to causing any harm other than death.

104. If the offence, the committing of which, or the attempting to commit which, occasions the exercise of the right of private defence, be theft, mischief, or criminal trespass, not of any of the descriptions enumerated in the last preceding section, that right does not extend to the voluntary

tary causing of death but does extend, subject to the restrictions mentioned in section 99, to the voluntary causing to the wrong doer of any harm other than death

105 The right of private defence of property commences when a reasonable apprehension of danger to the property commences — Commencement and continuance of the right of private defence of property

The right of private defence of property against theft continues till the offender has effected his retreat with the property or either the assistance of the public authorities is obtained or the property has been recovered

The right of private defence of property against robbery continues as long as the offender causes or attempts to cause to any person death or hurt or wrongful restraint or as long as the fear of instant death or of instant hurt or of instant personal restraint continues

The right of private defence of property against criminal trespass or mischief continues as long as the offender continues in the commission of criminal trespass or mischief

The right of private defence of property against house breaking by night continues as long as the house trespass which has been begun by such house breaking continues

106 *If in the exercise of the right of private defence* against an assault which reasonably causes the apprehension of death the defender be so situated that he cannot effectually exercise that right without risk of harm to an innocent person his right of private defence extends to the running of that risk — Right of private defence against deadly assault when there is risk of harm to innocent person

Illustration

A is attacked by a mob who attempt to murder him He cannot effectually exercise his right of private defence without firing on the mob and he cannot fire without risk of harming young children who are mingled with the mob A commits no offence if by so firing he harms any of the children

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CHAPTER V [1]

Of Abetment

107 A person abets the doing of a thing who— — Abetment of a thing

First —Instigates any person to do that thing, or

Secondly —

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[1] Chapter V applies to offences punishable under ss 121A 124A 225A 225B 294A and 304A—*see* the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1870 (27 of 1870) s 13 as amended by the Amending Act 1891 (12 of 1891)

(*Chapter V.—Of Abetment.*)

Secondly.—Engages with one or more other person or persons in any conspiracy for the doing of that thing, if an act or illegal omission takes place in pursuance of that conspiracy, and in order to the doing of that thing; or,

Thirdly.—Intentionally aids, by any act or illegal omission, the doing of that thing.

Explanation 1.—A person who, by wilful misrepresentation, or by wilful concealment of a material fact which he is bound to disclose, voluntarily causes or procures, or attempts to cause or procure, a thing to be done, is said to instigate the doing of that thing.

Illustration.

A, a public officer, is authorized by a warrant from a Court of Justice to apprehend Z. B, knowing that fact and also that C is not Z, wilfully represents to A that C is Z, and thereby intentionally causes A to apprehend C. Here B abets by instigation the apprehension of C.

Explanation 2.—Whoever, either prior to or at the time of the commission of an act, does anything in order to facilitate the commission of that act, and thereby facilitates the commission thereof, is said to aid the doing of that act.

108. A person abets an offence, who abets either the commission of an offence, or the commission of an act which would be an offence, if committed by a person capable by law of committing an offence with the same intention or knowledge as that of the abettor.

Explanation 1.—The abetment of the illegal omission of an act may amount to an offence although the abettor may not himself be bound to do that act.

Explanation 2.—To constitute the offence of abetment it is not necessary that the act abetted should be committed, or that the effect requisite to constitute the offence should be caused.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A instigates B to murder C. B refuses to do so. A is guilty of abetting B to commit murder.

(*b*) A instigates B to murder D. B in pursuance of the instigation stabs D. D recovers from the wound. A is guilty of instigating B to commit murder.

Explanation 3.—It is not necessary that the person abetted should be capable by law of committing an offence, or

or that he should have the same guilty intention or knowledge as that of the abettor, or any guilty intention or knowledge

Illustrations

(*a*) A, with a guilty intention, abets a child or a lunatic to commit an act which would be an offence, if committed by a person capable by law of committing an offence, and having the same intention as A Here A, whether the act be committed or not, is guilty of abetting an offence

(*b*) A, with the intention of murdering Z, instigates B, a child under seven years of age, to do an act which causes Z's death B, in consequence of the abetment, does the act in the absence of A and thereby, causes Z's death Here, though B was not capable by law of committing an offence, A is liable to be punished in the same manner as if B had been capable by law of committing an offence, and had committed murder, and he is therefore subject to the punishment of death

(*c*) A instigates B to set fire to a dwelling house B, in consequence of the unsoundness of his mind, being incapable of knowing the nature of the act, or that he is doing what is wrong or contrary to law, sets fire to the house in consequence of A's instigation B has committed no offence, but A is guilty of abetting the offence of setting fire to a dwelling house, and is liable to the punishment provided for that offence

(*d*) A, intending to cause a theft to be committed, instigates B to take property belonging to Z out of Z s possession A induces B to believe that the property belongs to A B takes the property out of Z s possession, in good faith, believing it to be A's property B, acting under this misconception, does not take dishonestly, and there fore does not commit theft But A is guilty of abetting theft, and is liable to the same punishment as if B had committed theft

Explanation 4 —The abetment of an offence being an offence, the abetment of such an abetment is also an offence

Illustration

A instigates B to instigate C to murder Z B accordingly instigates C to murder Z, and C commits that offence in consequence of B's instigation B is liable to be punished for his offence with the punish ment for murder, and, as A instigated B to commit the offence, A is also liable to the same punishment

Explanation 5 —It is not necessary to the commission of the offence of abetment by conspiracy that the abettor should concert the offence with the person who commits it It is sufficient if he engage in the conspiracy in pursuance of which the offence is committed

Illustration

A concerts with B a plan for poisoning Z It is agreed that A shall administer the poison B then explains the plan to C, mention ing that a third person is to administer the poison, but without men- tioning A's name C agrees to procure the poison, and procures and delivers it to B for the purpose of its being used in the manner ex- plained A administers the poison, Z dies in consequence Here, though A and C have not conspired together, yet C has been engaged in the conspiracy in pursuance of which Z has been murdered C has therefore committed the offence defined in this section and is liable to the punishment for murder

[1]108A. A

Abetment in British India of offences outside it.

[1]**108A.** A person abets an offence within the meaning of this Code who, in British India, abets the commission of any act without and beyond British India which would constitute an offence if committed in British India.

Illustration.

A, in British India, instigates B, a foreigner in Goa, to commit a murder in Goa. A is guilty of abetting murder.

Punishment of abetment if the act abetted is committed in consequence and where no express provision is made for its punishment.

109. Whoever abets any offence shall, if the act abetted is committed in consequence of the abetment, and no express provision is made by this Code for the punishment of such abetment, be punished with the punishment provided for the offence.

Explanation.—An act or offence is said to be committed in consequence of abetment, when it is committed in consequence of the instigation, or in pursuance of the conspiracy, or with the aid which constitutes the abetment.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A offers a bribe to B, a public servant, as a reward for showing A some favour in the exercise of B's official functions. B accepts the bribe. A has abetted the offence defined in section 161.

(*b*) A instigates B to give false evidence. B, in consequence of the instigation, commits that offence. A is guilty of abetting that offence, and is liable to the same punishment as B.

(*c*) A and B conspire to poison Z. A, in pursuance of the conspiracy, procures the poison and delivers it to B in order that he may administer it to Z. B, in pursuance of the conspiracy, administers the poison to Z in A's absence and thereby causes Z's death. Here B is guilty of murder. A is guilty of abetting that offence by conspiracy, and is liable to the punishment for murder.

Punishment of abetment if person abetted does act with different intention from that of abettor.

110. Whoever abets the commission of an offence shall, if the person abetted does the act with a different intention or knowledge from that of the abettor, be punished with the punishment provided for the offence which would have been committed if the act had been done with the intention or knowledge of the abettor and with no other.

Liability of abettor when one act abetted and different act done.

111. When an act is abetted and a different act is done, the abettor is liable for the act done, in the same manner and to the same extent as if he had directly abetted it:

Proviso.

Provided the act done was a probable consequence of the abetment, and was committed under the influence of the instigation

[1] S. 108A was added by s. 3 of the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1898 (4 of 1898).

stigation or with the aid or in pursuance of the conspiracy which constituted the abetment

Illustrations

(a) A instigates a child to put poison into the food of Z and gives him poison for that purpose The child in consequence of the instigation by mistake puts the poison into the food of Y, which is by the side of that of Z Here if the child was acting under the influence of A s instigation and the act done was under the circumstances a probable consequence of the abetment A is liable in the same manner and to the same extent as if he had instigated the child to put the poison into the food of Y

(b) A instigates B to burn Z s house B sets fire to the house and at the same time commits theft of property there A though guilty of abetting the burning of the house is not guilty of abetting the theft, for the theft was a distinct act, and not a probable consequence of the burning

(c) A instigates B and C to break into an inhabited house at midnight for the purpose of robbery and provides them with arms for that purpose B and C break into the house and being resisted by Z one of the inmates murder Z Here, if that murder was the probable consequence of the abetment A is liable to the punishment provided for murder

112 If the act for which the abettor is liable under the last preceding section is committed in addition to the act abetted and constitutes a distinct offence the abettor is liable to punishment for each of the offences

Abettor when liable to cumulative punishment for act abetted and for act done

Illustration

A instigates B to resi t by [illegible] servant B in consequence resists tha [illegible] tance B voluntarily causes grievous h [illegible] distress As B has committed both the [illegible] and the offence of voluntarily causing grievous hurt B is liable to punishment for both these offences and if A knew that B was likely voluntarily to cause grievous hurt in resisting the distress A will also be liable to punishment for each of the offences

113 When an act is abetted with the intention on the part of the abettor of causing a particular effect and an act for which the abettor is liable in consequence of the abetment causes a different effect from that intended by the abettor, the abettor is liable for the effect caused in the same manner and to the same extent as if he had abetted the act with the intention of causing that effect, provided he knew that the act abetted was likely to cause that effect

Liability of abettor for an effect caused by the act abetted different from that intended by the abettor

Illustration

A instigates B to cause grievous hurt to Z B in consequence of the instigation causes grievous hurt to Z Z dies in consequence Here if A knew that the grievous hurt abetted was likely to cause death A is liable to be punished with the punishment provided for murder

114 Whenever

Abettor present when offence is committed.

114. Whenever any person, who if absent would be liable to be punished as an abettor, is present when the act or offence for which he would be punishable in consequence of the abetment is committed, he shall be deemed to have committed such act or offence.

Abetment of offence punishable with death or transportation for life—if offence not committed;

115. Whoever abets the commission of an offence punishable with death or transportation for life, shall, if that offence be not committed in consequence of the abetment, and no express provision is made by this Code for the punishment of such abetment, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine;

If act causing harm be done in consequence.

and if any act for which the abettor is liable in consequence of the abetment, and which causes hurt to any person, is done, the abettor shall be liable to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to fourteen years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Illustration.

A instigates B to murder Z. The offence is not committed. If B had murdered Z, he would have been subject to the punishment of death or transportation for life. Therefore A is liable to imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years and also to a fine; and, if any hurt be done to Z in consequence of the abetment, he will be liable to imprisonment for a term which may extend to fourteen years, and to fine.

Abetment of offence punishable with imprisonment—if offence be not committed;

116. Whoever abets an offence punishable with imprisonment shall, if that offence be not committed in consequence of the abetment, and no express provision is made by this Code for the punishment of such abetment, be punished with imprisonment of any description provided for that offence for a term which may extend to one-fourth part of the longest term provided for that offence; or with such fine as is provided for that offence, or with both;

If abettor or person abetted be a public servant whose duty it is to prevent offence.

and if the abettor or the person abetted is a public servant, whose duty it is to prevent the commission of such offence, the abettor shall be punished with imprisonment of any description provided for that offence, for a term which may extend to one-half of the longest term provided for that offence, or with such fine as is provided for the offence, or with both.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A offers a bribe to B, a public servant, as a reward for showing A some favour in the exercise of B's official functions. B refuses to accept the bribe. A is punishable under this section.

(*b*) A

(*b*) A instigates B to give false evidence. Here, if B does not give false evidence, A has nevertheless committed the offence defined in this section, and is punishable accordingly.

(*c*) A, a police-officer, whose duty it is to prevent robbery, abets the commission of robbery. Here, though the robbery be not committed, A is liable to one-half of the longest term of imprisonment provided for that offence, and also to fine.

(*d*) B abets the commission of a robbery by A, a police-officer, whose duty it is to prevent that offence. Here though the robbery be not committed, B is liable to one-half of the longest term of imprisonment provided for the offence of robbery, and also to fine.

117. Whoever abets the commission of an offence by the public generally or by any number or class of persons exceeding ten, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both. Abetting commission of offence by the public or by more than ten persons.

Illustration.

A affixes in a public place a placard instigating a sect consisting of more than ten members to meet at a certain time and place, for the purpose of attacking the members of an adverse sect, while engaged in a procession. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

118. Whoever intending to facilitate or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby facilitate the commission of an offence punishable with death or transportation for life, Concealing design to commit offence punishable with death or transportation for life—

voluntarily conceals, by any act or illegal omission, the existence of a design to commit such offence or makes any representation which he knows to be false respecting such design,

shall, if that offence be committed, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or, if the offence be not committed, with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and in either case shall also be liable to fine. If offence be committed. If offence be not committed.

Illustration.

A, knowing that dacoity is about to be committed at B, falsely informs [illegible] about to be committed at C, a place [illegible] eby misleads the Magistrate with int[illegible] the offence. The dacoity is committ[illegible] A is punishable under this section.

119. Whoever, being a public servant intending to facilitate or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby facilitate the commission of an offence which it is his duty as such public servant to prevent, Public servant concealing design to commit offence which it is his duty to prevent—

voluntarily

voluntarily conceals, by any act or illegal omission, the existence of a design to commit such offence, or makes any representation which he knows to be false respecting such design,

If offence be committed; shall, if the offence be committed, be punished with imprisonment of any description provided for the offence, for a term which may extend to one-half of the longest term of such imprisonment, or with such fine as is provided for that offence, or with both;

If offence be punishable with death, etc., or, if the offence be punishable with death or transportation for life, with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years;

If offence be not committed. or, if the offence be not committed, shall be punished with imprisonment of any description provided for the offence for a term which may extend to one-fourth part of the longest term of such imprisonment or with such fine as is provided for the offence, or with both.

Illustration.

A, an officer of police, being legally bound to give information of all designs to commit robbery which may come to his knowledge, and knowing that B designs to commit robbery, omits to give such information, with intent to facilitate the commission of that offence. Here A has by an illegal omission concealed the existence of B's design, and is liable to punishment according to the provision of this section.

Concealing design to commit offence punishable with imprisonment— **120.** Whoever, intending to facilitate or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby facilitate the commission of an offence punishable with imprisonment,

voluntarily conceals, by any act or illegal omission, the existence of a design to commit such offence, or makes any representation which he knows to be false respecting such design,

If offence be committed; shall, if the offence be committed, be punished with imprisonment of the description provided for the offence, for a term which may extend to one-fourth, and, if the offence be not committed, to one-eighth, of the longest term of such imprisonment, or with such fine as is provided for the offence, or with both.

If offence be not committed.

CHAPTER VA.

[1]CHAPTER VA

CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY

120A. When two or more persons agree to do, or cause to be done,— Definition of criminal conspiracy

(1) an illegal act, or

(2) an act which is not illegal by illegal means, such an agreement is designated a criminal conspiracy:

Provided that no agreement except an agreement to commit an offence shall amount to a criminal conspiracy unless some act besides the agreement is done by one or more parties to such agreement in pursuance thereof.

Explanation.—It is immaterial whether the illegal act is the ultimate object of such agreement, or is merely incidental to that object.

120B. (1) Whoever is a party to a criminal conspiracy to commit an offence punishable with death, transportation or rigorous imprisonment for a term of two years or upwards, shall, where no express provision is made in this Code for the punishment of such a conspiracy, be punished in the same manner as if he had abetted such offence. Punishment of criminal conspiracy

(2) Whoever is a party to a criminal conspiracy other than a criminal conspiracy to commit an offence punishable as aforesaid shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, or with fine or with both.

CHAPTER VI

OF OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE

121. Whoever wages war against the Queen, or attempts to wage such war, or abets the waging of such war, shall be punished with death, or transportation for life, [2][and shall also be liable to fine]. Waging or attempting to wage war or abetting waging of war against the Queen.

Illustrations

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[1] Chapter VA was inserted by s. 3 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1913 (8 of 1913).

[2] These words were substituted for the words "and shall forfeit all his property" by s. 2 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 1921 (16 of 1921).

Illustrations.

(*a*) A joins an insurrection against the Queen. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

(*b*) A in India abets an insurrection against the Queen's Government of Ceylon by sending arms to the insurgents. A is guilty of abetting the waging of war against the Queen.

Conspiracy to commit offences punishable by section 121.

[1]**121A.** Whoever within or without British India conspires to commit any of the offences punishable by section 121, or to deprive the Queen of the sovereignty of British India or of any part thereof, or conspires to overawe, by means of criminal force or the show of criminal force, the Government of India or any Local Government, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, or with imprisonment of either description which may extend to ten years, [2][and shall also be liable to fine].

Explanation.—To constitute a conspiracy under this section, it is not necessary that any act or illegal omission shall take place in pursuance thereof.

Collecting arms, etc., with intention of waging war against the Queen.

122. Whoever collects men, arms or ammunition or otherwise prepares to wage war with the intention of either waging or being prepared to wage war against the Queen, shall be punished with transportation for life or imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding ten years, [3][and shall also be liable to fine].

Concealing with intent to facilitate design to wage war.

123. Whoever, by any act, or by any illegal omission, conceals the existence of a design to wage war against the Queen, intending by such concealment to facilitate, or knowing it to be likely that such concealment will facilitate, the waging of such war, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Assaulting Governor General, Governor, etc., with intent to

124. Whoever, with the intention of inducing or compelling the Governor General of India, or the Governor of any Presidency, or a Lieutenant-Governor, or a Member of the Council

[1] S. 121A was inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 4.

Chs. IV, V and XXIII of this Code apply to offences punishable under s. 121A—*see ib.*, s. 13.

[2] These words were inserted by s. 3 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 1921 (16 of 1921).

[3] These words were substituted for the words "and shall forfeit all his property" by s. 2 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 1921 (16 of 1921).

Council of the Governor General of India, or of the Council of any Presidency, to exercise or refrain from exercising in any manner any of the lawful powers of such Governor General, Governor Lieutenant Governor or Member of Council, compel or restrain the exercise of any lawful power

assaults or wrongfully restrains, or attempts wrongfully to restrain, or overawes, by means of criminal force or the show of criminal force, or attempts so to overawe, such Governor General, Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Member of Council,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine

[1]**124A** Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards, Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added or with imprisonment which may extend to three years to which fine may be added or with fine Sedition

Explanation 1 —The expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity

Explanation 2 —Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not constitute an offence under this section

Explanation 3 —Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section

125 Whoever wages war against the Government of any Asiatic Power in alliance or at peace with the Queen or attempts to wage such war or abets the waging of such war shall be punished with transportation for life to which fine may be added or with imprisonment of either description for a term which Waging war against any Asiatic Power in alliance with the Queen

[1] The original s 124A which was inserted by Act 27 of 1870 s 5 was repealed by s 4 of the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1898 (4 of 1898) and this section substituted for it

Chs IV and V of this Code apply to offences punishable under s 124A—*see* the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1870 (27 of 1870) s 13

which may extend to seven years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.

Committing depredation on territories of Power at peace with the Queen.

126. Whoever commits depredation, or makes preparations to commit depredation, on the territories of any Power in alliance or at peace with the Queen, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine and to forfeiture of any property used or intended to be used in committing such depredation, or acquired by such depredation.

Receiving property taken by War or depredation mentioned in sections 125 and 126.

127. Whoever receives any property knowing the same to have been taken in the commission of any of the offences mentioned in sections 125 and 126, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine and to forfeiture of the property so received.

Public servant voluntarily allowing prisoner of State or war to escape.

128. Whoever, being a public servant and having the custody of any State prisoner or prisoner of war, voluntarily allows such prisoner to escape from any place in which such prisoner is confined, shall be punished with transportation for life, or imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Public servant negligently suffering such prisoner to escape.

129. Whoever, being a public servant and having the custody of any State prisoner or prisoner of war, negligently suffers such prisoner to escape from any place of confinement in which such prisoner is confined, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Aiding escape of, rescuing or harbouring such prisoner.

130. Whoever knowingly aids or assists any State prisoner or prisoner of war in escaping from lawful custody, or rescues or attempts to rescue any such prisoner, or harbours or conceals any such prisoner who has escaped from lawful custody, or offers or attempts to offer any resistance to the recapture of such prisoner shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Explanation.—A State prisoner or prisoner of war, who is permitted to be at large on his parole within certain limits in British India, is said to escape from lawful custody if he goes beyond the limits within which he is allowed to be at large.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VII

OF OFFENCES RELATING TO THE ARMY, [1][NAVY[2] AND AIR FORCE]

131. Whoever abets the committing of mutiny by an officer, soldier, [3][sailor or airman], in the Army, [4][Navy or Air Force] of the Queen, or attempts to seduce any such officer, soldier, [3][sailor or airman] from his allegiance or his duty, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine

Abetting mutiny or attempting to seduce a soldier sailor or airman from his duty

[5]*Explanation* —In this section the words "officer", [6]["soldier" and "airman"] include any person subject to the [7][Army Act, the Indian Army Act, 1911, or the Air Force Act, as the case may be]

132 Whoever abets the committing of mutiny by an officer, soldier, [3][sailor or airman], in the Army, [4][Navy or Air Force] of the Queen shall, if mutiny be committed in consequence of that abetment, be punished with death or with transportation for life, or imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine

Abetment of mutiny if mutiny is committed in consequence thereof

133 Whoever abets an assault by an officer, soldier, [3][sailor or airman], in the Army, [4][Navy or Air Force] of the Queen on any superior officer being in the execution of his office, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine

Abetment of assault by soldier sailor or airman on his superior officer when in execution of his office

134 Whoever

[1] These words were substituted for the words "and Navy" by section 2 and First Schedule of the Repealing and Amending Act, 1927 (10 of 1927)

[2] Also the Indian Marine Service *see* s 138A *infra*

[3] These words were substituted for the words "or sailor" by section 2 and First Schedule of the Repealing and Amending Act, 1927 (10 of 1927)

[4] These words were substituted for the words "or Navy" by *ibid*

[5] This explanation was added by section 6 of the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1870 (27 of 1870)

[6] These words were substituted for the words "and 'soldier'" by section 2 and First Schedule of the Repealing and Amending Act 1927 (10 of 1927)

[7] These words and figures were substituted for the words and figures "Articles of War, for the better government of Her Majesty s Army, or to the Articles of War contained in Act No V of 1869" by *ibid*

Abetment of such assault if the assault is committed.

134. Whoever abets an assault by an officer, soldier, [1][sailor or airman], in the Army, [2][Navy or Air Force] of the Queen, on any superior officer being in the execution of his office, shall, if such assault be committed in consequence of that abetment, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Abetment of desertion of soldier, sailor or airman.

135. Whoever abets the desertion of any officer, soldier, [1][sailor or airman], in the Army, [2][Navy or Air Force] of the Queen, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Harbouring deserter.

136. Whoever, except as hereinafter excepted, knowing or having reason to believe that an officer, soldier, [1][sailor or airman], in the Army, [2][Navy or Air Force] of the Queen, has deserted, harbours such officer, soldier, [1][sailor or airman], shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine or with both.

Exception.—This provision does not extend to the case in which the harbour is given by a wife to her husband.

Deserter concealed on board merchant vessel through negligence of master.

137. The master or person in charge of a merchant vessel, on board of which any deserter from the Army, [2][Navy or Air Force] of the Queen is concealed, shall, though ignorant of such concealment, be liable to a penalty not exceeding five hundred rupees, if he might have known of such concealment but for some neglect of his duty as such master or person in charge, or but for some want of discipline on board of the vessel.

Abetment of act of insubordination by soldier, sailor or airman.

138. Whoever abets what he knows to be an act of insubordination by an officer, soldier, [1][sailor or airman], in the Army, [2][Navy or Air Force] of the Queen, shall, if such act of insubordination be committed in consequence of that abetment, be punished with imprisonment of either description

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[1] These words were substituted for the words "or sailor" by s. 2 and First Schedule of the Repealing and Amending Act, 1927 (10 of 1927).

[2] These words were substituted for the words "or Navy" by *ibid.*

tion for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both

[1]**138A.** The foregoing sections of this Chapter shall apply as if Her Majesty's Indian Marine Service were comprised in the Navy of the Queen Application of foregoing sections to the Indian Marine service

139 No person subject to [2][the Army Act, the Indian Army Act, 1911, the Naval Discipline Act or the Air Force Act], is subject to punishment under this Code for any of the offences defined in this Chapter Persons subject to certain Acts

140 Whoever, not being a soldier, [3][sailor or airman] in the Military, [4][Naval or Air] service of the Queen, wears any garb or carries any token resembling any garb or token used by such a soldier, [3][sailor or airman], with the intention that it may be believed that he is such a soldier [3][sailor or airman], shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both Wearing garb or carrying token used by soldier sailor or airman

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CHAPTER VIII

OF OFFENCES AGAINST THE PUBLIC TRANQUILLITY

141 An assembly of five or more persons is designated an "unlawful assembly," if the common object of the persons composing that assembly is— Unlawful assembly

First —To overawe by criminal force, or show of criminal force, the Legislative or Executive Government of India or the Government of any Presidency, or any Lieutenant Governor, or any public servant in the exercise of the lawful power of such public servant, or

Second —To resist the execution of any law, or of any legal process, or

Third

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[1] S 138A was inserted by the Indian Marine Act, 1887 (14 of 1887), s 79

[2] These words and figures were substituted for the words "any Articles of War for the Army or Navy of the Queen, or for any part of such Army or Navy" by section 2 and First Schedule of the Repealing and Amending Act, 1927 (10 of 1927)

[3] These words were inserted by *ibid*

[4] These words were substituted for the words "or Naval" by *ibid*

Third.—To commit any mischief or criminal trespass, or other offence; or

Fourth.—By means of criminal force, or show of criminal force, to any person to take or obtain possession of any property, or to deprive any person of the enjoyment of a right of way, or of the use of water or other incorporeal right of which he is in possession or enjoyment, or to enforce any right or supposed right; or

Fifth.—By means of criminal force, or show of criminal force, to compel any person to do what he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do what he is legally entitled to do.

Explanation.—An assembly which was not unlawful when it assembled, may subsequently become an unlawful assembly.

Being member of unlawful assembly.

142. Whoever, being aware of facts which render any assembly an unlawful assembly, intentionally joins that assembly, or continues in it, is said to be a member of an unlawful assembly.

Punishment.

143. Whoever is a member of an unlawful assembly, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

Joining unlawful assembly armed with deadly weapon.

144. Whoever, being armed with any deadly weapon, or with anything which, used as a weapon of offence, is likely to cause death, is a member of an unlawful assembly, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Joining or continuing in unlawful assembly knowing it has been commanded to disperse.

145. Whoever joins or continues in an unlawful assembly, knowing that such unlawful assembly has been commanded in the manner prescribed by law to disperse, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Rioting.

146. Whenever force or violence is used by an unlawful assembly, or by any member thereof, in prosecution of the common object of such assembly, every member of such assembly is guilty of the offence of rioting.

Punishment for rioting.

147. Whoever is guilty of rioting, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

148. Whoever

[1]**148** Whoever is guilty of rioting being armed with a deadly weapon or with anything which used as a weapon of offence is likely to cause death, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine or with both

Rioting armed with deadly weapon.

149 If an offence is committed by any member of an unlawful assembly in prosecution of the common object of that assembly, or such as the members of that assembly knew to be likely to be committed in prosecution of that object every person who at the time of the committing of that offence is a member of the same assembly is guilty of that offence

Every member of unlawful assembly guilty of offence committed in prosecution of common object

150 Whoever hires or engages or employs or promotes, or connives at the hiring engagement or employment of any person to join or become a member of any unlawful assembly shall be punishable as a member of such unlawful assembly and for any offence which may be committed by any such person as a member of such unlawful assembly in pursuance of such hiring engagement or employment in the same manner as if he had been a member of such unlawful assembly or himself had committed such offence

Hiring or conniving at hiring of persons to join unlawful assembly

151 Whoever knowingly joins or continues in any assembly of five or more persons likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace after such assembly has been lawfully commanded to disperse shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both

Knowingly joining or continuing in assembly of five or more persons af r t has been commanded to disperse

Explanation —If the assembly is an unlawful assembly within the meaning of section 141 the offender will be punishable under section 145

152 Whoever assaults or threatens to assault or obstructs or attempts to obstruct any public servant in the discharge of his duty as such public servant in endeavouring to disperse an unlawful assembly or to suppress a riot or affray, or uses or threatens or attempts to use criminal force to such public servant shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both

Assaulting or obstructing public servant when suppressing riot etc

153 Whoever

[1] As to punishment for an offence under s 148 enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District in the North West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s 12, Punj and N W Code

Wantonly giving provocation with intent to cause riot—

153. Whoever malignantly, or wantonly, by doing anything which is illegal, gives provocation to any person intending or knowing it to be likely that such provocation will cause the offence of rioting to be committed, shall, if the offence of rioting be committed in consequence of such provocation, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both: and if the offence of rioting be not committed, with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

if rioting be committed;

if not committed.

Promoting enmity between classes.

[1]**153A.** Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise, promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine or with both.

Explanation.—It does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section to point out, without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects.

Owner or occupier of land on which an unlawful assembly is held.

154. Whenever any unlawful assembly or riot takes place the owner or occupier of the land upon which such unlawful assembly is held, or such riot is committed, and any person having or claiming an interest in such land, shall be punishable with fine not exceeding one thousand rupees, if he or his agent or manager, knowing that such offence is being or has been committed, or having reason to believe it is likely to be committed, do not give the earliest notice thereof in his or their power to the principal officer at the nearest police-station, and do not, in the case of his or their having reason to believe that it was about to be committed, use all lawful means in his or their power to prevent it and, in the event of its taking place, do not use all lawful means in his or their power to disperse or suppress the riot or unlawful assembly.

Liability of person for whose benefit riot is committed.

155. Whenever a riot is committed for the benefit or on behalf of any person who is the owner or occupier of any land respecting which such riot takes place or who claims any interest

[1] S. 153A was added by s. 5 of the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1898 (4 of 1898).

terest in such land, or in the subject of any dispute which gave rise to the riot, or who has accepted or derived any benefit therefrom, such person shall be punishable with fine, if he or his agent or manager, having reason to believe that such riot was likely to be committed or that the unlawful assembly by which such riot was committed was likely to be held, shall not respectively use all lawful means in his or their power to prevent such assembly or riot from taking place, and for suppressing and dispersing the same

156. Whenever a riot is committed for the benefit or on behalf of any person who is the owner or occupier of any land respecting which such riot takes place, or who claims any interest in such land, or in the subject of any dispute which gave rise to the riot, or who has accepted or derived any benefit therefrom, — Liability of agent of owner or occupier for whose benefit riot is committed

the agent or manager of such person shall be punishable with fine, if such agent or manager, having reason to believe that such riot was likely to be committed, or that the unlawful assembly by which such riot was committed was likely to be held, shall not use all lawful means in his power to prevent such riot or assembly from taking place and for suppressing and dispersing the same

157. Whoever harbours, receives or assembles, in any house or premises in his occupation or charge, or under his control any persons knowing that such persons have been hired, engaged or employed, or are about to be hired, engaged or employed, to join or become members of an unlawful assembly, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both — Harbouring persons hired for an unlawful assembly

158 Whoever is engaged or hired, or offers or attempts to be hired or engaged, to do or assist in doing any of the acts specified in section 141, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both, — Being hired to take part in an unlawful assembly or riot

and whoever, being so engaged or hired as aforesaid, goes armed, or engages or offers to go armed, with any deadly weapon or with anything which used as a weapon of offence is likely to cause death shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both — or to go armed

159. When

Affray.

159. When two or more persons, by fighting in a public place, disturb the public peace, they are said to "commit an affray."

Punishment for committing affray.

160. Whoever commits an affray, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one hundred rupees, or with both.

CHAPTER IX[1].

OF OFFENCES BY OR RELATING TO PUBLIC SERVANTS.

Public servant taking gratification other than legal remuneration in respect of an official act.

161. Whoever, being or expecting to be a public servant, accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept, or attempts to obtain from any person, for himself or for any other person, any gratification whatever, other than legal remuneration, as a motive or reward for doing or forbearing to do any official act or for showing or forbearing to show, in the exercise of his official functions, favour or disfavour to any person, or for rendering or attempting to render any service or disservice to any person, with the Legislative or Executive Government of India, or with the Government of any Presidency, or with any Lieutenant-Governor, or with any public servant, as such, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Explanations.—" Expecting to be a public servant." If a person not expecting to be in office obtains a gratification by deceiving others into a belief that he is about to be in office, and that he will then serve them, he may be guilty of cheating, but he is not guilty of the offence defined in this section.

" Gratification." The word " gratification " is not restricted to pecuniary gratifications, or to gratifications estimable in money.

" Legal remuneration."

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[1] For the purposes of this Chapter every railway servant shall be deemed to be a public servant—*see* Indian Railways Act, 1890 (9 of 1890), s. 137. Every manager or other servant of the Court of Wards under the Bombay Court of Wards Act, 1905, shall be deemed to be a public servant within the meaning of this Chapter: Bom. Act I of 1905, s. 21 (*2*), Bom. Code; *see* also the Central Provinces Court of Wards Act, 1899 (24 of 1899), s. 19 (*2*), C. P. Code; the Ajmer Government Wards Regulation, 1888 (1 of 1888), s. 11 (*2*), Aj. Code.

"Legal remuneration." The words "legal remuneration" are not restricted to remuneration which a public servant can lawfully demand, but include all remuneration which he is permitted by the [1]Government, which he serves, to accept.

"A motive or reward for doing." A person who receives a gratification as a motive for doing what he does not intend to do, or as a reward for doing what he has not done, comes within these words.

Illustrations.

(a) A, a munsif, obtains from Z, a banker, a situation in Z's bank for A's brother, as a reward to A for deciding a cause in favour of Z. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

(b) A, holding the office of Resident at the Court of a subsidiary Power, accepts a lakh of rupees from the Minister of that Power. It does not appear that A accepted this sum as a motive or reward for doing or forbearing to do any particular official act, or for rendering or attempting to render any particular service to that Power with the British Government. But it does appear that A accepted the sum as a motive or reward for generally showing favour in the exercise of his official functions to that Power. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

(c) A, a public servant, induces Z erroneously to believe that A's influence with the Government has obtained a title for Z, and thus induces Z to give A money as a reward for this service. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

Taking gratification in order by corrupt or illegal means to influence public servant.

162. Whoever accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept, or attempts to obtain, from any person, for himself or for any other person, any gratification whatever as a motive or reward for inducing, by corrupt or illegal means, any public servant to do or to forbear to do any official act, or in the exercise of the official functions of such public servant to show favour or disfavour to any person, or to render or attempt to render any service or disservice to any person with the Legislative or Executive Government of India, or with the Government of any Presidency, or with any Lieutenant-Governor, or with any

[1] As to the meaning of the word "Government" in the definition of "legal remuneration" for the purposes of certain enactments extending the meaning of the expression "public servant" in the Code, *see* the Central Provinces Court of Wards Act, 1899 (24 of 1899), s. 19 (2), C. P. Code; the United Provinces Court of Wards Act, 1912 (U. P. Act 4 of 1912), s. 33, U. P. Code; the Ajmer Government Wards Regulation, 1888 (1 of 1888), s. 11 (2), Aj. Code; the United Provinces Municipalities Act, 1916 (U. P. Act 2 of 1916), s. 84, U. P. Code; Bombay Court of Wards Act, 1905 (Bom. Act 1 of 1905), s. 21 (2), Bom. Code; the Punjab Court of Wards Act, 1903, s. 42 (3), (Punj. Act 2 of 1903), Punj. and N. W. Code; the Indian Railways Act, 1890 (9 of 1890), s. 137 (2).

any public servant, as such, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Taking gratification for exercise of personal influence with public servant.

163. Whoever accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept or attempts to obtain, from any person, for himself or for any other person, any gratification whatever, as a motive or reward for inducing, by the exercise of personal influence, any public servant to do or to forbear to do any official act, or in the exercise of the official functions of such public servant to show favour or disfavour to any person, or to render or attempt to render any service or disservice to any person with the Legislative or Executive Government of India, or with the Government of any Presidency, or with any Lieutenant-Governor, or with any public servant, as such, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Illustration.

An advocate who receives a fee for arguing a case before a Judge; a person who receives pay for arranging and correcting a memorial addressed to Government, setting forth the services and claims of the memorialist; a paid agent for a condemned criminal, who lays before the Government statements tending to show that the condemnation was unjust,—are not within this section, inasmuch as they do not exercise or profess to exercise personal influence.

Punishment for abetment by public servant of offences defined in section 162 or 163.

164. Whoever, being a public servant, in respect of whom either of the offences defined in the last two preceding sections is committed, abets the offence, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Illustration.

A is a public servant. B, A's wife, receives a present as a motive for soliciting A to give an office to a particular person. A abets her doing so. B is punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or with fine, or with both. A is punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Public servant obtaining valuable thing without consideration, from person

165. Whoever, being a public servant, accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept or attempts to obtain, for himself, or for any other person, any valuable thing without consideration, or for a consideration which he knows to be inadequate,

from

from any person whom he knows to have been, or to be, or to be likely to be concerned in any proceeding or business transacted or about to be transacted by such public servant, or having any connection with the official functions of himself or of any public servant to whom he is subordinate, concerned in proceeding or business transacted by such public servant

or from any person whom he knows to be interested in or related to the person so concerned,

shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Illustrations

(*a*) A, a Collector, hires a house of Z, who has a settlement case pending before him It is agreed that A shall pay fifty rupees a month, the house being such that, if the bargain were made in good faith, A would be required to pay two hundred rupees a month A has obtained a valuable thing from Z without adequate consideration

(*b*) A, a Judge buys of Z, who has a cause pending in A s Court Government promissory notes at a discount when they are selling in the market at a premium A has obtained a valuable thing from Z without adequate consideration

(*c*) Z s brother is apprehended and taken before A a Magistrate, on a charge of perjury A sells to Z shares in a bank at a premium, when they are selling in the market at a discount Z pays A for the shares accordingly The money so obtained by A is a valuable thing obtained by him without adequate consideration

166. Whoever, being a public servant, knowingly disobeys any direction of the law as to the way in which he is to conduct himself as such public servant, intending to cause, or knowing it to be likely that he will, by such disobedience, cause injury to any person, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both

Public servant disobeying law with intent to cause injury to any person.

Illustration

A being an officer directed [illegible]
order to satisfy a decree pronou[illegible]
knowingly disobeys that directi[illegible]
is likely thereby to cause inju[illegible]
defined in this section

167 Whoever, being a public servant, and being, as such public servant, charged with the preparation or translation of any document frames or translates that document in a manner which he knows or believes to be incorrect, intending thereby to cause or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby cause injury to any person, shall be punished with imprisonment

Public servant framing an incorrect document with intent to cause injury

sonment

any public servant, as such, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Taking gratification for exercise of personal influence with public servant.

163. Whoever accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept or attempts to obtain, from any person, for himself or for any other person, any gratification whatever, as a motive or reward for inducing, by the exercise of personal influence, any public servant to do or to forbear to do any official act, or in the exercise of the official functions of such public servant to show favour or disfavour to any person, or to render or attempt to render any service or disservice to any person with the Legislative or Executive Government of India, or with the Government of any Presidency, or with any Lieutenant-Governor, or with any public servant, as such, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Illustration.

An advocate who receives a fee for arguing a case before a Judge; a person who receives pay for arranging and correcting a memorial addressed to Government, setting forth the services and claims of the memorialist; a paid agent for a condemned criminal, who lays before the Government statements tending to show that the condemnation was unjust,—are not within this section, inasmuch as they do not exercise or profess to exercise personal influence.

Punishment for abetment by public servant of offences defined in section 162 or 163.

164. Whoever, being a public servant, in respect of whom either of the offences defined in the last two preceding sections is committed, abets the offence, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Illustration.

A is a public servant. B, A's wife, receives a present as a motive for soliciting A to give an office to a particular person. A abets her doing so. B is punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or with fine, or with both. A is punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Public servant obtaining valuable thing without consideration, from person

165. Whoever, being a public servant, accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept or attempts to obtain, for himself, or for any other person, any valuable thing without consideration, or for a consideration which he knows to be inadequate,

from

an election is in contemplation, holds himself out as a prospective candidate thereat, provided that he is subsequently nominated as a candidate at such election;

(*b*) " electoral right " means the right of a person to stand, or not to stand as, or to withdraw from being, a candidate or to vote or refrain from voting at an election.

171B. (*1*) Whoever— Bribery

(*i*) gives a gratification to any person with the object of inducing him or any other person to exercise any electoral right or of rewarding any person for having exercised any such right; or

(*ii*) accepts either for himself or for any other person any gratification as a reward for exercising any such right or for inducing or attempting to induce any other person to exercise any such right,

commits the offence of bribery:

Provided that a declaration of public policy or a promise of public action shall not be an offence under this section

(*2*) A person who offers, or agrees to give, or offers or attempts to procure, a gratification shall be deemed to give a gratification.

(*3*) A person who obtains or agrees to accept or attempts to obtain a gratification shall be deemed to accept a gratification, and a person who accepts a gratification as a motive for doing what he does not intend to do, or as a reward for doing what he has not done, shall be deemed to have accepted the gratification as a reward.

171C. (*1*) Whoever voluntarily interferes or attempts to interfere with the free exercise of any electoral right commits the offence of undue influence at an election. Undue influence at elections

(*2*) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of sub-section (*1*), whoever—

(*a*) threatens any candidate or voter, or any person in whom a candidate or voter is interested, with injury of any kind, or

(*b*) induces or attempts to induce a candidate or voter to believe that he or any person in whom he is interested will become or will be rendered an object of Divine displeasure or of spiritual censure,

shall

shall be deemed to interfere with the free exercise of the electoral right of such candidate or voter, within the meaning of sub-section (*1*).

(*3*) A declaration of public policy or a promise of public action, or the mere exercise of a legal right without intent to interfere with an electoral right, shall not be deemed to be interference within the meaning of this section.

Personation at elections.

171D. Whoever at an election applies for a voting paper or votes in the name of any other person, whether living or dead, or in a fictitious name, or who having voted once at such election applies at the same election for a voting paper in his own name, and whoever abets, procures or attempts to procure the voting by any person in any such way, commits the offence of personation at an election.

Punishment for bribery.

171E. Whoever commits the offence of bribery shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both:

Provided that bribery by treating shall be punished with fine only.

Explanation.—'Treating' means that form of bribery where the gratification consists in food, drink, entertainment, or provision.

Punishment for undue influence or personation at an election.

171F. Whoever commits the offence of undue influence or personation at an election shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

False statement in connection with an election.

171G. Whoever with intent to affect the result of an election makes or publishes any statement purporting to be a statement of fact which is false and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, in relation to the personal character or conduct of any candidate shall be punished with fine.

Illegal payments in connection with an election.

171H. Whoever without the general or special authority in writing of a candidate incurs or authorises expenses on account of the holding of any public meeting, or upon any advertisement, circular or publication, or in any other way whatsoever for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of such candidate, shall be punished with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees:

Provided

Provided that if any person having incurred any such expenses not exceeding the amount of ten rupees without authority obtains within ten days from the date on which such expenses were incurred the approval in writing of the candidate, he shall be deemed to have incurred such expenses with the authority of the candidate

171I Whoever being required by any law for the time being in force or any rule having the force of law to keep accounts of expenses incurred at or in connection with an election fails to keep such accounts shall be punished with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees **Failure to keep election accounts**

CHAPTER X

OF CONTEMPTS OF THE LAWFUL AUTHORITY OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

172 Whoever absconds in order to avoid being served with a summons, notice or order proceeding from any public servant legally competent, as such public servant to issue such summons, notice or order, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both, **Absconding to avoid service of summons or other proceeding**

or, if the summons or notice or order is to attend in person or by agent, or to produce a document in a Court of Justice with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both

173 Whoever in any manner intentionally prevents the serving on himself, or on any other person, of any summons notice or order proceeding from any public servant legally competent as such public servant, to issue such summons, notice or order, **Preventing service of summons or other proceeding or preventing publication thereof**

or intentionally prevents the lawful affixing to any place of any such summons, notice or order,

or intentionally removes any such summons, notice or order from any place to which it is lawfully affixed,

or

shall be deemed to interfere with the free exercise of the electoral right of such candidate or voter, within the meaning of sub-section (*1*).

(*3*) A declaration of public policy or a promise of public action, or the mere exercise of a legal right without intent to interfere with an electoral right, shall not be deemed to be interference within the meaning of this section.

Personation at elections.

171D. Whoever at an election applies for a voting paper or votes in the name of any other person, whether living or dead, or in a fictitious name, or who having voted once at such election applies at the same election for a voting paper in his own name, and whoever abets, procures or attempts to procure the voting by any person in any such way, commits the offence of personation at an election.

Punishment for bribery.

171E. Whoever commits the offence of bribery shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both:

Provided that bribery by treating shall be punished with fine only.

Explanation.—'Treating' means that form of bribery where the gratification consists in food, drink, entertainment, or provision.

Punishment for undue influence or personation at an election.

171F. Whoever commits the offence of undue influence or personation at an election shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

False statement in connection with an election.

171G. Whoever with intent to affect the result of an election makes or publishes any statement purporting to be a statement of fact which is false and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, in relation to the personal character or conduct of any candidate shall be punished with fine.

Illegal payments in connection with an election.

171H. Whoever without the general or special authority in writing of a candidate incurs or authorises expenses on account of the holding of any public meeting, or upon any advertisement, circular or publication, or in any other way whatsoever for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of such candidate, shall be punished with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees:

Provided

(Chapter IXA.—Of Offences relating to elections. Chapter X.—Of contempts of the lawful authority of Public Servants.)

Provided that if any person having incurred any such expenses not exceeding the amount of ten rupees without authority obtains within ten days from the date on which such expenses were incurred the approval in writing of the candidate, he shall be deemed to have incurred such expenses with the authority of the candidate.

171I. Whoever being required by any law for the time being in force or any rule having the force of law to keep accounts of expenses incurred at or in connection with an election fails to keep such accounts shall be punished with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees. Failure to keep election accounts.

CHAPTER X

OF CONTEMPTS OF THE LAWFUL AUTHORITY OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

172. Whoever absconds in order to avoid being served with a summons, notice or order proceeding from any public servant legally competent, as such public servant, to issue such summons, notice or order, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both; Absconding to avoid service of summons or other proceeding.

or, if the summons or notice or order is to attend in person or by agent, or to produce a document in a Court of Justice, with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

173. Whoever in any manner intentionally prevents the serving on himself, or on any other person, of any summons, notice or order proceeding from any [illegible] petent, as such public servant, to i[illegible] or order, Preventing service of [illegible]

or intentionally prevents the lawful affixing to any place of any such summons, notice or order,

or intentionally removes any such summons, notice or order from any place to which it is lawfully affixed,

or

or intentionally prevents the lawful making of any proclamation, under the authority of any public servant legally competent, as such public servant, to direct such proclamation to be made,

shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both;

or, if the summons, notice, order or proclamation is to attend in person or by agent, or to produce a document in a Court of Justice, with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Non-attendance in obedience to an order from public servant.

174. Whoever, being legally bound to attend in person or by an agent at a certain place and time in obedience to a summons, notice, order or proclamation proceeding from any public servant legally competent, as such public servant, to issue the same,

intentionally omits to attend at that place or time, or departs from the place where he is bound to attend before the time at which it is lawful for him to depart,

shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both;

or, if the summons, notice, order or proclamation is to attend in person or by agent in a Court of Justice, with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A being legally bound to appear before the Supreme Court at Calcutta in obedience to a subpœna issuing from that Court, intentionally omits to appear. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

(*b*) A being legally bound to appear before a Zila Judge, as a witness, in obedience to a summons issued by that Zila Judge, intentionally omits to appear. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

Omission to produce document to public servant by

175. Whoever, being legally bound to produce or deliver up any document to any public servant, as such, intentionally omits so to produce or deliver up the same, shall be punished with

with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both — person legally bound to produce it

or if the document is to be produced or delivered up to a Court of Justice with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both

Illustration

A being legally bound to produce a document before a Zila Court intentionally omits to produce the same A has committed the offence defined in this section

176 Whoever being legally bound to give any notice or to furnish information on any subject to any public servant as such intentionally omits to give such notice or to furnish such information in the manner and at the time required by law, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both — Omission to give notice or information to public servant by person legally bound to give it

or if the notice or information required to be given respects the commission of an offence or is required for the purpose of preventing the commission of an offence or in order to the apprehension of an offender with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both

177 Whoever, being legally bound to furnish information on any subject to any public servant as such furnishes as true information on the subject which he knows or has reason to believe to be false shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both — Furnishing false information

or if the information which he is legally bound to give respects the commission of an offence or is required for the purpose of preventing the commission of an offence or in order to the apprehension of an offender with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both

Illustrations

Illustrations.

(*a*) A, a landholder, knowing of the commission of a murder within the limits of his estate, wilfully misinforms the Magistrate of the district that the death has occurred by accident in consequence of the bite of a snake. A is guilty of the offence defined in this section.

(*b*) A, a village watchman, knowing that a considerable body of strangers has passed through his village in order to commit a dacoity in the house of Z, a wealthy merchant residing in a neighbouring place, and being bound, under clause 5, section VII, [1]Regulations III, 1821, of the Bengal Code, to give early and punctual information of the above fact to the officer of the nearest police-station, wilfully misinforms the police-officer that a body of suspicious characters passed through the village with a view to commit dacoity in a certain distant place in a different direction. Here A is guilty of the offence defined in the latter part of this section.

[2]*Explanation.*—In section 176 and in this section the word "offence" includes any act committed at any place out of British India, which, if committed in British India, would be punishable under any of the following sections, namely, 302, 304, 382, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 402, 435, 436, 449, 450, 457, 458, 459 and 460; and the word "offender" includes any person who is alleged to have been guilty of any such act.

Refusing oath or affirmation when duly required by public servant to make it.

178. Whoever refuses to bind himself by an oath [3][or affirmation] to state the truth, when required so to bind himself by a public servant legally competent to require that he shall so bind himself, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Refusing to answer public servant authorised to question.

179. Whoever, being legally bound to state the truth on any subject to any public servant, refuses to answer any question demanded of him touching that subject by such public servant in the exercise of the legal powers of such public servant, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

180. Whoever

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[1] Ben. Reg. 3 of 1821 was repealed by Act 17 of 1862.

[2] This Explanation was added by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1894 (3 of 1894), s. 5.

[3] These words were inserted by the Indian Oaths Act, 1873 (10 of 1873), s. 15.

180. Whoever refuses to sign any statement made by him, when required to sign that statement by a public servant legally competent to require that he shall sign that statement, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both. Refusing to sign statement.

181. Whoever, being legally bound by an oath [1][or affirmation] to state the truth on any subject to any public servant or other person authorized by law to administer such oath [1][or affirmation], makes, to such public servant or other person as aforesaid, touching that subject, any statement which is false, and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine. False statement on oath or affirmation to public servant or person authorized to administer an oath or affirmation.

[2]**182.** Whoever gives to any public servant any information which he knows or believes to be false, intending thereby to cause, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby cause, such public servant— False information, with intent to cause public servant to use his lawful power to the injury of another person.

(a) to do or omit anything which such public servant ought not to do or omit if the true state of facts respecting which such information is given were known by him, or

(b) to use the lawful power of such public servant to the injury or annoyance of any person,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Illustrations.

(a) A informs a Magistrate that Z, a police-officer, subordinate to such Magistrate, has been guilty of neglect of duty or misconduct, knowing such information to be false, and knowing it to be likely that the information will cause the Magistrate to dismiss Z. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

(b) A

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[1] These words were inserted by the Indian Oaths Act, 1873 (10 of 1873), s. 15.

[2] This section was substituted for the original s. 182 by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1895 (3 of 1895), s. 1.

(b) A falsely informs a public servant that Z has contraband salt in a secret place, knowing such information to be false, and knowing that it is likely that the consequence of the information will be a search of Z's premises, attended with annoyance to Z. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

(c) A falsely informs a policeman that he has been assaulted and robbed in the neighbourhood of a particular village. He does not mention the name of any person as one of his assailants, but knows it to be likely that in consequence of this information the police will make enquiries and institute searches in the village to the annoyance of the villagers or some of them. A has committed an offence under this section.

Resistance to the taking of property by the lawful authority of a public servant.

183. Whoever offers any resistance to the taking of any property by the lawful authority of any public servant, knowing or having reason to believe that he is such public servant, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Obstructing sale of property offered for sale by authority of public servant.

184. Whoever intentionally obstructs any sale of property offered for sale by the lawful authority of any public servant, as such, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

Illegal purchase or bid for property offered for sale by authority of public servant.

185. Whoever, at any sale of property held by the lawful authority of a public servant, as such, purchases or bids for any property on account of any person, whether himself or any other, whom he knows to be under a legal incapacity to purchase that property at that sale, or bids for such property not intending to perform the obligations under which he lays himself by such bidding, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees, or with both.

Obstructing public servant in discharge of public functions.

186. Whoever voluntarily obstructs any public servant in the discharge of his public functions, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

Omission to assist public servant when bound by law to give assistance.

187. Whoever, being bound by law to render or furnish assistance to any public servant in the execution of his public duty, intentionally omits to give such assistance, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may

extend

extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees, or with both;

and if such assistance be demanded of him by a public servant legally competent to make such demand for the purposes of executing any process lawfully issued by a Court of Justice, or of preventing the commission of an offence, or of suppressing a riot, or affray, or of apprehending a person charged with or guilty of an offence, or of having escaped from lawful custody, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

188. Whoever, knowing that, by an order promulgated by a public servant lawfully empowered to promulgate such order, he is directed to abstain from a certain act, or to take certain order with certain property in his possession or under his management, disobeys such direction, Disobedience to order duly promulgated by public servant.

shall, if such disobedience causes or tends to cause obstruction, annoyance or injury, or risk of obstruction, annoyance or injury, to any persons lawfully employed, be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees, or with both;

and if such disobedience causes or tends to cause danger to human life, health or safety, or causes or tends to cause a riot or affray, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Explanation.—It is not necessary that the offender should intend to produce harm, or contemplate his disobedience as likely to produce harm. It is sufficient that he knows of the order which he disobeys, and that his disobedience produces, or is likely to produce, harm.

Illustration

An order is promulgated by a public servant lawfully empowered to promulgate such order, directing that a religious procession shall not pass down a certain street. A knowingly disobeys the order, and thereby causes danger of riot. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

189. Whoever

(Chapter X.—Of contempts of the lawful authority of Public Servants. Chapter XI.—Of false Evidence and Offences against Public Justice.)

Threat of injury to public servant.

189. Whoever holds out any threat of injury to any public servant, or to any person in whom he believes that public servant to be interested, for the purpose of inducing that public servant to do any act, or to forbear or delay to do any act, connected with the exercise of the public functions of such public servant, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Threat of injury to induce person to refrain from applying for protection to public servant.

190. Whoever holds out any threat of injury to any person for the purpose of inducing that person to refrain or desist from making a legal application for protection against any injury to any public servant legally empowered, as such to give such protection, or to cause such protection to be given, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

CHAPTER XI.[1]

OF FALSE EVIDENCE AND OFFENCES AGAINST PUBLIC JUSTICE.

Giving false evidence.

191. Whoever being legally bound by an oath or by an express provision of law to state the truth, or being bound by law to make a declaration upon any subject, makes any statement which is false, and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, is said to give false evidence.

Explanation 1.—A statement is within the meaning of this section, whether it is made verbally or otherwise.

Explanation 2.—A false statement as to the belief of the person attesting is within the meaning of this section, and a person may be guilty of giving false evidence by stating that he believes a thing which he does not believe, as well as by stating that he knows a thing which he does not know.

Illustrations.

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[1] As to punishment for offences under ss. 193 to 196, 201, 211, 212, enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s. 12, Punj. and N.-W. Code.

(*Chapter XI —Of false Evidence and Offences against Public Justice*)

Illustrations

(*a*) A in support of a just claim which B has against Z for one thousand rupees falsely swears on a trial that he heard Z admit the justice of B's claim A has given false evidence

(*b*) A, being bound by an oath to state the truth states that he believes a certain signature to be the handwriting of Z when he does not believe it to be the handwriting of Z Here A states that which he knows to be false, and therefore gives false evidence

(*c*) A knowing the general character of Z's handwriting states that he believes a certain signature to be the handwriting of Z A in good faith believing it to be so Here A's statement is merely as to his belief and is true as to his belief and therefore although the signature may not be the handwriting of Z A has not given false evidence

(*d*) A, being bound by an oath to state the truth states that he knows that Z was at a particular place on a particular day not knowing anything upon the subject A gives false evidence whether Z was at that place on the day named or not

(*e*) A an interpreter or translator gives or certifies as a true interpretation or translation of a statement or document which he is bound by oath to interpret or translate truly, that which is not and which he does not believe to be a true interpretation or translation A has given false evidence

192 Whoever causes any circumstance to exist or makes any false entry in any book or record, or makes any document containing a false statement, intending that such circumstance, false entry or false statement may appear in evidence in a judicial proceeding, or in a proceeding taken by law before a public servant as such, or before an arbitrator, and that such circumstance, false entry or false statement, so appearing in evidence, may cause any person who in such proceeding is to form an opinion upon the evidence to entertain an erroneous opinion touching any point material to the result of such proceeding, is said " to fabricate false evidence " Fabricating false evidence

Illustrations

(*a*) A puts jewels into a box belonging to Z with the intention that they may be found in that box and that this circumstance may cause Z to be convicted of theft A has fabricated false evidence

(*b*) A makes a false entry in his shop book for the purpose of using it as corroborative evidence in a Court of Justice A has fabricated false evidence

(*c*) A with the intention of causing Z to be convicted of a criminal conspiracy, writes a letter in imitation of Z's handwriting, purporting to be addressed to an accomplice in such criminal conspiracy and puts the letter in a place which he knows that the officers of the Police are likely to search A has fabricated false evidence

193 Whoever intentionally gives false evidence in any stage of a judicial proceeding or fabricates false evidence for the purpose of being used in any stage of a judicial proceeding, Punishment for false evidence

ceeding, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine;

and whoever intentionally gives or fabricates false evidence in any other case, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Explanation 1.—A trial before a Court-martial [1]**** is a judicial proceeding.

Explanation 2.—An investigation directed by law preliminary to a proceeding before a Court of Justice, is a stage of a judicial proceeding, though that investigation may not take place before a Court of Justice.

Illustration.

A, in an enquiry before a Magistrate for the purpose of ascertaining whether Z ought to be committed for trial, makes on oath a statement which he knows to be false. As this enquiry is a stage of a judicial proceeding, A has given false evidence.

Explanation 3.—An investigation directed by a Court of Justice according to law, and conducted under the authority of a Court of Justice, is a stage of a judicial proceeding, though that investigation may not take place before a Court of Justice.

Illustration.

A, in an enquiry before an officer deputed by a Court of Justice to ascertain on the spot the boundaries of land, makes on oath a statement which he knows to be false. As this enquiry is a stage of a judicial proceeding, A has given false evidence.

Giving or fabricating false evidence with intent to procure conviction of capital offence;

194. Whoever gives or fabricates false evidence, intending thereby to cause, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby cause, any person to be convicted of an offence which is capital [2][by the law of British India or England], shall be punished with transportation for life, or with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine;

If innocent person be thereby con-

and if an innocent person be convicted and executed in consequence of such false evidence, the person who gives such false

[1] The words "or before a Military Court of Request" were repealed by the Cantonments Act, 1889 (13 of 1889). Act 13 of 1889 was repealed by Act 15 of 1910, which in turn has been repealed by Act 2 of 1924.

[2] These words were substituted for the words "by this Code" by the Indian Railways Act, 1890 (9 of 1890), s. 149.

false evidence, shall be punished either with death or the punishment hereinbefore described

victed and executed

195 Whoever gives or fabricates false evidence intending thereby to cause, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby cause, any person to be convicted of an offence which [1][by the law of British India or England] is not capital, but punishable with transportation for life or imprisonment for a term of seven years or upwards shall be punished as a person convicted of that offence would be liable to be punished

Giving or fabricating false evidence with intent to procure conviction of offence punishable with transportation or imprisonment

Illustration

intending thereby to ment of dacoity is for a term which therefore is liable to such transportation or imprisonment with or without fine

196 Whoever corruptly uses or attempts to use as true or genuine evidence any evidence which he knows to be false or fabricated shall be punished in the same manner as if he gave or fabricated false evidence

Using evidence known to be false

197 Whoever issues or signs any certificate required by law to be given or signed, or relating to any fact of which such certificate is by law admissible in evidence, knowing or believing that such certificate is false in any material point, shall be punished in the same manner as if he gave false evidence

Issuing or signing false certificate

198 Whoever corruptly uses or attempts to use any such certificate as a true certificate knowing the same to be false in any material point shall be punished in the same manner as if he gave false evidence

Using as true a certificate known to be false

199 Whoever in any declaration made or subscribed by him which declaration any Court of Justice, or any public servant or other person, is bound or authorized by law to receive as evidence of any fact, makes any statement which is false and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true touching any point material to the object for which the declaration is made or used, shall punished in the same manner as if he gave false evid

False statement made in declaration which is by law receivable as evidence

200 Wh

[1] These words were substituted for the words ' by this Code ' Indian Railways Act 1890 (9 of 1890) s 149

D

(Chapter XI.—Of false Evidence and Offences against Public Justice.)

Using as true such declaration knowing it to be false.

200. Whoever corruptly uses or attempts to use as true any such declaration, knowing the same to be false in any material point, shall be punished in the same manner as if he gave false evidence.

Explanation.—A declaration which is inadmissible merely upon the ground of some informality, is a declaration within the meaning of sections 199 and 200.

Causing disappearance of evidence of offence, or giving false information to *screen* offender—

201. Whoever, knowing or having reason to believe that an offence has been committed, causes any evidence of the commission of that offence to disappear, with the intention of screening the offender from legal punishment, or with that intention gives any information respecting the offence which he knows or believes to be false,

If a capital offence;

shall, if the offence which he knows or believes to have been committed is punishable with death, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine;

If punishable with transportation;

and if the offence is punishable with transportation for life, or with imprisonment which may extend to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine;

If punishable with less than ten years' imprisonment.

and if the offence is punishable with imprisonment for any term not extending to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of the description provided for the offence, for a term which may extend to one-fourth part of the longest term of the imprisonment provided for the offence, or with fine, or with both.

Illustration.

A, knowing that B has murdered Z, assists B to hide the body with the intention of screening B from punishment. A is liable to imprisonment of either description for seven years, and also to fine.

Intentional omission to give information of offence by person bound to inform.

202. Whoever, knowing or having reason to believe that an offence has been committed, intentionally omits to give any information respecting that offence which he is legally bound to give, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

203. Whoever

203. Whoever, knowing or having reason to believe that an offence has been committed, gives any information respecting that offence which he knows or believes to be false, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Giving false information respecting an offence committed

[1]*Explanation* —In sections 201 and 202 and in this section the word " offence " includes any act committed at any place out of British India, which, if committed in British India, would be punishable under any of the following sections, namely, 302, 304, 382, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 402, 435, 436, 449, 450, 457, 458, 459 and 460

204 Whoever secretes or destroys any document which he may be lawfully compelled to produce as evidence in a Court of Justice, or in any proceeding lawfully held before a public servant, as such, or obliterates or renders illegible the whole or any part of such document with the intention of preventing the same from being produced or used as evidence before such Court or public servant as aforesaid, or after he shall have been lawfully summoned or required to produce the same for that purpose, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Destruction of document to prevent its production as evidence

205. Whoever falsely personates another, and in such assumed character makes any admission or statement, or confesses judgment, or causes any process to be issued or becomes bail or security, or does any other act in any suit or criminal prosecution, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both

False personation for purpose of act or proceeding in suit or prosecution

206 Whoever fraudulently removes, conceals, transfers or delivers to any person any property or any interest therein intending thereby to prevent that property or interest therein from being taken as a forfeiture or in satisfaction of a fine under a sentence which has been pronounced, or which he knows to be likely to be pronounced, by a Court of Justice or other competent authority, or from being taken in execution of

Fraudulent removal or concealment of property to prevent its seizure as forfeited or in execution

[1] This explanation was added by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1894 (3 of 1894), s 7.

of a decree or order which has been made, or which he knows to be likely to be made by a Court of Justice in a civil suit, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Fraudulent claim to property to prevent its seizure as forfeited or in execution.

207. Whoever fraudulently accepts, receives or claims any property or any interest therein, knowing that he has no right or rightful claim to such property or interest, or practises any deception touching any right to any property or any interest therein, intending thereby to prevent that property or interest therein from being taken as a forfeiture or in satisfaction of a fine, under a sentence which has been pronounced, or which he knows to be likely to be pronounced by a Court of Justice or other competent authority, or from being taken in execution of a decree or order which has been made, or which he knows to be likely to be made by a Court of Justice in a civil suit, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Fraudulently suffering decree for sum not due.

208. Whoever fraudulently causes or suffers a decree or order to be passed against him at the suit of any person for a sum not due, or for a larger sum than is due to such person or for any property or interest in property to which such person is not entitled, or fraudulently causes or suffers a decree or order to be executed against him after it has been satisfied, or for anything in respect of which it has been satisfied, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Illustration.

A institutes a suit against Z. Z, knowing that A is likely to obtain a decree against him, fraudulently suffers a judgment to pass against him for a larger amount at the suit of B, who has no just claim against him, in order that B, either on his own account or for the benefit of Z, may share in the proceeds of any sale of Z's property which may be made under A's decree. Z has committed an offence under this section.

Dishonestly making false claim in Court.

209. Whoever fraudulently or dishonestly, or with intent to injure or annoy any person, makes in a Court of Justice any claim which he knows to be false, shall be punished with imprisonment

prisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, and shall also be liable to fine.

210. Whoever fraudulently obtains a decree or order against any person for a sum not due, or for a larger sum than is due, or for any property or interest in property to which he is not entitled, or fraudulently causes a decree or order to be executed against any person after it has been satisfied or for anything in respect of which it has been satisfied, or fraudulently suffers or permits any such act to be done in his name, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both. Fraudulently obtaining decree for sum not due.

211. Whoever, with intent to cause injury to any person, institutes or causes to be instituted any criminal proceeding against that person, or falsely charges any person with having committed an offence, knowing that there is no just or lawful ground for such proceeding or charge against that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both; False charge of offence made with intent to injure.

and if such criminal proceeding be instituted on a false charge of an offence punishable with death, transportation for life, or imprisonment for seven years or upwards, shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

212. Whenever an offence has been committed, whoever harbours or conceals a person whom he knows or has reason to believe to be the offender, with the intention of screening him from legal punishment, Harbouring offender—

shall, if the offence is punishable with death, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine; if a capital offence;

and if the offence is punishable with transportation for life, or with imprisonment which may extend to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine; if punishable with transportation for life or with imprisonment.

and if the offence is punishable with imprisonment which may extend to one year, and not to ten years, shall be punished

with

with imprisonment of the description provided for the offence for a term which may extend to one-fourth part of the longest term of imprisonment provided for the offence, or with fine, or with both.

[1]" Offence " in this section includes any act committed at any place out of British India, which, if committed in British India, would be punshable under any of the followng sections, namely 302, 304, 382, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 402, 435, 436, 449, 450, 457, 458, 459 and 460; and every such act shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to be punishable as if the accused person had been guilty of it in British India.

Exception.—This provision shall not extend to any case in which the harbour or concealment is by the husband or wife of the offender.

Illustration.

A, knowing that B has committed dacoity, knowingly canceals B in order to screen him from legal punishment. Here, as B is liable to transportation for life, A is liable to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding three years, and is also liable to fine.

Taking gift, etc., to screen an offender from punishment—

213. Whoever accepts or attempts to obtain, or agrees to accept, any gratification for himself or any other person, or any restitution of property to himself or any other person, in consideration of his concealing an offence or of his screening any person from legal punishment for any offence, or of his not proceeding against any person for the purpose of bringing him to legal punishment,

if a capital offence;

shall, if the offence is punishable with death, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine;

if punishable with transportation for life, or with imprisonment.

and if the offence is punishable with transportation for life, or with imprisonment which may extend to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine;

and if the offence is punishable with imprisonment not extending to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of the

[1] This paragraph was inserted by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1894 (3 of 1894), s. 7.

the description provided for the offence for a term which may extend to one-fourth part of the longest term of imprisonment provided for the offence, or with fine, or with both

214 Whoever gives or causes, or offers or agrees to give or cause, any gratification to any person, or to restore or cause the restoration of any property to any person, in consideration of that person's concealing an offence, or of his screening any person from legal punishment for any offence, or of his not proceeding against any person for the purpose of bringing him to legal punishment Offering gift on restoration of property in consideration of screening offender—

shall, if the offence is punishable with death, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine, If a capital offence

and if the offence is punishable with transportation for life, or with imprisonment which may extend to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine, If punishable with transportation for life or with imprisonment

and if the offence is punishable with imprisonment not extending to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of the description provided for the offence for a term which may extend to one-fourth part of the longest term of imprisonment provided for the offence, or with fine, or with both

[1]*Exception* —The provisions of sections 213 and 214 do not extend to any case in which the offence may lawfully be compounded

[Illustrations] Repealed by Act X of 1882

215. Whoever takes or agrees or consents to take any gratification under pretence or on account of helping any person to recover any moveable property of which he shall have been deprived by any offence punishable under this Code, shall, unless he uses all means in his power to cause the offender to be apprehended and convicted of the offence be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both Taking gift to help to recover stolen property etc.

216. Whenever

[1] This exception was substituted for the original Exception by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1882 (8 of 1882), s 6

Harbouring offender who has escaped from custody or whose apprehension has been ordered—

216. Whenever any person convicted of or charged with an offence, being in lawful custody for that offence, escapes from such custody,

or whenever a public servant, in the exercise of the lawful powers of such public servant, orders a certain person to be apprehended for an offence, whoever, knowing of such escape or order for apprehension, harbours or conceals that person with the intention of preventing him from being apprehended, shall be punished in the manner following, that is to say,

if a capital offence;

if the offence for which the person was in custody or is ordered to be apprehended is punishable with death, he shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine;

if punishable with transportation for life or with imprisonment.

if the offence is punishable with transportation for life, or imprisonment for ten years, he shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, with or without fine;

and if the offence is punishable with imprisonment which may extend to one year and not to ten years, he shall be punished with imprisonment of the description provided for the offence for a term which may extend to one-fourth part of the longest term of the imprisonment provided for such offence, or with fine, or with both.

[1]" Offence " in this section includes also any act or omission of which a person is alleged to have been guilty out of British India which, if he had been guilty of it in British India, would have been punishable as an offence, and for which he is, under any law relating to extradition, or under the [2]Fugitive Offenders Act, 1881, or otherwise, liable to be apprehended or detained in custody in British India; and every such act or omission shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to be punishable as if the accused person had been guilty of it in British India. 44 & 45 c. 69.

Exception.—This provision does not extend to the case in which the harbour or concealment is by the husband or wife of the person to be apprehended.

216A. Whoever

[1] This paragraph was inserted by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1886 (10 of 1886), s. 23.

[2] Coll. Stats. Ind.

(Chapter XI —Of false Evidence and Offences against Public Justice)

[1]**216A** Whoever, knowing or having reason to believe that any persons are about to commit or have recently committed robbery or dacoity, harbours them or any of them, with the intention of facilitating the commission of such robbery or dacoity, or of screening them or any of them from punishment, shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine

Penalty for harbouring robbers or dacoits

Explanation —For the purposes of this section it is immaterial whether the robbery or dacoity is intended to be committed, or has been committed, within or without British India

Exception —This provision does not extend to the case in which the harbour is by the husband or wife of the offender

[1]**216B** In sections 212, 216 and 216A the word " harbour " includes the supplying a person with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms, ammunition or means of conveyance, or the assisting a person in any way to evade apprehension

Definition of harbour in sections 212 216 and 216A.

217 Whoever, being a public servant, knowingly disobeys any direction of the law as to the way in which he is to conduct himself as such public servant, intending thereby to save, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby save any person from legal punishment, or subject him to a less punishment than that to which he is liable, or with intent to save, or knowing that he is likely thereby to save any property from forfeiture or any charge to which it is liable by law, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Public servant disobeying direction of law with intent to save person from punishment or property from forfeiture

218 Whoever, being a public servant, and being as such public servant, charged with the preparation of any record or other writing, frames that record or writing in a manner which he knows to be incorrect with intent to cause, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby cause, loss or injury to the public or to any person, or with intent thereby to save, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby save, any person from legal punishment, or with intent to save, or knowing that he is likely thereby to save, any property from forfeiture or

Public servant framing incorrect record or writing with intent to save person from punishment or property from forfeiture

other

[1] Ss 216A and 216B were inserted by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1894 (3 of 1894) s 8

other charge to which it is liable by law, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Public servant in judicial proceeding corruptly making report, etc., contrary to law.

219. Whoever, being a public servant, corruptly or maliciously makes or pronounces in any stage of a judicial proceeding, any report, order, verdict, or decision which he knows to be contrary to law, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both.

Commitment for trial or confinement by person having authority who knows that he is acting contrary to law.

220. Whoever, being in any office which gives him legal authority to commit persons for trial or to confinement, or to keep persons in confinement, corruptly or maliciously commits any person for trial or confinement, or keeps any person in confinement, in the exercise of that authority, knowing that in so doing he is acting contrary to law, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both.

Intentional omission to apprehend on the part of public servant bound to apprehend.

221. Whoever, being a public servant, legally bound as such public servant to apprehend or to keep in confinement any person charged with or liable to be apprehended for an offence, intentionally omits to apprehend such person, or intentionally suffers such person to escape, or intentionally aids such person in escaping or attempting to escape from such confinement, shall be punished as follows, that is to say:—

with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, with or without fine, if the person in confinement, or who ought to have been apprehended, was charged with, or liable to be apprehended for, an offence punishable with death; or

with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, with or without fine, if the person in confinement, or who ought to have been apprehended, was charged with, or liable to be apprehended for, an offence punishable with transportation for life or imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years; or

with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, with or without fine, if the person in confinement or who ought to have been apprehended, was

charged

charged with, or liable to be apprehended for, an offence punishable with imprisonment for a term less than ten years

Intentional omission to apprehend on the part of public servant bound to apprehend person under sentence or lawfully committed

222 Whoever, being a public servant, legally bound as such public servant to apprehend or to keep in confinement any person under sentence of a Court of Justice for any offence [1][or lawfully committed to custody] intentionally omits to apprehend such person, or intentionally suffers such person to escape, or intentionally aids such person in escaping or attemping to escape from such confinement, shall be punished as follows, that is to say —

with transportation for life or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to fourteen years, with or without fine, if the person in confinement, or who ought to have been apprehended, is under sentence of death, or

with the imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, with or without fine, if the person in confinement, or who ought to have been apprehended, is subject, by a sentence of a Court of Justice, or by virtue of a commutation of such sentence, to transportation for life or penal servitude for life, or to transportation or penal servitude or imprisonment for a term of ten years or upwards, or

with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years or with fine, or with both, if the person in confinement, or who ought to have been apprehended is subject, by a sentence of a Court of Justice, to imprisonment for a term not extending to ten years [1][or if the person was lawfully committed to custody]

Escape from confinement or custody negligently suffered by public servant

223. Whoever, being a public servant legally bound as such public servant to keep in confinement any person charged with or convicted of any offence [1][or lawfully committed to custody], negligently suffers such person to escape from confinement shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Resistance or obstruction by a person to his lawful apprehension

224 Whoever intentionally offers any resistance or illegal obstruction to the lawful apprehension of himself or any offence with which he is charged or of which he has been convicted

[1] These words were inserted by the Indian Act 1870 (27 of 1870) s 8

victed, or escapes or attempts to escape from any custody in which he is lawfully detained for any such offence, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Explanation.—The punishment in this section is in addition to the punishment for which the person to be apprehended or detained in custody was liable for the offence with which he was charged, or of which he was convicted.

Resistance or obstruction to lawful apprehension of another person.

225. Whoever intentionally offers any resistance or illegal obstruction to the lawful apprehension of any other person for an offence, or rescues or attempts to rescue any other person from any custody in which that person is lawfully detained for an offence, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both;

or, if the person to be apprehended, or the person rescued or attempted to be rescued, is charged with or liable to be apprehended for an offence punishable with transportation for life or imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine;

or, if the person to be apprehended or rescued, or attempted to be rescued, is charged with or liable to be apprehended for an offence punishable with death, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine;

or, if the person to be apprehended or rescued, or attempted to be rescued, is liable under the sentence of a Court of Justice, or by virtue of a commutation of such a sentence, to transportation for life, or to transportation, penal servitude, or imprisonment, for a term of ten years or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine;

or, if the person to be apprehended or rescued, or attempted to be rescued, is under sentence of death, shall be punished with transportation for life or imprisonment of either description

scription for a term not exceeding ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

[1]**225A.** Whoever, being a public servant legally bound as such public servant to apprehend, or to keep in confinement, any person in any case not provided for in section 221, section 222 or section 223, or in any other law for the time being in force, omits to apprehend that person or suffers him to escape from confinement, shall be punished— Omission to apprehend or sufferance of escape on part of public servant in cases not otherwise provided for.

(*a*) if he does so intentionally, with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine or with both; and

(*b*) if he does so negligently, with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

[1]**225B.** Whoever, in any case not provided for in section 224 or section 225 or in any other law for the time being in force, intentionally offers any resistance or illegal obstruction to the lawful apprehension of himself or of any other person, or escapes or attempts to escape from any custody in which he is lawfully detained, or rescues or attempts to rescue any other person from any custody in which that person is lawfully detained, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both. Resistance or obstruction to lawful apprehension or escape or rescue in cases not otherwise provided for.

226. Whoever, having been lawfully transported, returns from such transportation, the term of such transportation not having expired, and his punishment not having been remitted, shall be punished with transportation for life, and shall also be liable to fine, and to be imprisoned with rigorous imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years before he is so transported. Unlawful return from transportation.

227. Whoever

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[1] Ss. 225A and 225B were substituted by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1886 (10 of 1886), s. 24 (*1*), for s. 225A, which was inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 9.

Chapters IV and V of the Code apply to offences punishable under ss. 225A and 225B—*see* the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 13, as amended by the Amending Act, 1891 (12 of 1891).

(Chapter XI.—Of false Evidence and Offences against Public Justice. Chapter XII.—Of Offences relating to Coin and Government Stamps.)

Violation of condition of remission of punishment.

227. Whoever, having accepted any conditional remission of punishment, knowingly violates any condition on which such remission was granted, shall be punished with the punishment to which he was originally sentenced, if he has already suffered no part of that punishment, and if he has suffered any part of that punishment, then with so much of that punishment as he has not already suffered.

Intentional insult or interruption to public servant sitting in judicial proceeding.

228. Whoever intentionally offers any insult, or causes any interruption to any public servant, while such public servant is sitting in any stage of a judicial proceeding, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Personation of a juror or assessor.

229. Whoever, by personation or otherwise, shall intentionally cause, or knowingly suffer himself to be returned, empanelled or sworn as a juryman or assessor in any case in which he knows that he is not entitled by law to be so returned, empanelled or sworn, or knowing himself to have been so returned, empanelled or sworn contrary to law, shall voluntarily serve on such jury or as such assessor, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

CHAPTER XII.

OF OFFENCES RELATING TO COIN AND GOVERNMENT STAMPS.

"Coin."

230. [1][Coin is metal used for the time being as money, and stamped and issued by the authority of some State or Sovereign Power in order to be so used.]

Queen's coin.

[2][Queen's coin is metal stamped and issued by the authority of the Queen, or by the authority of the Goverment of India, or of the Government of any Presidency, or of any Government in

[1] This paragraph was substituted for the original paragraph, by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1872 (19 of 1872).

[2] This paragraph was substituted for the original paragraph, by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1896 (6 of 1896), s. 1 (1).

in the Queen's dominions, in order to be used as money, and metal which has been so stamped and issued shall continue to be the Queen's coin for the purposes of this Chapter, notwithstanding that it may have ceased to be used as money]

Illustrations

(a) Cowries are not coin

(b) Lumps of unstamped copper though used as money are not coin

(c) Medals are not coin inasmuch as they are not intended to be used as money

(d) The coin denominated as the Company's rupee is the Queen's coin

[1][(e) The "Farukhabad" rupee which was formerly used as money under the authority of the Government of India is Queen's coin although it is no longer so used]

231. Whoever counterfeits or knowingly performs any part of the process of counterfeiting coin, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine Counterfeiting coin

Explanation —A person commits this offence who intending to practise deception, or knowing it to be likely that deception will thereby be practised, causes a genuine coin to appear like a different coin

232. Whoever counterfeits, or knowingly performs any part of the process of counterfeiting the Queen's coin, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine Counterfeiting Queen's coin

233 Whoever makes or mends, or performs any part of the process of making or mending, or buys, sells or disposes of, any die or instrument, for the purpose of being used, or knowing or having reason to believe that it is intended to be used, for the purpose of counterfeiting coin, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine Making or selling instrument for counterfeiting coin

234 Whoever makes or mends, or performs any part of the process of making or mending, or buys, sells or disposes of, any die or instrument, for the purpose of being used, or knowing or having reason to believe that it is intended to be used, Making or selling instrument for counterfeiting Queen's coin

for

[1] This illustration was added by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1896 (6 of 1896) s 1 (2)

for the purpose of counterfeiting the Queen's coin, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Possession of instrument or material for the purpose of using the same for counterfeiting coin:

235. Whoever is in possession of any instrument or material, for the purpose of using the same for counterfeiting coin, or knowing or having reason to believe that the same is intended to be used for that purpose, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine;

If Queen's coin.

and if the coin to be counterfeited is the Queen's coin, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Abetting in India the counterfeiting out of India of coin.

236. Whoever, being within British India, abets the counterfeiting of coin out of British India shall be punished in the same manner as if he abetted the counterfeiting of such coin within British India.

Import or export of counterfeit coin.

237. Whoever imports into British India, or exports therefrom, any counterfeit coin, knowing or having reason to believe that the same is counterfeit, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Import or export of counterfeits of the Queen's coin.

238. Whoever imports into British India, or exports therefrom, any counterfeit coin which he knows or has reason to believe to be a counterfeit of the Queen's coin, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Delivery of coin, possessed with knowledge that it is counterfeit.

239. Whoever, having any counterfeit coin, which at the time when he became possessed of it he knew to be counterfeit, fraudulently or with intent that fraud may be committed, delivers the same to any person, or attempts to induce any person to receive it, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Delivery of Queen's coin possessed with knowledge

240. Whoever, having any counterfeit coin, which is a counterfeit of the Queen's coin, and which, at the time when he became possessed of it, he knew to be a counterfeit of the

Queen's

Queen's coin fraudulently or with intent that fraud may be committed, delivers the same to any person, or attempts to induce any person to receive it, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine — that it is counterfeit

241 Whoever delivers to any other person as genuine, or attempts to induce any other person to receive as genuine, any counterfeit coin which he knows to be counterfeit, but which he did not know to be counterfeit at the time when he took it into his possession, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine to an amount which may extend to ten times the value of the coin counterfeited, or with both — Delivery of coin as genuine which when first possessed, the deliverer did not know to be counterfeit

Illustration

A a coiner, delivers counterfeit Company s rupees to his accomplice B, for the purpose of uttering them B sells the rupees to C another utterer who buys them knowing them to be counterfeit C pays away the rupees for goods to D who receives them not knowing them to be counterfeit D after receiving the rupees discovers that they are counterfeit and pays them away as if they were good Here D is punishable only under this section but B and C are punishable under section 239 or 240 as the case may be

242 Whoever, fraudulently or with intent that fraud may be committed, is in possession of counterfeit coin having known at the time when he became possessed thereof that such coin was counterfeit, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine — Possession of counterfeit coin by person who knew it to be counterfeit when he became possessed thereof

243 Whoever, fraudulently or with intent that fraud may be committed, is in possession of counterfeit coin which is a counterfeit of the Queen's coin having known at the time when he became possessed of it that it was counterfeit shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine — Possession of Queen's coin by person who knew it to be counterfeit when he became possessed thereof

244 Whoever, being employed in any mint lawfully established in British India does any act or omits what he is legally bound to do, with the intention of causing any coin issued from that mint to be of a different weight or composition from the weight or composition fixed by law, shall be punished — Person employed in mint causing coin to be of different weight or composition from that fixed by law

with

with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Unlawfully taking coining instrument from mint.

245. Whoever, without lawful authority, takes out of any mint, lawfully established in British India, any coining tool or instrument, shall be punished with imprisonment, of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Fraudulently or dishonestly diminishing weight or altering composition of coin.

246. Whoever fraudulently or dishonestly performs on any coin any operation which diminishes the weight or alters the composition of that coin, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Explanation.—A person who scoops out part of the coin and puts anything else into the cavity alters the composition of that coin.

Fraudulently or dishonestly diminishing weight or altering composition of Queen's coin.

247. Whoever fraudulently or dishonestly performs on any of the Queen's coin any operation which diminishes the weight or alters the composition of that coin, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Altering appearance of coin with intent that it shall pass as coin of different description.

248. Whoever performs on any coin any operation which alters the appearance of that coin, with the intention that the said coin shall pass as a coin of a different description, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Altering appearance of Queen's coin with intent that it shall pass as coin of different description.

249. Whoever performs on any of the Queen's coin any operation which alters the appearance of that coin, with the intention that the said coin shall pass as a coin of a different description, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Delivery of coin, possessed with knowledge that it is altered.

250. Whoever, having coin in his possession with respect to which the offence defined in section 246 or 248 has been committed, and having known at the time when he became possessed of such coin that such offence had been committed with respect to it, fraudulently or with intent that fraud may be committed, delivers such coin to any other person, or attempts to induce any other person to receive the same, shall

be

be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine.

251. Whoever, having coin in his possession with respect to which the offence defined in section 247 or 249 has been committed, and having known at the time when he became possessed of such coin that such offence had been committed with respect to it, fraudulently or with intent that fraud may be committed delivers such coin to any other person, or attempts to induce any other person to receive the same, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine. Delivery of Queen's coin possessed with knowledge that it is altered.

252. Whoever fraudulently or with intent that fraud may be committed, is in possession of coin with respect to which the offence defined in either of the sections 246 or 248 has been committed having known at the time of becoming possessed thereof that such offence had been committed with respect to such coin shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine. Possession of coin by person who knew it to be altered when he became possessed thereof.

253. Whoever fraudulently or with intent that fraud may be committed, is in possession of coin with respect to which the offence defined in either of the sections 247 or 249 has been committed having known at the time of becoming possessed thereof that such offence had been committed with respect to such coin shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine. Possession of Queen's coin by person who knew it to be altered when he became possessed thereof.

254. Whoever delivers to any other person as genuine or as a coin of a different description from what it is or attempts to induce any person to receive as genuine or as a different coin from what it is, any coin in respect of which he knows that any such operation as that mentioned in sections 246 247, 248, or 249 has been performed, but in respect of which he did not at the time when he took it into his possession, know that such operation had been performed shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine to an amount which may extend to ten times the value of the coin for which the altered coin is passed, or attempted to be passed. Delivery of coin as genuine which when first possessed the deliverer did not know to be altered.

255. Whoever

shall be punished with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees.

(*2*) Any such stamp, die, plate, instrument or materials in the possession of any person for making any fictitious stamp may be seized and shall be forfeited.

(*3*) In this section "fictitious stamp" means any stamp falsely purporting to be issued by Government for the purpose of denoting a rate of postage or any facsimile or imitation or representation, whether on paper or otherwise, of any stamp issued by Government for that purpose.

(*4*) In this section and also in sections 255 to 263, both inclusive, the word "Government" when used in connection with, or in reference to, any stamp issued for the purpose of denoting a rate of postage, shall, notwithstanding anything in section 17, be deemed to include the person or persons authorized by law to administer executive government in any part of India, and also in any part of Her Majesty's dominions or in any foreign country.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF OFFENCES RELATING TO WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Fraudulent use of false instrument *for weighing.*

264. Whoever fraudulently uses any instrument for weighing which he knows to be false, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Fraudulent use of false weight or measure.

265. Whoever fraudulently uses any false weight or false measure of length or capacity, or fraudulently uses any weight or any measure of length or capacity as a different weight or measure from what it is, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

266. Whoever

266 Whoever is in possession of any instrument for weighing, or of any weight, or of any measure of length or capacity which he knows to be false, and intending that the same may be fraudulently used, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both Being in possession of false weight or measure

267. Whoever makes, sells or disposes of any instrument for weighing, or any weight, or any measure or length or capacity which he knows to be false, in order that the same may be used as true, or knowing that the same is likely to be used as true, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both Making or selling false weight or measure

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CHAPTER XIV

OF OFFENCES AFFECTING THE PUBLIC HEALTH, SAFETY, CONVENIENCE, DECENCY AND MORALS

268 A person is guilty of a public nuisance who does any act or is guilty of an illegal omission which causes any common injury danger or annoyance to the public or to the people in general who dwell or occupy property in the vicinity, or which must necessarily cause injury, obstruction, danger or annoyance to persons who may have occasion to use any public right Public Nuisance

A common nuisance is not excused on the ground that it causes some convenience or advantage

269 Whoever unlawfully or negligently does any act which is, and which he knows or has reason to believe to be, likely to spread the infection of any disease dangerous to life shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both Negligent act likely to spread infection of disease dangerous to life

270 Whoever malignantly does any act which is, and which he knows or has reason to believe to be, likely to spread the infection of any disease dangerous to life, shall be punished Malignant act likely to spread infection of disease dangerous to life

punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Disobedience to Quarantine rule.

271. Whoever knowingly disobeys any rule made and promulgated by the Government of India, or by any Government, for putting any vessel into a state of quarantine, or for regulating the intercourse of vessels in a state of quarantine with the shore or with other vessels, or for regulating the intercourse between places where an infectious disease prevails and other places, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

Adulteration of food or drink intended for sale.

272. Whoever adulterates any article of food or drink, so as to make such article noxious as food or drink, intending to sell such article as food or drink, or knowing it to be likely that the same will be sold as food or drink, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Sale of noxious food or drink.

273. Whoever sells, or offers or exposes for sale, as food or drink, any article which has been rendered or has become noxious, or is in a state unfit for food or drink, knowing or having reason to believe that the same is noxious as food or drink, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Adulteration of drugs.

274. Whoever adulterates any drug or medical preparation in such a manner as to lessen the efficacy or change the operation of such drug or medical preparation, or to make it noxious, intending that it shall be sold or used for, or knowing it to be likely that it will be sold or used for, any medicinal purpose, as if it had not undergone such adulteration, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Sale of adulterated drugs.

275. Whoever, knowing any drug or medical preparation to have been adulterated in such a manner as to lessen its efficacy, to change its operation, or to render it noxious, sells the same, or offers or exposes it for sale, or issues it from any

dispensary

dispensary for medicinal purposes as unadulterated or causes it to be used for medicinal purposes by any person not knowing of the adulteration shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both

276 Whoever knowingly sells or offers or exposes for sale or issues from a dispensary for medicinal purposes any drug or medical preparation as a different drug or medical preparation shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both *Sale of drug as a different drug or preparation*

277 Whoever voluntarily corrupts or fouls the water of any public spring or reservoir so as to render it less fit for the purpose for which it is ordinarily used shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both *Fouling water of public spring or reservoir*

278 Whoever voluntarily vitiates the atmosphere in any place so as to make it noxious to the health of persons in general dwelling or carrying on business in the neighbourhood or passing along a public way shall be punished with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees *Making atmosphere noxious to health*

279 Whoever drives any vehicle or rides on any public way in a manner so rash or negligent as to endanger human life or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any other person shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both *Rash driving or riding on a public way*

280 Whoever navigates any vessel in a manner so rash or negligent as to endanger human life or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any other person shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both *Rash navigation of vessel.*

281 Whoever exhibits any false light, mark or buoy intending or knowing it to be likely that such exhibition will mislead any navigator shall be punished with imprisonment *Exhibition of false light mark or buoy*

of

of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both.

Conveying person by water for hire in unsafe or overloaded vessel.

282. Whoever knowingly or negligently conveys, or causes to be conveyed for hire, any person by water in any vessel, when that vessel is in such a state or so loaded as to endanger the life of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Danger or obstruction in public way or line of navigation.

283. Whoever, by doing any act, or by omitting to take order with any property in his possession or under his charge, causes danger, obstruction or injury to any person in any public way or public line of navigation, shall be punished with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees.

Negligent conduct with respect to poisonous substance.

284. Whoever does, with any poisonous substance, any act in a manner so rash or negligent as to endanger human life, or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any person,

or knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with any poisonous substance in his possession as is sufficient to guard against probable danger to human life from such poisonous substance,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Negligent conduct with respect to fire or combustible matter.

285. Whoever does, with fire or any combustible matter, any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life, or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any other person,

or knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with any fire or any combustible matter in his possession as is sufficient to guard against any probable danger to human life from such fire or combustible matter,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Negligent conduct with respect to explosive substance.

286. Whoever does, with any explosive substance, any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life, or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any other person,

or knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with any explosive substance in his possession as is sufficient to guard

guard against any probable danger to human life from that substance,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

287. Whoever does, with any machinery, any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life or to be likely to cause hurt or injury to any other person, Negligent conduct with respect to machinery.

or knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with any machinery in his possession or under his care as is sufficient to guard against any probable danger to human life from such machinery,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

288. Whoever, in pulling down or repairing any building, knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with that building as is sufficient to guard against any probable danger to human life from the fall of that building, or of any part thereof, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both. Negligent conduct with respect to pulling down or repairing buildings.

289. Whoever knowingly or negligently omits to take such order with any animal in his possession as is sufficient to guard against any probable danger to human life, or any probable danger of grievous hurt from such animal, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both. Negligent conduct with respect to animal.

290. Whoever commits a public nuisance in any case not otherwise punishable by this Code, shall be punished with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees. Punishment for public nuisance in cases not otherwise provided for.

291. Whoever repeats or continues a public nuisance, having been enjoined by any public servant who has lawful authority to issue such injunction not to repeat or continue such nuisance, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both. Continuance of nuisance after injunction to discontinue.

[292. Whoever—

(Chapter XIV.—Of Offences affecting the Public Health, Safety, Convenience, Decency and Morals.)

Sale, etc., of obscene books, etc.

[1][**292.** Whoever—

(*a*) sells, lets to hire, distributes, publicly exhibits or in any manner puts into circulation, or for purposes of sale, hire, distribution, public exhibition or circulation makes, produces or has in his possession any obscene book, pamphlet, paper, drawing, painting, representation or figure or any other obscene object whatsoever, or

(*b*) imports, exports or conveys any obscene object for any of the purposes aforesaid, or knowing or having reason to believe that such object will be sold, let to hire, distributed or publicly exhibited or in any manner put into circulation, or

(*c*) takes part in or receives profits from any business in the course of which he knows or has reason to believe that any such obscene objects are, for any of the purposes aforesaid, made, produced, purchased, kept, imported, exported, conveyed, publicly exhibited or in any manner put into circulation, or

(*d*) advertises or makes known by any means whatsoever that any person is engaged or is ready to engage in any act which is an offence under this section, or that any such obscene object can be procured from or through any person, or

(*e*) offers or attempts to do any act which is an offence under this section,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine, or with both.

Exception.—This section does not extend to any book, pamphlet, writing, drawing or painting kept or used *bonâ fide* for religious purposes or any representation sculptured, engraved, painted or otherwise represented on or in any temple, or on any car used for the conveyance of idols, or kept or used for any religious purpose.]

293. Whoever

[1] This section was substituted for the original s. 292 by s. 2 of the Obscene Publications Act, 1925 (8 of 1925).

Sale, obscene objects to young person

[1][293. Whoever sells, lets to hire, distributes, exhibits or circulates to any person under the age of twenty years any such obscene object as is referred to in the last preceding section, or offers or attempts so to do, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.]

Obscene acts and songs

[2][294. Whoever, to the annoyance of others,

(a) does any obscene act in any public place, or

(b) sings, recites or utters any obscene songs, ballad or words, in or near any public place,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine, or with both.]

Keeping lottery office

[3][294A. Whoever keeps any office or place for the purpose of drawing any lottery not authorized by Government shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

And whoever publishes any proposal to pay any sum, or to deliver any goods, or to do or forbear doing anything for the benefit of any person, on any event or contingency relative or applicable to the drawing of any ticket, lot, number or figure in any such lottery shall be punished with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.]

CHAPTER XV

OF OFFENCES RELATING TO RELIGION

Injuring or defiling place of worship with intent to

295. Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by any class of persons with

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[1] This section was substituted for the original s. 293 by s. 2 of the Obscene Publications Act, 1925 (8 of 1925).

[2] This section was substituted for the original s. 294 by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1895 (3 of 1895), s. 3.

[3] S. 294A was inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 10.

Chs. IV, V and XXIII of the Code apply to offences punishable under s. 294A—*see* the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870), s. 13.

Insult the religion of any class.

with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Deliberate and malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings of any class, by insulting its religion or religious beliefs.

[1][**295A.** Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects, by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations, insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.]

Disturbing religious assembly.

296. Whoever voluntarily causes disturbance to any assembly lawfully engaged in the performance of religious worship, or religious ceremonies, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Trespassing on burial places, etc.

297. Whoever, with the intention of wounding the feelings of any person, or of insulting the religion of any person, or with the knowledge that the feelings of any person are likely to be wounded, or that the religion of any person is likely to be insulted thereby,

commits any trespass in any place of worship or on any place of sepulture, or any place set apart for the performance of funeral rites or as a depository for the remains of the dead, or offers any indignity to any human corpse, or causes disturbance to any persons assembled for the performance of funeral ceremonies,

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Uttering words, etc., with deliberate intent to wound religous feelings.

298. Whoever, with deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word or makes any sound in the hearing of that person or makes any gesture in the sight of that person or places any object in the sight of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

CHAPTER XVI.

[1] This section was inserted by s. 2 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1927 (25 of 1927).

CHAPTER XVI.

OF OFFENCES AFFECTING THE HUMAN BODY

Of Offences affecting Life.[1]

299. Whoever causes death by doing an act with the intention of causing death, or with the intention of causing such bodily injury as is likely to cause death, or with the knowledge that he is likely by such act to cause death, commits the offence of culpable homicide — Culpable homicide

Illustrations

(*a*) A lays sticks and turf over a pit, with the intention of thereby causing death, or with the knowledge that death is likely to be thereby caused Z, believing the ground to be firm, treads on it, falls in and is killed A has committed the offence of culpable homicide

(*b*) A knows Z to be behind a bush B does not know it A, intending to cause, or knowing it to be likely to cause Z's death induces B to fire at the bush B fires and kills Z Here B may be guilty of no offence, but A has committed the offence of culpable homicide

(*c*) A, by shooting at a fowl with intent to kill and steal it, kills B, who is behind a bush, A not knowing that he was there. Here, although A was doing an unlawful act, he was not guilty of culpable homicide, as he did not intend to kill B or cause death by doing an act that he knew was likely to cause death

Explanation 1.—A person who causes bodily injury to another who is labouring under a disorder, disease or bodily infirmity, and thereby accelerates the death of that other, shall be deemed to have caused his death.

Explanation 2.—Where death is caused by bodily injury, the person who causes such bodily injury shall be deemed to have caused the death, although by resorting to proper remedies and skilful treatment the death might have been prevented.

Explanation 3.—The causing of the death of a child in the mother's womb is not homicide. But it may amount to culpable homicide to cause the death of a living child, if any part of that child has been brought forth, though the child may not have breathed or been completely born.

300. Except

[1] As to punishment for offences under ss 302, 304, 307, 308, enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s. 12, Punj and N.-W. Code

Murder.

300. Except in the cases hereinafter excepted, culpable homicide is murder, if the act by which the death is caused is done with the intention of causing death, or—

2ndly.—If it is done with the intention of causing such bodily injury as the offender knows to be likely to cause the death of the person to whom the harm is caused, or—

3rdly.—If it is done with the intention of causing bodily injury to any person and the bodily injury intended to be inflicted is sufficient in the ordinary course of nature to cause death, or—

4thly.—If the person committing the act knows that it is so imminently dangerous that it must in all probability cause death, or such bodily injury as is likely to cause death, and commits such act without any excuse for incurring the risk of causing death or such injury as aforesaid.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A shoots Z with the intention of killing him. Z dies in consequence. A commits murder.

(*b*) A, knowing that Z is labouring under such a disease that a blow is likely to cause his death, strikes him with the intention of causing bodily injury. Z dies in consequence of the blow. A is guilty of murder, although the blow might not have been sufficient in the ordinary course of nature to cause the death of a person in a sound state of health, But if A, not knowing that Z is labouring under any disease, gives him such a blow as would not in the ordinary course of nature kill a person in a sound state of health, here A, although he may intend to cause bodily injury, is not guilty of murder, if he did not intend to cause death or such bodily injury as in the ordinary course of nature would cause death.

(*c*) A intentionally gives Z a sword-cut or club-wound sufficient to cause the death of a man in the ordinary course of nature. Z dies in consequence. Here A is guilty of murder, although he may not have intended to cause Z's death.

(*d*) A without any excuse fires a loaded cannon into a crowd of persons and kills one of them. A is guilty of murder, although he may not have had a premeditated design to kill any particular individual.

When culpable homicide is not murder.

Exception 1.—Culpable homicide is not murder if the offender, whilst deprived of the power of self-control by grave and sudden provocation, causes the death of the person who gave the provocation or causes the death of any other person by mistake or accident.

The above exception is subject to the following provisos:—

First.—That the provocation is not sought or voluntarily provoked by the offender as an excuse for killing or doing harm to any person.

Secondly

Secondly —That the provocation is not given by anything done in obedience to the law, or by a public servant in the lawful exercise of the powers of such public servant

Thirdly —That the provocation is not given by anything done in the lawful exercise of the right of private defence

Explanation —Whether the provocation was grave and sudden enough to prevent the offence from amounting to murder is a question of fact

Illustrations

(*a*) A under the influence of passion excited by a provocation given by Z, intentionally kills Y, Z s child This is murder, inasmuch as the provocation was not given by the child, and the death of the child was not caused by accident or misfortune in doing an act caused by the provocation

(*b*) Y gives grave and sudden provocation to A A on this provocation, fires a pistol at Y, neither intending nor knowing himself to be likely to kill Z who is near him but out of sight A kills Z Here A has not committed murder but merely culpable homicide

(*c*) A is lawfully arrested by Z a bailiff A is excited to sudden and violent passion by the arrest and kills Z This is murder, inasmuch as the provocation was given by a thing done by a public *servant in the exercise of his powers*

(*d*) A appears as a witness before Z a Magistrate Z says that he does not believe a word of A s deposition and that A has perjured himself A is moved to sudden passion by these words, and kills Z This is murder

(*e*) A attempts to pull Z s nose Z in the exercise of the right of private defence, lays hold of A to prevent him from doing so A is moved to sudden and violent passion in consequence and kills Z This is murder inasmuch as the provocation was given by a thing done in the exercise of the right of private defence

(*f*) Z strikes B B is by this provocation excited to violent rage A a bystander intending to take advantage of B s rage and to cause him to kill Z puts a knife into B s hand for that purpose B kills Z with the knife Here B may have committed only culpable homicide but A is guilty of murder

Exception 2 —Culpable homicide is not murder if the offender, in the exercise in good faith of the right of private defence of person or property exceeds the power given to him by law and causes the death of the person against whom he is exercising such right of defence without premeditation, and without any intention of doing more harm than is necessary for the purpose of such defence

Illustration

Z attempts to horsewhip A, not in such a manner as to cause grievous hurt to A A draws out a pistol Z persists in the assault A believing in good faith that he can by no other means prevent himself from being horsewhipped shoots Z dead A has not committed murder but only culpable homicide

Exception

Exception 3.—Culpable homicide is not murder if the offender, being a public servant or aiding a public servant acting for the advancement of public justice, exceeds the powers given to him by law, and causes death by doing an act which he, in good faith, believes to be lawful and necessary for the due discharge of his duty as such public servant and without ill-will towards the person whose death is caused.

Exception 4.—Culpable homicide is not murder if it is committed without premeditation in a sudden fight in the heat of passion upon a sudden quarrel and without the offender's having taken undue advantage or acted in a cruel or unusual manner.

Explanation.—It is immaterial in such cases which party offers the provocation or commits the first assault.

Exception 5.—Culpable homicide is not murder when the person whose death is caused, being above the age of eighteen years, suffers death or takes the risk of death with his own consent.

Illustration.

A, by instigation, voluntarily causes Z, a person under eighteen years of age, to commit suicide. Here, on account of Z's youth, he was incapable of giving consent to his own death; A has therefore abetted murder.

Culpable homicide by causing death of person other than person whose death was intended.

301. If a person, by doing anything which he intends or knows to be likely to cause death, commits culpable homicide by causing the death of any person, whose death he neither intends nor knows himself to be likely to cause, the culpable homicide committed by the offender is of the description of which it would have been if he had caused the death of the person whose death he intended or knew himself to be likely to cause.

Punishment for murder.

302. Whoever commits murder shall be punished with death, or transportation for life, and shall also be liable to fine.

Punishment for murder by life-convict.

303. *Whoever, being under sentence of transportation for life, commits murder, shall be punished with death.*

Punishment for culpable homicide not amounting to murder.

304. Whoever commits culpable homicide not amounting to murder, shall be punished with transportation for life, or imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine, if the act by which the death is caused is done with the intention of causing

causing death, or of causing such bodily injury as is likely to cause death,

or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, or with fine, or with both, if the act is done with the knowledge that it is likely to cause death, but without any intention to cause death or to cause such bodily injury as is likely to cause death

[1]**304A** Whoever causes the death of any person by doing any rash or negligent act not amounting to culpable homicide shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both — Causing death by negligence

305 If any person under eighteen years of age, any insane person, any delirious person, any idiot, or any person in a state of intoxication commits suicide, whoever abets the commission of such suicide shall be punished with death or transportation for life, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years, and shall also be liable to fine — Abetment of suicide of child or insane person

306 If any person commits suicide, whoever abets the commission of such suicide, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine — Abetment of suicide

307. Whoever does any act with such intention or knowledge, and under such circumstances that, if he by that act caused death, he would be guilty of murder, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine, and, if hurt is caused to any person by such act the offender shall be liable either to transportation for life, or to such punishment as is hereinbefore mentioned — Attempt to murder

[2]When any person offending under this section is under sentence of transportation for life he may, if hurt is caused, be punished with death — Attempts by life-convicts

Illustrations

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[1] S 304A was inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1870 (27 of 1870), s 12

Chs IV V and XXIII of the Code apply to offences punishable under s 304A—*see* the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1870 (27 of 1870) s 13

[2] This clause was added by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act 1870 (27 of 1870), s 11

Illustrations.

(*a*) A shoots at Z with intention to kill him, under such circumstances that, if death ensued, A would be guilty of murder. A is liable to punishment under this section.

(*b*) A with the intention of causing the death of a child of tender years exposes it in a desert place. A has committed the offence defined by this section, though the death of the child does not ensue.

(*c*) A, intending to murder Z, buys a gun and loads it. A has not yet committed the offence. A fires the gun at Z. He has committed the offence defined in this section, and, if by such firing he wounds Z, he is liable to the punishment provided by the latter part of [1][the first paragraph of] this section.

(*d*) A, intending to murder Z, by poison, purchases poison and mixes the same with food which remains in A's keeping; A has not yet committed the offence in this section. A places the food on Z's table or delivers it to Z's servants to place it on Z's table. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

Attempt to commit culpable homicide.

308. Whoever does any act with such intention or knowledge and under such circumstances that, if he by that act caused death, he would be guilty of culpable homicide not amounting to murder, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both: and, if hurt is caused to any person by such act, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both.

Illustration.

A, on grave and sudden provocation, fires a pistol at Z, under such circumstances that if he thereby caused death he would be guilty of culpable homicide not amounting to murder. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

Attempt to commit suicide.

309. Whoever attempts to commit suicide and does any act towards the commission of such offence, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, [2][or with fine, or with both.]

Thug.

310. Whoever, at any time after the passing of this Act, shall have been habitually associated with any other or others for the purpose of committing robbery or child-stealing by means of or accompanied with murder, is a thug.

Punishment.

311. Whoever is a thug, shall be punished with transportation for life, and shall also be liable to fine.

Of

[1] These words were inserted by the Amending Act, 1891 (12 of 1891), Sch. II.

[2] These words were substituted for the words "and shall also be liable to fine" by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882), s. 7.

Of the Causing of Miscarriage of Injuries to unborn Children, of the Exposure of Infants, and of the Concealment of Births

312 Whoever voluntarily causes a woman with child to miscarry, shall, if such miscarriage be not caused in good faith for the purpose of saving the life of the woman, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both, and, if the woman be quick with child shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine

Causing miscarriage

Explanation —A woman who causes herself to miscarry is within the meaning of this section

313 Whoever commits the offence defined in the last preceding section without the consent of the woman whether the woman is quick with child or not, shall be punished with transportation for life or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine

Causing miscarriage without woman's consent

314 Whoever, with intent to cause the miscarriage of a woman with child does any act which causes the death of such woman shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine,

Death caused by act done with intent to cause miscarriage

and if the act is done without the consent of the woman shall be punished either with transportation for life or with the punishment above mentioned

If act done without woman's consent

Explanation —It is not essential to this offence that the offender should know that the act is likely to cause death

315 Whoever before the birth of any child does any act with the intention of thereby preventing that child from being born alive or causing it to die after its birth, and does by such act prevent that child from being born alive or causes it to die after its birth, shall, if such act be not caused in good faith for the purpose of saving the life of the mother, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years or with fine, or with both

Act done with intent to prevent child being born alive or to cause it to die after birth.

316 Whoever does any act under such circumstances that if he thereby caused death he would be guilty of culpable homicide,

Causing death of quick unborn child by act

amounting to culpable homicide. homicide, and does by such act cause the death of a quick unborn child, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Illustration.

A, knowing that he is likely to cause the death of a pregnant woman, does an act which, if it caused the death of the woman, would amount to culpable homicide. The woman is injured but does not die; but the death of an unborn quick child with which she is pregnant is thereby caused. A is guilty of the offence defined in this section.

Exposure and abandonment of child under twelve years, by parent or person having care of it.

317. Whoever being the father or mother of a child under the age of twelve years, or having the care of such child, shall expose or leave such child in any place with the intention of wholly abandoning such child, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both.

Explanation.—This section is not intended to prevent the trial of the offender for murder or culpable homicide, as the case may be, if the child die in consequence of the exposure.

Concealment of birth by secret disposal of dead body.

318. Whoever, by secretly burying or otherwise disposing of the dead body of a child whether such child die before or after or during its birth, intentionally conceals or endeavours to conceal the birth of such child, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Of Hurt.[1]

Hurt.

319. Whoever causes bodily pain, disease or infirmity to any person is said to cause hurt.

Grievous hurt.

320. The following kinds of hurt only are designated as "grievous":—

First.—Emasculation.

Secondly.—Permanent privation of the sight of either eye.

Thirdly.—Permanent privation of the hearing of either ear.

Fourthly.

[1] As to punishment for offences under ss. 325, 326, 328, enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s. 12, Punj. and N.-W. Code.

Fourthly —Privation of any member or joint

Fifthly —Destruction or permanent impairing of the powers of any member or joint

Sixthly —Permanent disfiguration of the head or face

Seventhly —Fracture or dislocation of a bone or tooth

Eighthly —Any hurt which endangers life or which causes the sufferer to be during the space of twenty days in severe bodily pain, or unable to follow his ordinary pursuits

321 Whoever does any act with the intention of thereby causing hurt to any person or with the knowledge that he is likely thereby to cause hurt to any person, and does thereby cause hurt to any person, is said "voluntarily to cause hurt" **Voluntarily causing hurt.**

322 Whoever voluntarily causes hurt, if the hurt which he intends to cause or knows himself to be likely to cause is grievous hurt, and if the hurt which he causes is grievous hurt is said 'voluntarily to cause grievous hurt' **Voluntarily causing grievous hurt**

Explanation —A person is not said voluntarily to cause grievous hurt except when he both causes grievous hurt and intends or knows himself to be likely to cause grievous hurt But he is said voluntarily to cause grievous hurt if intending or knowing himself to be likely to cause grievous hurt of one kind, he actually causes grievous hurt of another kind

Illustration

A intending or knowing himself to be likely permanently to disfigure Z's face gives Z a blow which does not permanently disfigure Z's face but which causes Z to suffer severe bodily pain for the space of twenty days A has voluntarily caused grievous hurt

323 Whoever, except in the case provided for by section 334, voluntarily causes hurt, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both **Punishment for voluntarily causing hurt.**

324 Whoever, except in the case provided for by section 334 voluntarily causes hurt by means of any instrument for shooting, stabbing or cutting or any instrument which used as a weapon of offence is likely to cause death, or by means of fire or any heated substance, or by means of any poison or any corrosive substance, or by means of any explosive substance or **Voluntarily causing hurt by dangerous weapons or means**

by

by means of any substance which it is deleterious to the human body to inhale, to swallow, or to receive into the blood, or by means of any animal, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Punishment for voluntarily causing grievous hurt.

325. Whoever, except in the case provided for by section 335, voluntarily causes grievous hurt, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Voluntarily causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons or means.

326. Whoever, except in the case provided for by section 335, voluntarily causes grievous hurt by means of any instrument for shooting, stabbing or cutting, or any instrument which, used as a weapon of offence, is likely to cause death, or by means of fire or any heated substance, or by means of any poison or any corrosive substance, or by means of any explosive substance, or by means of any substance which it is deleterious to the human body to inhale, to swallow, or to receive into the blood, or by means of any animal, shall be punished with transportation for life or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Voluntarily causing hurt to extort property, or to constrain to an illegal act.

327. Whoever voluntarily causes hurt, for the purpose of extorting from the sufferer, or from any person interested in the sufferer, any property or valuable security, or of constraining the sufferer or any person interested in such sufferer to do anything which is illegal or which may facilitate the commission of an offence, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Causing hurt by means of poison, etc., with intent to commit an offence.

328. Whoever administers to or causes to be taken by any person any poison or any stupefying, intoxicating or unwholesome drug, or other thing with intent to cause hurt to such person, or with intent to commit or to facilitate the commission of an offence or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby cause hurt, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Voluntarily causing grievous hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act.

329. Whoever voluntarily causes grievous hurt for the purpose of extorting from the sufferer or from any person interested in the sufferer any property or valuable security,

or

or of constraining the sufferer or any person interested in such sufferer to do anything that is illegal or which may facilitate the commission of an offence shall be punished with transportation for life, or imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

330. Whoever voluntarily causes hurt, for the purpose of extorting from the sufferer or any person interested in the sufferer, any confession or any information which may lead to the detection of an offence or misconduct, or for the purpose of constraining the sufferer or any person interested in the sufferer to restore or to cause the restoration of any property or valuable security or to satisfy any claim or demand, or to give information which may lead to the restoration of any property or valuable security, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine. Voluntarily causing hurt to extort confession or to compel restoration of property.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A, a police-officer, tortures Z in order to induce Z to confess that he committed a crime. A is guilty of an offence under this section.

(*b*) A, a police-officer, tortures B to induce him to point out where certain stolen property is deposited. A is guilty of an offence under this section.

(*c*) A, a revenue officer, tortures Z in order to compel him to pay certain arrears of revenue due from Z. A is guilty of an offence under this section.

(*d*) A, a zamindar, tortures a raiyat in order to compel him to pay his rent. A is guilty of an offence under this section.

331. Whoever voluntarily causes grievous hurt for the purpose of extorting from the sufferer or any person interested in the sufferer any confession or any information which may lead to the detection of an offence or misconduct, or for the purpose of constraining the sufferer or any person interested in the sufferer to restore or to cause the restoration of any property or valuable security, or to satisfy any claim or demand or to give information which may lead to the restoration of any property or valuable security, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine. Voluntarily causing grievous hurt to extort confession or to compel restoration of property.

332. Whoever voluntarily causes hurt to any person being a public servant in the discharge of his duty as such public servant, or with intent to prevent or deter that person or any other public servant from discharging his duty as such public servant, Voluntarily causing hurt to deter public servant from his duty.

servant, or in consequence of anything done or attempted to be done by that person in the lawful discharge of his duty as such public servant, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Voluntarily causing grievous hurt to deter public servant from his duty.

333. Whoever voluntarily causes grievous hurt to any person being a public servant in the discharge of his duty as such public servant, or with intent to prevent or deter that person or any other public servant from discharging his duty as such public servant, or in consequence of anything done or attempted to be done by that person in the lawful discharge of his duty as such public servant, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Voluntarily causing hurt on provocation.

334. Whoever voluntarily causes hurt on grave and sudden provocation, if he neither intends nor knows himself to be likely to cause hurt to any person other than the person who gave the provocation, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

Voluntarily causing grievous hurt on provocation.

335. Whoever [1][voluntarily] causes grievous hurt on grave and sudden provocation, if he neither intends nor knows himself to be likely to cause grievous hurt to any person other than the person who gave the provocation, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to four years, or with fine which may extend to two thousand rupees, or with both.

Explanation.—The last two sections are subject to the same provisos as Exception 1, section 300.

Act endangering life or personal safety of others.

336. Whoever does any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life or the personal safety of others, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to two hundred and fifty rupees, or with both.

Causing hurt by act endangering life or personal safety of others.

337. Whoever causes hurt to any person by doing any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life, or the personal safety of others, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six

[1] The word "voluntarily" was inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882), s. 8.

six months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

338. Whoever causes grievous hurt to any person by doing any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life, or the personal safety of others, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both Causing grievous hurt by act endangering life or personal safety of other

Of Wrongful Restraint and Wrongful Confinement.

339. Whoever voluntarily obstructs any person so as to prevent that person from proceeding in any direction in which that person has a right to proceed, is said wrongfully to restrain that person Wrongful restraint

Exception —The obstruction of a private way over land or water which a person in good faith believes himself to have a lawful right to obstruct, is not an offence within the meaning of this section

Illustration

A obstructs a path along which Z has a right to pass, A not believing in good faith that he has a right to stop the path Z is thereby prevented from passing A wrongfully restrains Z

340. Whoever wrongfully restrains any person in such a manner as to prevent that person from proceeding beyond certain circumscribing limits, is said "wrongfully to confine" that person. Wrongful confinement

Illustrations

(a) A causes Z to go within a walled space, and locks Z in Z is thus prevented from proceeding in any direction beyond the circumscribing line of wall A wrongfully confines Z

(b) A places men with firearms at the outlets of a building, and tells Z that they will fire at Z if Z attempts to leave the building A wrongfully confines Z

341. Whoever wrongfully restrains any person, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both Punishment for wrongful restraint

342. Whoever wrongfully confines any person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both Punishment for wrongful confinement

343. Whoever wrongfully confines any person for three days or more, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both Wrongful confinement for three or more days

344. Whoever

Wrongful confinement for ten or more days.

344. Whoever wrongfully confines any person for ten days, or more, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Wrongful confinement of person for whose liberation writ has been issued.

345. Whoever keeps any person in wrongful confinement, knowing that a writ for the liberation of that person has been duly issued, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years in addition to any term of imprisonment to which he may be liable under any other section of this Chapter.

Wrongful confinement in secret.

346. Whoever wrongfully confines any person in such manner as to indicate an intention that the confinement of such person may not be known to any person interested in the person so confined, or to any public servant, or that the place of such confinement may not be known to or discovered by any such person or public servant as hereinbefore mentioned, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years in addition to any other punishment to which he may be liable for such wrongful confinement.

Wrongful confinement to extort property or constrain to illegal act.

347. Whoever wrongfullly confines any person for the purpose of extorting from the person confined, or from any person interested in the person confined, any property or valuable security, or of constraining the person confined or any person interested in such person to do anything illegal or to give any information which may facilitate the commission of an offence, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Wrongful confinement to extort confession or compel restoration of property.

348. Whoever wrongfully confines any person for the purpose of extorting from the person confined or any person interested in the person confined any confession or any information which may lead to the detection of an offence or misconduct, or for the purpose of constraining the person confined or any person interested in the person confined to restore or to cause the restoration of any property or valuable security or to satisfy any claim or demand, or to give information which may lead to the restoration of any property or valuable security, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Of

[1]*Of Criminal Force and Assault.*

349. A person is said to use force to another if he causes motion, change of motion, or cessation of motion to that other, or if he causes to any substance such motion, or change of motion, or cessation of motion as brings that substance into contact with any part of that other's body, or with anything which that other is wearing or carrying or with anything so situated that such contact affects that other's sense of feeling: Provided that the person causing the motion, or change of motion, or cessation of motion, causes that motion, change of motion, or cessation of motion in one of the three ways hereinafter described. Force.

First.—By his own bodily power.

Secondly.—By disposing any substance in such a manner that the motion or change or cessation of motion takes place without any further act on his part, or on the part of any other person.

Thirdly.—By inducing any animal to move, to change its motion, or to cease to move.

350. Whoever intentionally uses force to any person, without that person's consent, in order to the committing of any offence, or intending by the use of such force to cause or knowing it to be likely that by the use of such force he will cause injury, fear or annoyance to the person to whom the force is used, is said to use criminal force to that other. Criminal force.

Illustrations.

(*a*) *Z* is sitting in a moored boat on a river. A unfastens the moorings, and thus intentionally causes the boat to drift down the stream. Here A intentionally causes motion to Z, and he does this by disposing substances in such a manner that the motion is produced without any other act on any person's part. A has therefore intentionally used force to Z; and if he has done so without *Z*'s consent, in order to the committing of any offence, or intending or knowing it to be likely that this use of force will cause injury, fear or annoyance to *Z*, A has used criminal force to *Z*.

(*b*) *Z* is riding in a chariot. A lashes Z's horses and thereby causes them to quicken their pace. Here A has caused change of motion to *Z* by inducing the animals to change their motion. A has therefore used force to *Z*, and if A has done this without Z's consent, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby injure, frighten or annoy *Z*, A has used criminal force to *Z*.

(*c*) *Z*

[1] As to punishment for an offence under s. 354 enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s. 12, Punj. and N. W. Code.

(c) Z is riding in a palanquin. A, intending to rob Z, seizes the pole, and stops the palanquin. Here A has caused cessation of motion to Z, and he has done this by his own bodily power. A has therefore used force to Z; and as A has acted thus intentionally, without Z's consent, in order to the commission of an offence, A has used criminal force to Z.

(d) A intentionally pushes against Z in the street. Here A has by his own bodily power moved his own person so as to bring it into contact with Z. He has therefore intentionally used force to Z; and if he has done so without Z's consent, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby injure, frighten or annoy Z, he has used criminal force to Z.

(e) A throws a stone, intending or knowing it to be likely that the stone will be thus brought into contact with Z, or with Z's clothes, or with something carried by Z, or that it will strike water, and dash up the water against Z's clothes or something carried by Z. Here, if the throwing of the stone produce the effect of causing any substance to come into contact with Z, or Z's clothes, A has used force to Z; and if he did so without Z's consent, intending thereby to injure, frighten or annoy Z, he has used criminal force to Z.

(f) A intentionally pulls up a woman's veil. Here A intentionally uses force to her, and if he does so without her consent, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby injure, frighten or annoy her, he has used criminal force to her.

(g) Z is bathing. A pours into the bath water which he knows to be boiling. Here A intentionally by his own bodily power causes such motion in the boiling water as brings that water into contact with Z, or with other water so situated that such contact must affect Z's sense of feeling, A has therefore intentionally used force to Z; and if he has done this without Z's consent, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby cause injury, fear or annoyance to Z, A has used criminal force.

(h) A incites a dog to spring upon Z, without Z's consent. Here, if A intends to cause injury, fear or annoyance to Z, he uses criminal force to Z.

Assault.

351. Whoever makes any gesture, or any preparation intending or knowing it to be likely that such gesture or preparation will cause any person present to apprehend that he who makes that gesture or preparation is about to use criminal force to that person, is said to commit an assault.

Explanation.—Mere words do not amount to an assault. But the words which a person uses may give to his gestures or preparation such a meaning as may make those gestures or preparations amount to an assault.

Illustrations.

(a) A shakes his fist at Z, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby cause Z to believe that A is about to strike Z. A has committed an assault.

(b) A begins to unloose the muzzle of a ferocious dog, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby cause Z to believe that he is about to cause the dog to attack Z. A has committed an assault upon Z.

(c) A

(c) A takes up a stick saying to Z "I will give you a beating" Here though the words used by A could in no case amount to an assault and though the mere gesture unaccompanied by any other circumstances might not amount to an assault the gesture explained by the words may amount to an assault

352 Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any person otherwise than on grave and sudden provocation given by that person shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both

Punishment for assault or criminal force otherwise than on grave provocation

Explanation —Grave and sudden provocation will not mitigate the punishment for an offence under this section, if the provocation is sought or voluntarily provoked by the offender as an excuse for the offence or

if the provocation is given by anything done in obedience to the law or by a public servant in the lawful exercise of the powers of such public servant, or

if the provocation is given by anything done in the lawful exercise of the right of private defence

Whether the provocation was grave and sudden enough to mitigate the offence is a question of fact

353 Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any person being a public servant in the execution of his duty as such public servant or with intent to prevent or deter that person from discharging his duty as such public servant or in consequence of anything done or attempted to be done by such person in the lawful discharge of his duty as such public servant shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both

Assault or criminal force to deter public servant from discharge of his duty

354 Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any woman intending to outrage or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby outrage her modesty shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Assault or criminal force to woman with intent to outrage her modesty

355 Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any person, intending thereby to dishonour that person otherwise than on grave and sudden provocation given by that person shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Assault or criminal force with intent to dishonour person otherwise than on grave provocation

356 Whoever

Assault or criminal force in attempt to commit theft of property carried by a person.

356. Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any person in attempting to commit theft on any property which that person is then wearing or carrying shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years or with fine, or with both.

Assault or criminal force in attempt wrongfully to confine a person.

357. Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any person, in attempting wrongfully to confine that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both.

Assault or criminal force on grave provocation.

358. Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any person on grave and sudden provocation given by that person, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees, or with both.

Explanation.—The last section is subject to the same explanation as section 352.

Of Kidnapping, Abduction, Slavery and Forced Labour.[1]

Kidnapping.

359. Kidnapping is of two kinds: kidnapping from British India, and kidnapping from lawful guardianship.

Kidnapping from British India.

360. Whoever conveys any person beyond the limits of British India without the consent of that person, or of some person legally authorized to consent on behalf of that person, is said to kidnap that person from British India.

Kidnapping from lawful guardianship.

361. Whoever takes or entices any minor under fourteen years of age if a male, or under sixteen years of age if a female, or any person of unsound mind, out of the keeping of the lawful guardian of such minor or person of unsound mind, without the consent of such guardian, is said to kidnap such minor or person from lawful guardianship.

Explanation.—The words "lawful guardian" in this section include any person lawfully entrusted with the care or custody of such minor or other person.

Exception.

[1] As to punishment for offences under ss. 363 to 369, enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s. 12, Punj. and N.-W. Code.

Exception —This section does not extend to the act of any person who in good faith believes himself to be the father of an illegitimate child, or who in good faith believes himself to be entitled to the lawful custody of such child unless such act is committed for an immoral or unlawful purpose

362 Whoever by force compels or by any deceitful means induces any person to go from any place is said to abduct that person — Abduction

363 Whoever kidnaps any person from British India or from lawful guardianship shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine — Punishment for kidnapping

364 Whoever kidnaps or abducts any person in order that such person may be murdered or may be so disposed of as to be put in danger of being murdered shall be punished with transportation for life or rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine — Kidnapping or abducting in order to murder

Illustrations

(a) A kidnaps Z from British India intending or knowing it to be likely that Z may be sacrificed to an idol A has committed the offence defined in this section

(b) A forcibly carries or entices B away from his home in order that B may be murdered A has committed the offence defined in this section

365 Whoever kidnaps or abducts any person with intent to cause that person to be secretly and wrongfully confined shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine — Kidnapping or abducting with intent secretly and wrongfully to confine person

366 Whoever kidnaps or abducts any woman with intent that she may be compelled or knowing it to be likely that she will be compelled, to marry any person against her will, or in order that she may be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse or knowing it to be likely that she will be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine [1][and who ever by means of criminal intimidation as defined in this Code or of abuse of authority or any other method of compulsion, induces any woman to go from any place with intent that — Kidnapping abducting or inducing woman to compel her marriage etc

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[1] These words were added by s 2 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act 1923 (20 of 1923)

that she may be, or knowing that it is likely that she will be, forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person shall also be punishable as aforesaid.]

Procuration of minor girl.

[1][366A. Whoever, by any means whatsoever, induces any minor girl under the age of eighteen years to go from any place or to do any act with intent that such girl may be, or knowing that it is likely that she will be, forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine.]

Importation of girl from foreign country.

[1][366B. Whoever imports into British India from any country outside India any girl under the age of twenty-one years with intent that she may be, or knowing it to be likely that she will be, forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person,

and whoever with such intent or knowledge imports into British India from any State in India any such girl who has with the like intent or knowledge been imported into India, whether by himself or by another person,

shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine.]

Kidnapping or abducting in order to subject person to grievous hurt, slavery, etc.

367. Whoever kidnaps or abducts any person in order that such person may be subjected, or may be so disposed of as to be put in danger of being subjected, to grievous hurt, or slavery, or to the unnatural lust of any person, or knowing it to be likely that such person will be so subjected or disposed of, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Wrongfully concealing or keeping in confinement kidnapped or abducted person.

368. Whoever, knowing that any person has been kidnapped or has been abducted, wrongfully conceals or confines such person, shall be punished in the same manner as if he had kidnapped or abducted such person with the same intention or knowledge, or for the same purpose as that with or for which he conceals or detains such person in confinement.

Kidnapping or abducting child under ten years

369. Whoever kidnaps or abducts any child under the age of ten years with the intention of taking dishonestly any moveable

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[1] These sections were inserted by s. 3 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 1923 (20 of 1923).

able property from the person of such child, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine

with intent to steal from its person

370. Whoever imports, exports, removes, buys, sells or disposes of any person as a slave, or accepts, receives or detains against his will any person as a slave, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine

Buying or disposing of any person as a slave

371 Whoever habitually imports, exports, removes, buys, sells, traffics or deals in slaves, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding ten years, and shall also be liable to fine

Habitual dealing in slaves

372 Whoever sells, lets to hire, or otherwise disposes of any [1][person under the age of eighteen years with intent that such person shall at any age be employed or used for the purpose of prostitution or illicit intercourse with any person or for any unlawful and immoral purpose, or knowing it to be likely that such person will at any age be] employed or used for any such purpose, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine

Selling minor for purposes of prostitution, etc

[2][*Explanation I* —When a female under the age of eighteen years is sold, let for hire, or otherwise disposed of to a prostitute or to any person who keeps or manages a brothel the person so disposing of such female shall, until the contrary is proved, be presumed to have disposed of her with the intent that she shall be used for the purpose of prostitution

Explanation II —For the purposes of this section "illicit intercourse" means sexual intercourse between persons not united by marriage or by any union or tie which though not amounting to a marriage, is recognised by the personal law or custom of the community to which they belong or where they

[1] These words were substituted for the words "minor under the age of eighteen years with intent that such minor shall be employed or used for the purpose of prostitution or for any unlawful and immoral purpose or knowing it to be likely that such minor will be" by section 2 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1924 (18 of 1924) The word "eighteen" was previously substituted for the word "sixteen" by section 2 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act 1924 (5 of 1924)

[2] These explanations were added by section 3 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1924 (18 of 1924)

they belong to different communities, of both such communities, as constituting between them a *quasi*-marital relation.]

Buying minor for purposes of prostitution, etc.

373. Whoever buys, hires or otherwise obtains possession of any [1][person under the age of eighteen years with intent that such person shall at any age be employed or used for the purpose of prostitution or illicit intercourse with any person or for any unlawful and immoral purpose, or knowing it to be likely that such person will at any age be] employed or used for any such purpose, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

[2][*Explanation I.*—Any prostitute, or any person keeping or managing a brothel, who buys, hires or otherwise obtains possession of a female under the age of eighteen years shall, until the contrary is proved, be presumed to have obtained possession of such female with the intent that she shall be used for the purpose of prostitution.

Explanation II.—'Illicit intercourse' has the same meaning as in section 372.]

Unlawful compulsory labour.

374. Whoever unlawfully compels any person to labour against the will of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Of Rape.[3]

Rape.

375. A man is said to commit "rape" who, except in the case hereinafter excepted, has sexual intercourse with a woman under circumstances falling under any of the five following descriptions:—

First.—Against her will.

Secondly.—Without her consent.

Thirdly

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[1] These words were substituted for the words "minor under the age of eighteen years with intent that such minor shall be employed or used for the purpose of prostitution or for any unlawful and immoral purpose, or knowing it to be likely that such minor will be" by section 2 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1924 (18 of 1924). The word "eighteen" was previously substituted for the word "sixteen" by section 2 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 1924 (5 of 1924).

[2] These explanations were added by section 4 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1924 (18 of 1924).

[3] As to punishment where an offence is enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s. 12, Punjab and N.-W. Code.

Thirdly—With her consent, when her consent has been obtained by putting her in fear of death, or of hurt

Fourthly—With her consent, when the man knows that he is not her husband, and that her consent is given because she believes that he is another man to whom she is or believes herself to be lawfully married

Fifthly—With or without her consent, when she is under [1][fourteen] years of age

Explanation—Penetration is sufficient to constitute the sexual intercourse necessary to the offence of rape

[2]*Exception*—Sexual intercourse by a man with his own wife, the wife not being under [1][thirteen] years of age, is not rape

376 Whoever commits rape shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine, [3][unless the woman raped is his own wife and is not under twelve years of age, in which case he shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both] Punishment for rape

Of Unnatural Offences

377 Whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man woman or animal, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine Unnatural offences

Explanation—Penetration is sufficient to constitute the carnal intercourse necessary to the offence described in this section

CHAPTER XVII

[1] This word was substituted by section 2 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act 1925 (29 of 1925) for the word "twelve" which was previously substituted for the word "ten" by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1891 (10 of 1891)

[2] Notwithstanding anything contained in this Exception sexual intercourse by a man with his own wife is not rape although the wife has not attained the age of thirteen years if he was married to her before the 23rd September 1925 and she had attained the age of twelve years on that date *See* section 4 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act 1925 (29 of 1925)

[3] These words were added by section 3 of the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act 1925 (29 of 1925)

CHAPTER XVII.[1]

OF OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY.

Of Theft.[2]

Theft.

378. Whoever, intending to take dishonestly any moveable property out of the possession of any person without that person's consent, moves that property in order to such taking, is said to commit theft.

Explanation 1.—A thing so long as it is attached to the earth, not being moveable property, is not the subject of theft; but it becomes capable of being the subject of theft as soon as it is severed from the earth.

Explanation 2.—A moving effected by the same act which effects the severance may be a theft.

Explanation 3.—A person is said to cause a thing to move by removing an obstacle which prevented it from moving or by separating it from any other thing, as well as by actually moving it.

Explanation 4.—A person, who by any means causes an animal to move, is said to move that animal, and to move everything which, in consequence of the motion so caused, is moved by that animal.

Explanation 5.—The consent mentioned in the definition may be express or implied, and may be given either by the person in possession, or by any person having for that purpose authority either express or implied.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A cuts down a tree on Z's ground, with the intention of dishonestly taking the tree out of Z's possession without Z's consent. Here, as soon as A has severed the tree in order to such taking, he has committed theft.

(*b*) A puts a bait for dogs in his pocket, and thus induces Z's dog to follow it. Here, if A's intention be dishonestly to take the dog

[1] As to punishment where an offence is enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s. 12, Punjab and N.-W. Code.

[2] As to punishment for offences under ss. 379—382, enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* s. 12 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901). Punjab and N.-W. Code.

dog out of Z's possession without Z s consent, A has committed theft as soon as Z s dog has begun to follow A

(c) A meets a bullock carrying a box of treasure He drives the bullock in a certain direction in order that he may dishonestly take the treasure As soon as the bullock begins to move A has committed theft of the treasure

(d) A being Z s servant and entrusted by Z with the care of Z s plate, dishonestly runs away with the plate, without Z's consent A has committed theft

(e) Z going on a journey entrusts his plate to A, the keeper of a warehouse till Z shall return A carries the plate to a goldsmith and sells it Here the plate was not in Z s possession It could not therefore be taken out of Z s possession and A has not committed theft though he may have committed criminal breach of trust

(f) A finds a ring belonging to Z on a table in the house which Z occupies Here the ring is in Z s possession and if A dishonestly removes it, A commits theft

(g) A finds a ring lying on the high road not in the possession of any person A by taking it commits no theft though he may commit criminal misappropriation of property

(h) A sees a ring belonging to Z lying on a table in Z s house Not venturing to misappropriate the ring immediately for fear of search and detection A hides the ring in a place where it is highly improbable that it will ever be found by Z with the intention of taking the ring from the hiding place and selling it when the loss is forgotten Here A at the time of first moving the ring commits theft

(i) A delivers his watch to Z a jeweller to be regulated Z carries it to his shop A not owing to the jeweller any debt for which the jeweller might lawfully detain the watch as a security enters the shop openly, takes his watch by force out of Z s hand and carries it away Here A though he may have committed criminal trespass and assault has not committed theft inasmuch as what he did was not done dishonestly

(j) If A owes money to Z for repairing the watch and if Z retains the watch lawfully as a security for the debt and A takes the watch out of Z s possession with the intention of depriving Z of the property as a security for his debt he commits theft inasmuch as he takes it dishonestly

(k) Again if A having pawned his watch to Z takes it out of Z's possession without Z s consent not having paid what he borrowed on the watch he commits theft though the watch is his own property inasmuch as he takes it dishonestly

(l) A takes an article belonging to Z out of Z s possession without Z's consent with the intention of keeping it until he obtains money from Z as a reward for its restoration Here A takes dishonestly A has therefore committed theft

(m) A being on friendly terms with Z goes into Z's library in Z s absence and takes away a book without Z s express consent for the purpose merely of reading it and with the intention of returning it Here it is probable that A may have conceived that he had Z s implied consent to use Z s book If this was A's impression A has not committed theft

(n) A asks charity from Z s wife She gives A money food and clothes which A knows to belong to Z her husband Here it is probable that A may conceive that Z s wife is authorized to give away alms If this was A's impression A has not committed theft

(o) A is the paramour of Z s wife She gives A valuable property which A knows to belong to her husband Z and to be such property as

as she has not authority from Z to give. If A takes the property dishonestly, he commits theft.

(p) A, in good faith, believing property belonging to Z to be A's own property, takes that property out of B's possession. Here, as A does not take dishonestly, he does not commit theft.

Punishment for theft.

379. Whoever commits theft shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Theft in dwelling house, etc.

380. Whoever commits theft in any building, tent or vessel, which building, tent or vessel is used as a human dwelling, or used for the custody of property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Theft by clerk or servant of property in possession of master.

381. Whoever being a clerk or servant, or being employed in the capacity of a clerk or servant, commits theft in respect of any property in the possession of his master or employer, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Theft after preparation made for causing death, hurt or restraint in order to the committing of the theft.

382. Whoever commits theft, having made preparation for causing death, or hurt, or restraint, or fear of death, or of hurt, or of restraint, to any person, in order to the committing of such theft, or in order to the effecting of his escape after the committing of such theft, or in order to the retaining of property taken by such theft, shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Illustrations.

(a) A commits theft on property in Z's possession; and, while committing this theft, he has a loaded pistol under his garment, having provided this pistol for the purpose of hurting Z in case Z should resist. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

(b) A picks Z's pocket, having posted several of his companions near him, in order that they may restrain Z, if Z should perceive what is passing and should resist, or should attempt to apprehend A. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

Of Extortion.

Extortion.

383. Whoever intentionally puts any person in fear of any injury to that person, or to any other, and thereby dishonestly induces the person so put in fear to deliver to any person any property or valuable security or anything signed or sealed which may be converted into a valuable security, commits "extortion."

Illustrations.

Illustrations |

(a) A threatens to publish a defamatory libel concerning Z unless Z gives him money He thus induces / to give him money A has committed extortion

(b) A threatens 7 that he will keep Z s child in wrongful confine ment unless Z will sign and deliver to A a promissory note binding Z to pay certain money to A Z signs and delivers the note A has committed extortion

(c) A threatens to send club men to plough up 7 s field unless Z will sign and deliver to B a bond bind ng Z under a penalty to deliver certain produce to B and thereby induces Z to sign and deliver tl e bond \ has committed extortion

(d) A by putting Z in fear of grievous hurt dishonestly induces 7 to sign or affix his seal to a blank paper and deliver it to A 7 signs and delivers the paper to A Here as the paper so signed may be converted into a valuable security A has committed extortion

384 Whoever commits extortion shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may ex tend to three years or with fine or with both Punishment for extortion

385 Whoever in order to the committing of extortion puts any person in fear or attempts to put any person in fear, of any injury shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both Putting person in fear of injury in order to commit extortion

386 Whoever commits extortion by putting any person in fear of death or of grievous hurt to that person or to any other shall be punished with imprisonment of either descrip tion for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine Extortion by putting a person in fear of death or grievous hurt

387 Whoever in order to the committing of extortion puts or attempts to put any person in fear of death or of grievous hurt to that person or to any other shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine Putting person in fear of death or of grievous hurt in order to commit extortion

388 Whoever commits extortion by putting any person in fear of an accusation against that person or any other of having committed or attempted to commit any offence punishable with death or with transportation for life or with imprison ment for a term which may extend to ten years or of having attempted to induce any other person to commit such offence shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine and if the offence be one punishable under section 377 of this Code, may be punished with transportation for life Extortion by threat of accusation of an offence punishable with death or transportation etc

389 Whoever

Putting person in fear of accusation of offence in order to commit extortion.

389. Whoever, in order to the committing of extortion, puts or attempts to put any person in fear of an accusation, against that person or any other, of having committed, or attempted to commit, an offence punishable with death or with transportation for life, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine; and, if the offence be punishable under section 377 of this Code, may be punished with transportation for life.

Of Robbery and Dacoity.[1]

Robbery.

390. In all robbery there is either theft or extortion.

When theft is robbery.

Theft is "robbery" if, in order to the committing of the theft, or in committing the theft, or in carrying away or attempting to carry away property obtained by the theft, the offender, for that end, voluntarily causes or attempts to cause to any person death or hurt or wrongful restraint, or fear of instant death or of instant hurt, or of instant wrongful restraint.

When extortion is robbery.

Extortion is "robbery" if the offender, at the time of committing the extortion, is in the presence of the person put in fear, and commits the extortion by putting that person in fear of instant death, of instant hurt, or of instant wrongful restraint to that person, or to some other person, and, by so putting in fear, induces the person so put in fear then and there to deliver up the thing extorted.

Explanation.—The offender is said to be present if he is sufficiently near to put the other person in fear of instant death, of instant hurt, or of instant wrongful restraint.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A holds Z down, and fraudulently takes Z's money and jewels from Z's clothes, without Z's consent. Here A has committed theft, and, in order to the committing of that theft, has voluntarily caused wrongful restraint to Z. A has therefore committed robbery.

(*b*) A meets Z on the high-road, shows a pistol, and demands Z's purse. Z, in consequence, surrenders his purse. Here A has extorted the

[1] As to punishment for offences under ss. 392—399, enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* s. 12 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901). Punjab and N.-W. Code.

the purse from Z by putting him in fear of instant hurt and being at the time of committing the extortion in his presence A has therefore committed robbery

(c) A meets Z and Z's child on the high road A takes the child and threatens to fling it down a precipice unless Z delivers his purse Z in consequence delivers his purse Here A has extorted the purse from Z by causing Z to be in fear of instant hurt to the child who is there present A has therefore committed robbery on Z

(d) A obtains property from Z by saying— Your child is in the hands of my gang and will be put to death unless you send us ten thousand rupees This is extortion and punishable as such but it is not robbery unless Z is put in fear of the instant death of his child

391 When five or more persons conjointly commit or attempt to commit a robbery or where the whole number of persons conjointly committing or attempting to commit a robbery and persons present and aiding such commission or attempt amount to five or more every person so committing attempting or aiding is said to commit " dacoity " *Dacoity*

392 Whoever commits robbery shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine and if the robbery be committed on the highway between sunset and sunrise the imprisonment may be extended to fourteen years *Punishment for robbery*

393 Whoever attempts to commit robbery shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine *Attempt to commit robbery*

394 If any person in committing or in attempting to commit robbery voluntarily causes hurt such person and any other person jointly concerned in committing or attempting to commit such robbery shall be punished with transportation for life or with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine *Voluntarily causing hurt in committing robbery*

395 Whoever commits dacoity shall be punished with transportation for life or with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine *Punishment for dacoity*

396 If any one of five or more persons who are conjointly committing dacoity commits murder in so committing dacoity every one of those persons shall be punished with death or transportation for life or rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine *Dacoity with murder*

397 If

Robbery or dacoity, with attempt to cause death or grievous hurt.

397. If, at the time of committing robbery or dacoity, the offender uses any deadly weapon, or causes grievous hurt to any person, or attempts to cause death or grievous hurt to any person, the imprisonment with which such offender shall be punished shall not be less than seven years.

Attempt to commit robbery or dacoity when armed with deadly weapon.

398. If, at the time of attempting to commit robbery or dacoity, the offender is armed with any deadly weapon, the imprisonment with which such offender shall be punished shall not be less than seven years.

Making preparation to commit dacoity.

399. Whoever makes any preparation for committing dacoity, shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Punishment for belonging to gang of dacoits.

400. Whoever, at any time after the passing of this Act, shall belong to a gang of persons associated for the purpose of habitually committing dacoity, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Punishment for belonging to gang of thieves.

401. Whoever, at any time after the passing of this Act, shall belong to any wandering or other gang of persons associated for the purpose of habitually committing theft or robbery, and not being a gang of thugs or dacoits, shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Assembling for purpose of committing dacoity.

402. Whoever, at any time after the passing of this Act, shall be one of five or more persons assembled for the purpose of committing dacoity, shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Of Criminal Misappropriation of Property.

Dishonest misappropriation of property.

403. Whoever dishonestly misappropriates or converts to his own use any moveable property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A takes property belonging to Z out of Z's possession in good faith, believing, at the time when he takes it, that the property belongs to himself. A is not guilty of theft; but if A, after discovering

covering his mistake, dishonestly appropriates the property to his own use, he is guilty of an offence under this section

(b) A, being on friendly terms with Z, goes into Z's library in Z's absence, and takes away a book without Z's express consent Here, if A was under the impression that he had Z's implied consent to take the book for the purpose of reading it, A has not committed theft But, if A afterwards sells the book for his own benefit, he is guilty of an offence under this section.

(c) A and B being joint owners of a horse, A takes the horse out of B's possession, intending to use it Here, as A has a right to use the horse, he does not dishonestly misappropriate it But, if A sells the horse and appropriates the whole proceeds to his own use, he is guilty of an offence under this section

Explanation 1.—A dishonest misappropriation for a time only is a misappropriation within the meaning of this section.

Illustration

A finds a Government promissory note belonging to Z, bearing a blank endorsement A, knowing that the note belongs to Z, pledges it with a banker as a security for a loan intending at a future time to restore it to Z A has committed an offence under this section

Explanation 2.—A person who finds property not in the possession of any other person, and takes such property for the purpose of protecting it for, or of restoring it to, the owner, does not take or misappropriate it dishonestly, and is not guilty of an offence; but he is guilty of the offence above defined, if he appropriates it to his own use, when he knows or has the means of discovering the owner, or before he has used reasonable means to discover and give notice to the owner and has kept the property a reasonable time to enable the owner to claim it.

What are reasonable means or what is a reasonable time in such a case, is a question of fact.

It is not necessary that the finder should know who is the owner of the property, or that any particular person is the owner of it: it is sufficient if, at the time of appropriating it, he does not believe it to be his own property, or in good faith believes that the real owner cannot be found.

Illustrations.

(a) A finds a rupee on the high-road, not knowing to whom the rupee belongs A picks up the rupee Here A has not committed the offence defined in this section

(b) A finds a letter on the road containing a bank note. From the direction and contents of the letter he learns to whom the note belongs He appropriates the note He is guilty of an offence under this section

(c) A finds a cheque payable to bearer. He can form no conjecture as to the person who has lost the cheque But the name of the person,

person, who has drawn the cheque, appears. A knows that this person can direct him to the person in whose favour the cheque was drawn. A appropriates the cheque without attempting to discover the owner. He is guilty of an offence under this section.

(d) A sees Z drop his purse with money in it. A picks up the purse with the intention of restoring it to Z, but afterwards appropriates it to his own use. A has committed an offence under this section.

(e) A finds a purse with money, not knowing to whom it belongs; he afterwards discovers that it belongs to Z, and appropriates it to his own use. A is guilty of an offence under this section.

(f) A finds a valuable ring, not knowing to whom it belongs. A sells it immediately without attempting to discover the owner. A is guilty of an offence under this section.

Dishonest misappropriation of property possessed by deceased person at the time of his death.

404. Whoever dishonestly misappropriates or converts to his own use property, knowing that such property was in the possession of a deceased person at the time of that person's decease, and has not since been in the possession of any person legally entitled to such possession, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine; and, if the offender at the time of such person's decease was employed by him as a clerk or servant, the imprisonment may extend to seven years.

Illustration.

Z dies in possession of furniture and money. His servant A, before the money comes into the possession of any person entitled to such possession, dishonestly misappropriates it. A has committed the offence defined in this section.

Of Criminal Breach of Trust.

Criminal breach of trust.

405. Whoever, being in any manner entrusted with property, or with any dominion over property, dishonestly misappropriates or converts to his own use that property, or dishonestly uses or disposes of that property in violation of any direction of law prescribing the mode in which such trust is to be discharged, or of any legal contract, express or implied, which he has made touching the discharge of such trust, or wilfully suffers any other person so to do, commits "criminal breach of trust."

Illustrations.

(a) A, being executor to the will of a deceased person, dishonestly disobeys the law which directs him to divide the effects according to the will, and appropriates them to his own use. A has committed criminal breach of trust.

(b) A is a warehouse-keeper. Z, going on a journey, entrusts his furniture to A, under a contract that it shall be returned on payment of a stipulated sum for warehouse-room. A dishonestly sells the goods. A has committed criminal breach of trust.

(c) A,

(c) A, residing in Calcutta, is agent for Z, residing at Delhi There is an express or implied contract between A and Z, that all sums remitted by Z to A shall be invested by A, according to Z's direction Z remits a lakh of rupees to A, with directions to A to invest the same in Company's paper A dishonestly disobeys the directions and employs the money in his own business. A has committed criminal breach of trust

(d) But if A, in the last illustration, not dishonestly but in good faith, believing that it will be more for Z's advantage to hold shares in the Bank of Bengal, disobeys Z's directions, and buys shares in the Bank of Bengal, for Z, instead of buying Company's paper, here, though Z should suffer loss, and should be entitled to bring a civil action against A, on account of that loss, yet A, not having acted dishonestly, has not committed criminal breach of trust

(e) A, a revenue-officer, is entrusted with public money and is either directed by law, or bound by a contract, express or implied, with the Government, to pay into a certain treasury all the public money which he holds A dishonestly appropriates the money A has committed criminal breach of trust

(f) A a carrier, is entrusted by Z with property to be carried by land or by water A dishonestly misappropriates the property A has committed criminal breach of trust

406. Whoever commits criminal breach of trust shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both *Punishment for criminal breach of trust*

407. Whoever, being entrusted with property as a carrier, wharfinger or warehouse-keeper, commits criminal breach of trust in respect of such property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine *Criminal breach of trust by carrier, etc*

408. Whoever, being a clerk or servant or employed as a clerk or servant, and being in any manner entrusted in such capacity with property, or with any dominion over property, commits criminal breach of trust in respect of that property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine *Criminal breach of trust by clerk or servant*

409. Whoever, being in any manner entrusted with property, or with any dominion over property in his capacity of a public servant or in the way of his business as a banker, merchant, factor, broker, attorney or agent, commits criminal breach of trust in respect of that property, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine. *Criminal breach of trust by public servant, or by banker, merchant or agent*

Of

Of the receiving of Stolen Property.[1]

Stolen property.

410. Property, the possession whereof has been transferred by theft, or by extortion, or by robbery, and property which has been criminally misappropriated or in respect of which [2]* * * criminal breach of trust has been committed, is designated as "stolen property," [3][whether the transfer has been made, or the misappropriation or breach of trust has been committed, within or without British India]. But, if such property subsequently comes into the possession of a person legally entitled to the possession thereof, it then ceases to be stolen property.

Dishonestly receiving stolen property.

411. Whoever dishonestly receives or retains any stolen property, knowing or having reason to believe the same to be stolen property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Dishonestly receiving property stolen in the commission of a dacoity.

412. Whoever dishonestly receives or retains any stolen property, the possession whereof he knows or has reason to believe to have been transferred by the commission of dacoity, or dishonestly receives from a person, whom he knows or has reason to believe to belong or to have belonged to a gang of dacoits, property which he knows or has reason to believe to have been stolen, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Habitually dealing in stolen property.

413. Whoever habitually receives or deals in property which he knows or has reason to believe to be stolen property, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Assisting in concealment of stolen property.

414. Whoever voluntarily assists in concealing or disposing of or making away with property which he knows or has reason

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[1] As to punishment for offences under ss. 411—414, enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District, in the North-West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), s. 12, Punjab and N.-W. Code.

[2] The word "the" before the words "offence of" was repealed by the Amending Act, 1891 (12 of 1891), and the words "offence of" were repealed by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882), s. 9.

[3] These words were inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882), s. 9.

reason to believe to be stolen property shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both

Of Cheating

415 Whoever, by deceiving any person fraudulently or dishonestly induces the person so deceived to deliver any property to any person or to consent that any person shall retain any property, or intentionally induces the person so deceived to do or omit to do anything which he would not do or omit if he were not so deceived and which act of omission causes or is likely to cause damage or harm to that person in body, mind, reputation or property is said to " cheat " Cheating

Explanation —A dishonest concealment of facts is a deception within the meaning of this section

Illustrations

(a) A by falsely pretending to be in the Civil Service intentionally deceives Z and thus dishonestly induces Z to let him have on credit goods for which he does not mean to pay A cheats

(b) A by putting a counterfeit mark on an article intentionally deceives Z into a belief that this article was made by a certain celebrated manufacturer and thus dishonestly induces Z to buy and pay for the article A cheats

(c) A by exhibiting to Z a false sample of an article intentionally deceives Z into believing that the article corresponds with the sample and thereby dishonestly induces Z to buy and pay for the article A cheats

(d) A, by tendering in payment for an article a bill on a house with which A keeps no money and by which A expects that the bill will be dishonoured intentionally deceives Z and thereby dishonestly induces Z to deliver the article intending not to pay for it A cheats

(e) A by pledging as diamonds articles which he knows are not diamonds intentionally deceives Z and thereby dishonestly induces Z to lend money A cheats

(f) A intentionally deceives Z into a belief that A means to repay any money that Z may lend to him and thereby dishonestly induces Z to lend him money A not intending to repay it A cheats

(g) A intentionally deceives Z into a belief that A means to deliver to Z a certain quantity of indigo plant which he does not intend to deliver and thereby dishonestly induces Z to advance money upon the faith of such delivery A cheats but if A at the time of obtaining the money intends to deliver the indigo plant and afterwards breaks his contract and does not deliver it he does not cheat but is liable only to a civil action for breach of contract

(h) A intentionally deceives Z into a belief that A has performed A's part of a contract made with Z which he has not performed and thereby dishonestly induces Z to pay money A cheats

(i) A sells and conveys an estate to B A knowing that in consequence of such sale he has no right to the property sells or mortgages the same to Z without disclosing the fact of the previous sale

sale and conveyance to B, and receives the purchase or mortgage money from Z. A cheats.

Cheating by personation.

416. A person is said to "cheat by personation" if he cheats by pretending to be some other person, or by knowingly substituting one person for another, or representing that he or any other person is a person other than he or such other person really is.

Explanation.—The offence is committed whether the individual personated is a real or imaginary person.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A cheats by pretending to be a certain rich banker of the same name. A cheats by personation.

(*b*) A cheats by pretending to be B, a person who is deceased. A cheats by personation.

Punishment for cheating.

417. Whoever cheats shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Cheating with knowledge that wrongful loss may ensue to person whose interest offender is bound to protect.

418. Whoever cheats with the knowledge that he is likely thereby to cause wrongful loss to a person whose interest in the transaction to which the cheating relates, he was bound either by law, or by legal contract, to protect, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Punishment for cheating by personation.

419. Whoever cheats by personation shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Cheating and dishonestly inducing delivery of property.

420. Whoever cheats and thereby dishonestly induces the person deceived to deliver any property to any person, or to make, alter or destroy the whole or any part of a valuable security, or anything which is signed or sealed, and which is capable of being converted into a valuable security, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Of Fraudulent Deeds and Dispositions of Property.

Dishonest or fraudulent removal or concealment of property to prevent

421. Whoever dishonestly or fraudulently removes, conceals or delivers to any person, or transfers or causes to be transferred to any person, without adequate consideration, any property, intending thereby to prevent, or knowing it to be likely

likely that he will thereby prevent, the distribution of that property according to law among his creditors or the creditors of any other person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Dishonestly or fraudulently preventing debt being available for creditors

422 Whoever dishonestly or fraudulently prevents any debt or demand due to himself or to any other person from being made available according to law for payment of his debts or the debts of such other person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Dishonest or fraudulent execution of deed of transfer containing *false statement* of consideration

423 Whoever dishonestly or fraudulently signs, executes or becomes a party to any deed or instrument which purports to transfer or subject to any charge any property, or any interest therein, and which contains any *false statement* relating to the consideration for such transfer or charge, or relating to the person or persons for whose use or benefit it is really intended to operate, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Dishonest or fraudulent removal or concealment of property

424 Whoever dishonestly or fraudulently conceals or removes any property of himself or any other person, or dishonestly or *fraudulently* assists in the concealment or removal thereof, or dishonestly releases any demand or claim to which he is entitled, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Of Mischief [1]

Mischief

425 Whoever, with intent to cause, or knowing that he is likely to cause, wrongful loss or damage to the public or to any person, causes the destruction of any property, or any such change in any property or in the situation thereof as destroys or diminishes its value or utility, or affects it injuriously, commits "mischief"

Explanation 1 —It is not essential to the offence of mischief that the offender should intend to cause loss or damage to

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[1] As to a *punishment for offences* under ss *427 429 435* and 436, enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier Di the North West Frontier Province or in Bal *see s* Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (3 of 1901), id N

to the owner of the property injured or destroyed. It is sufficient if he intends to cause, or knows that he is likely to cause, wrongful loss or damage to any person by injuring any property, whether it belongs to that person or not.

Explanation 2.—Mischief may be committed by an act affecting property belonging to the person who commits the act, or to that person and others jointly.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A voluntarily burns a valuable security belonging to Z intending to cause wrongful loss to Z. A has committed mischief.

(*b*) A introduces water into an ice-house belonging to Z and thus causes the ice to melt, intending wrongful loss to Z. A has committed mischief.

(*c*) A voluntarily throws into a river a ring belonging to Z, with the intention of thereby causing wrongful loss to Z. A has committed mischief.

(*d*) A, knowing that his effects are about to be taken in execution in order to satisfy a debt due from him to Z, destroys those effects, with the intention of thereby preventing Z from obtaining satisfaction of the debt, and of thus causing damage to Z. A has committed mischief.

(*e*) A having insured a ship, voluntarily causes the same to be cast away, with the intention of causing damage to the underwriters. A has committed mischief.

(*f*) A causes a ship to be cast away, intending thereby to cause damage to Z who has lent money on bottomry on the ship. A has committed mischief.

(*g*) A, having joint property with Z in a horse, shoots the horse, intending thereby to cause wrongful loss to Z. A has committed mischief.

(*h*) A causes cattle to enter upon a field belonging to Z, intending to cause and knowing that he is likely to cause damage to Z's crop. A has committed mischief.

Punishment for mischief.

426. Whoever commits mischief shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine, or with both.

ischief using amage to the amount of fifty rupees.

427. Whoever commits mischief and thereby causes loss or damage to the amount of fifty rupees or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Mischief by killing or maiming animal of the value of ten rupees.

428. Whoever commits mischief by killing, poisoning, maiming or rendering useless any animal or animals of the value of ten rupees or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Mischief by killing or maiming cattle, etc.,

429. Whoever commits mischief by killing, poisoning, maiming or rendering useless, any elephant, camel, horse, mule,

mule, buffalo, bull, cow or ox, whatever may be the value thereof, or any other animal of the value of fifty rupees or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, or with fine, or with both

of any value or any animal of the value of fifty rupees

430 Whoever commits mischief by doing any act which causes, or which he knows to be likely to cause, a diminution of the supply of water for agricultural purposes, or for food or drink for human beings or for animals which are property, or for cleanliness or for carrying on any manufacture, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, or with fine, or with both

Mischief by injury to works of irrigation or by wrongfully diverting water

431 Whoever commits mischief by doing any act which renders or which he knows to be likely to render any public road, bridge, navigable river or navigable channel, natural or artificial, impassable or less safe for travelling or conveying property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, or with fine, or with both

Mischief by injury to public road bridge river or channel

432 Whoever commits mischief by doing any act which causes or which he knows to be likely to cause an inundation or an obstruction to any public drainage attended with injury or damage, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, or with fine or with both

Mischief by causing inundation or obstruction to public drainage attended with damage

433 Whoever commits mischief by destroying or moving any light-house or other light used as a sea mark, or any sea-mark or buoy or other thing placed as a guide for navigators, or by any act which renders any such light-house, sea mark, buoy or other such thing as aforesaid less useful as a guide for navigators shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both

Mischief by destroying, moving or rendering less useful a light-house or sea-mark.

434 Whoever commits mischief by destroying or moving any land mark fixed by the authority of a public servant or by any act which renders such land mark less useful as such, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both

Mischief by destroying or moving, etc., a land-mark fixed by public authority

435 Whoever,

Mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to cause damage to amount of one hundred or (in case of agricultural produce) ten rupees.

435. Whoever commits mischief by fire or any explosive substance, intending to cause, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby cause, damage to any property to the amount of one hundred rupees or upwards [1][or (where the property is agricultural produce) ten rupees or upwards], shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine.

Mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to destroy house, etc.

436. Whoever commits mischief by fire or any explosive substance, intending to cause, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby cause, the destruction of any building which is ordinarily used as a place of worship or as a human dwelling or as a place for the custody of property, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Mischief with intent to destroy or make unsafe a decked vessel or one of twenty tons burden.

437. Whoever commits mischief to any decked vessel or any vessel of a burden of twenty tons or upwards, intending to destroy or render unsafe, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby destroy or render unsafe, that vessel, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Punishment for the mischief described in section 437 committed by fire or explosive substance.

438. Whoever commits, or attempts to commit, by fire or any explosive substance, such mischief as is described in the last preceding section, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Punishment for inten-[illegible] vessel [illegible]und or ashore with intent to commit theft, etc.

439. Whoever intentionally runs any vessel aground or ashore, intending to commit theft of any property contained therein or to dishonestly misappropriate any such property, or with intent that such theft or misappropriation of property may be committed, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Mischief committed after preparation

440. Whoever commits mischief, having made preparation for causing to any person death, or hurt, or wrongful restraint,

[1] These words were inserted by the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1882 (8 of 1882), s. 10.

restraint or fear of death or of hurt or of wrongful restraint shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine. made for causing death or hurt

Of Criminal Trespass[1]

Criminal trespass

441. Whoever *enters into or upon property in the possession of another with intent to commit an offence or to intimidate, insult or annoy any person in possession of such property,*

or having lawfully entered into or upon such property unlawfully remains there with intent thereby to intimidate insult or annoy any such person or with intent to commit an offence,

is said to commit "criminal trespass."

House trespass

442. Whoever commits criminal trespass by entering into or remaining in any building, tent or vessel used as a human dwelling, or any building used as a place for worship or as a place for the custody of property is said to commit "house trespass."

Explanation.—The introduction of any part of the criminal trespasser's body is entering sufficient to constitute house trespass.

Lurking house trespass

443. Whoever commits house trespass having taken precautions to conceal such house trespass from some person who has a right to exclude or eject the trespasser from the building, tent or vessel which is the subject of the trespass is said to commit "lurking house trespass."

Lurking house trespass by night

444. Whoever commits lurking house trespass after sunset and before sunrise, is said to commit "lurking house trespass by night."

House breaking.

445. A person is said to commit "house breaking" who commits house trespass if he effects his entrance into the house or any part of it in any of the six ways hereinafter described or if, being in the house or any part of it for the purpose of committing an offence or, having committed an offence therein

[1] As to punishment for offences under ss. 448—460 enquired into by a Council of Elders in a Punjab Frontier District in the North West Frontier Province or in Baluchistan, *see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901 (III of 1901), s. 12, Punjab and N. W. Code.

in, he quits the house or any part of it in any of such six ways, that is to say:—

First.—If he enters or quits through a passage made by himself, or by any abettor of the house-trespass, in order to the committing of the house-trespass.

Secondly.—If he enters or quits through any passage not intended by any person, other than himself or an abettor of the offence, for human entrance; or through any passage to which he has obtained access by scaling or climbing over any wall or building.

Thirdly.—If he enters or quits through any passage which he or any abettor of the house-trespass has opened, in order to the committing of the house-trespass by any means by which that passage was not intended by the occupier of the house to be opened.

Fourthly.—If he enters or quits by opening any lock in order to the committing of the house-trespass, or in order to the quitting of the house after a house-trespass.

Fifthly.—If he effects his entrance or departure by using criminal force or committing an assault, or by threatening any person with assault.

Sixthly.—If he enters or quits by any passage which he knows to have been fastened against such entrance or departure, and to have been unfastened by himself or by an abettor of the house-trespass.

Explanation.—Any out-house or building occupied with a house, and between which and such house there is an immediate internal communication, is part of the house within the meaning of this section.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A commits house-trespass by making a hole through the wall of Z's house, and putting his hand through the aperture. This is house-breaking.

(*b*) A commits house-trespass by creeping into a ship at a port-hole between decks. This is house-breaking.

(*c*) A commits house-trespass by entering Z's house through a window. This is house-breaking.

(*d*) A commits house-trespass by entering Z's house through the door, having opened a door which was fastened. This is house-breaking.

(*e*) A

(*e*) A commits house-trespass by entering Z's house through the door, having lifted a latch by putting a wire through a hole in the door. This is house-breaking.

(*f*) A finds the key of Z's house door, which Z had lost, and commits house-trespass by entering Z's house, having opened the door with that key This is house-breaking.

(*g*) Z is standing in his doorway. A forces a passage by knocking Z down, and commits house-trespass by entering the house This is house-breaking

(*h*) Z, the door-keeper of Y, is standing in Y's doorway A commits house-trespass by entering the house, having deterred Z from opposing him by threatening to beat him This is house-breaking

446. Whoever commits house-breaking after sunset and before sunrise, is said to commit "house-breaking by night." House breaking by night.

447. Whoever commits criminal trespass shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both Punishment for criminal trespass

448. Whoever commits house-trespass shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both Punishment for house-trespass

449. Whoever commits house-trespass in order to the committing of any offence punishable with death, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with rigorous imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years, and shall also be liable to fine House trespass in order to commit offence punishable with death.

450. Whoever commits house-trespass in order to the committing of any offence punishable with transportation for life, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding ten years, and shall also be liable to fine. House trespass in order to commit offence punishable with transportation for life

451. Whoever commits house-trespass in order to the committing of any offence punishable with imprisonment shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, and shall also be liable to fine; and if the offence intended to be committed is theft, the term of the imprisonment may be extended to seven years. House trespass in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment.

452. Whoever commits house-trespass, having made preparation for causing hurt to any person, or for assaulting any person, or for wrongfully restraining any person, or for putting House-trespass after preparation for hurt, assault or

wrongful restraint.

ing any person in fear of hurt, or of assault, or of wrongful restraint, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Punishment for lurking house-trespass or house-breaking.

453. Whoever commits lurking house-trespass or house-breaking, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Lurking house-trespass or house-breaking in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment.

454. Whoever commits lurking house-trespass or house-breaking, in order to the committing of any offence punishable with imprisonment, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine; and, if the offence intended to be committed is theft, the term of the imprisonment may be extended to ten years.

Lurking house-trespass or house-breaking after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint.

455. Whoever commits lurking house-trespass, or house-breaking, having made preparation for causing hurt to any person, or for assaulting any person, or for wrongfully restraining any person, or for putting any person in fear of hurt or of assault or of wrongful restraint, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Punishment for lurking house-trespass or house-breaking by night.

456. Whoever commits lurking house-trespass by night, or house-breaking by night, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Lurking house-trespass or house-breaking by night in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment.

457. Whoever commits lurking house-trespass by night, or house-breaking by night, in order to the committing of any offence punishable with imprisonment, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine; and, if the offence intended to be committed is theft, the term of the imprisonment may be extended to fourteen years.

Lurking house-trespass or house-breaking by night after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint.

458. Whoever commits lurking house-trespass by night, or house-breaking by night, having made preparation for causing hurt to any person, or for assaulting any person, or for wrongfully restraining any person, or for putting any person in fear of hurt, or of assault, or of wrongful restraint, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term

which

which may extend to fourteen years, and shall also be liable to fine.

459. Whoever, whilst committing lurking house-trespass or house-breaking, causes grievous hurt to any person or attempts to cause death or grievous hurt to any person, shall be punished with transportation for life, or imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Grievous hurt caused whilst committing lurking house-trespass or house-breaking.

460. If, at the time of the committing of lurking house-trespass by night or house-breaking by night, any person guilty of such offence shall voluntarily cause or attempt to cause death or grievous hurt to any person, every person jointly concerned in committing such lurking house-trespass by night or house-breaking by night, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

All persons jointly concerned in lurking house-trespass or house-breaking by night punishable where death or grievous hurt caused by one of them.

461. Whoever dishonestly or with intent to commit mischief, breaks open or unfastens any closed receptacle which contains or which he believes to contain property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Dishonestly breaking open receptacle containing property.

462. Whoever, being entrusted with any closed receptacle which contains or which he believes to contain property, without having authority to open the same, dishonestly, or with intent to commit mischief, breaks open or unfastens that receptacle, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Punishment for same offence when committed by person entrusted with custody.

CHAPTER XVIII

OF OFFENCES RELATING TO DOCUMENTS AND TO TRADE OR PROPERTY MARKS

463. Whoever makes any false document or part of a document, with intent to cause damage or injury, to the public or

Forgery.

or to any person, or to support any claim or title, or to cause any person to part with property, or to enter into any express or implied contract, or with intent to commit fraud or that fraud may be committed, commits forgery.

Making a false document.

464. A person is said to make a false document—

First.—Who dishonestly or fraudulently makes, signs, seals or executes a document or part of a document, or makes any mark denoting the execution of a document, with the intention of causing it to be believed that such document or part of a document was made, signed, sealed or executed by or by the authority of a person by whom or by whose authority he knows that it was not made, signed, sealed or executed, or at a time at which he knows that it was not made, signed, sealed or executed; or

Secondly.—Who, without lawful authority, dishonestly or fraudulently, by cancellation or otherwise, alters a document in any material part thereof, after it has been made or executed either by himself or by any other person, whether such person be living or dead at the time of such alteration; or

Thirdly.—Who dishonestly or fraudulently causes any person to sign, seal, execute or alter a document, knowing that such person by reason of unsoundness of mind or intoxication cannot, or that by reason of deception practised upon him, he does not know the contents of the document or the nature of the alteration.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A has a letter of credit upon B for rupees 10,000, written by Z. A, in order to defraud B, adds a cipher to the 10,000, and makes the sum 1,00,000, intending that it may be believed by B that Z so wrote the letter. A has committed forgery.

(*b*) A, without Z's authority, affixes Z's seal to a document purporting to be a conveyance of an estate from Z to A, with the intention of selling the estate to B and thereby of obtaining from B the purchase-money. A has committed forgery.

(*c*) A picks up a cheque on a banker signed by B, payable to bearer, but without any sum having been inserted in the cheque. A fradulently fills up the cheque by inserting the sum of ten thousand rupees. A commits forgery.

(*d*) A leaves with B, his agent, a cheque on a banker, signed by A, without inserting the sum payable and authorizes B to fill up the cheque

cheque by inserting a sum not exceeding ten thousand rupees for the purpose of making certain payments B fraudulently fills up the cheque by inserting the sum of twenty thousand rupees B commits forgery

(*e*) A draws a bill of exchange on himself in the name of B without B s authority, intending to discount it as a genuine bill with a banker and intending to take up the bill on its maturity Here as A draws the bill with intent to deceive the banker by leading him to suppose that he had the security of B, and thereby to discount the bill, A is guilty of forgery

(*f*) Z s will contains these words—" I direct that all my remaining property be equally divided between A B and C" A dishonestly scratches out B's name intending that it may be believed that the whole was left to himself and C A has committed forgery

(*g*) A endorses a Government promissory note and makes it payable to Z or his order by writing on the bill the words " Pay to Z or his order" and signing the endorsement B dishonestly erases the words " Pay to Z or his order " and thereby converts the special endorsement into a blank endorsement B commits forgery

(*h*) A sells and conveys an estate to Z A afterwards in order to defraud Z of his estate executes a conveyance of the same estate to B dated six months earlier than the date of the conveyance to Z intending it to be believed that he had conveyed the estate to B before he conveyed it to Z A has committed forgery

(*i*) Z dictates his will to A A intentionally writes down a different legatee from the legatee named by Z and by representing to Z that he has prepared the will according to his instructions, induces Z to sign the will A has committed forgery

(*j*) A writes a letter and signs it with B's name without B's authority, certifying that A is a man of good character and in dis tressed circumstances from unforeseen misfortune intending by means of such letter to obtain alms from Z and other persons Here, as A made a false document in order to induce Z to part with property, A has committed forgery

(*k*) A without B's authority writes a letter and signs it in B s name certifying to A's character, intending thereby to obtain employment under Z A has committed forgery inasmuch as he intended to deceive Z by the forged certificate and thereby to induce Z to enter into an express or implied contract for service

Explanation 1 —A man's signature of his own name may amount to forgery

Illustrations

(*a*) A signs his own name to a bill of exchange, intending that it may be believed that the bill was drawn by another person of the same name A has committed forgery

(*b*) A writes the word "accepted" on a piece of paper and signs it with Z s name in order that B may afterwards write on the paper a bill of exchange drawn by B upon Z and negotiate the bill as though it had been accepted by Z A is guilty of forgery, and if B knowing the fact, draws the bill upon the paper pursuant to A's intention, B is also guilty of forgery

(*c*) A picks up a bill of exchange payable to the order of a different person of the same name A endorses the bill in his own name intending to cause it to be believed that it was endorsed by the person to whose order it was payable here A has committed forgery

(*d*) A purchases an estate sold under execution of a decree against B B, after the seizure of the estate in collusion with Z executes a lease

a lease of the estate, to Z at a nominal rent and for a long period, and dates the lease six months prior to the seizure, with intent to defraud A, and to cause it to be believed that the lease was granted before the seizure. B, though he executes the lease in his own name, commits forgery by antedating it.

(*e*) A, a trader, in anticipation of insolvency, lodges effects with B for A's benefit, and with intent to defraud his creditors; and in order to give a colour to the transaction, writes a promissory note binding himself to pay to B a sum for value received, and antedates the note, intending that it may be believed to have been made before A was on the point of insolvency. A has committed forgery under the first head of the definition.

Explanation 2.—The making of a false document in the name of a fictitious person, intending it to be believed that the document was made by a real person, or in the name of a deceased person, intending it to be believed that the document was made by the person in his lifetime, may amount to forgery.

Illustration.

A draws a bill of exchange upon a fictitious person, and fraudulently accepts the bill in the name of such fictitious person with intent to negotiate it. A commits forgery.

Punishment for forgery.

465. Whoever commits forgery shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Forgery of record of Court or of public register, etc.

466. Whoever forges a document, purporting to be a record or proceeding of or in a Court of Justice, or a register of birth, baptism, marriage or burial, or a register kept by a public servant as such, or a certificate or document purporting to be made by a public servant in his official capacity, or an authority to institute or defend a suit, or to take any proceedings therein, or to confess judgment, or a power of attorney, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Forgery of valuable security, will, etc.

467. Whoever forges a document which purports to be a valuable security or a will, or an authority to adopt a son, or which purports to give authority to any person to make or transfer any valuable security, or to receive the principal, interest, or dividends thereon, or to receive or deliver any money, moveable property, or valuable security, or any document purporting to be an acquittance or receipt acknowledging the payment of money, or an acquittance or receipt for the delivery of any moveable property or valuable security, shall

shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine

Forgery for purpose of cheating.

468 Whoever commits forgery, intending that the document forged shall be used for the purpose of cheating, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine

Forgery for purpose of harming reputation.

469 Whoever commits forgery, intending that the document forged shall harm the reputation of any party, or knowing that it is likely to be used for that purpose, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine

Forged document

470 A false document made wholly or in part by forgery is designated " a forged document "

Using as genuine a forged document

471 Whoever fraudulently or dishonestly uses as genuine any document which he knows or has reason to believe to be a forged document shall be punished in the same manner as if he had forged such document

Making or possessing counterfeit seal etc with intent to commit forgery punishable under section 467

472 Whoever makes or counterfeits any seal, plate or other instrument for making an impression, intending that the same shall be used for the purpose of committing any forgery which would be punishable under section 467 of this Code, or, with such intent, has in his possession any such seal, plate or other instrument, knowing the same to be counterfeit, shall be punishable with transportation for life or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine

[illegible]

473 Whoever makes or counterfeits any seal, plate or other instrument for making an impression, intending that the same shall be used for the purpose of committing any forgery which would be punishable under any section of this chapter other than section 467, or, with such intent has in his possession any such seal, plate or other instrument, knowing the same to be counterfeit, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine

474 [illegible]

Having possession of document described in section 466 or 467, knowing it to be forged and intending to use it as genuine.

474. Whoever has in his possession any document, knowing the same to be forged, and intending that the same shall fraudulently or dishonestly be used as genuine, shall, if the document is one of the description mentioned in section 466 of this Code, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine; and if the document is one of the description mentioned in section 467, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description, for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Counterfeiting device or mark used for authenticating documents described in section 467 or possessing counterfeit marked material.

475. Whoever counterfeits upon, or in the substance of, any material, any device or mark used for the purpose of authenticating any document described in section 467 of this Code, intending that such device or mark shall be used for the purpose of giving the appearance of authenticity to any document then forged or thereafter to be forged on such material, or who, with such intent, has in his possession any material upon or in the substance of which any such device or mark has been counterfeited, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Counterfeiting device or mark used for authenticating documents other than those described in section 467, or possessing [illegible] counterfeit [illegible]d [illegible] material.

476. Whoever counterfeits upon, or in the substance of, any material, any device or mark used for the purpose of authenticating any document other than the documents described in section 467 of this Code, intending that such device or mark shall be used for the purpose of giving the appearance of authenticity to any document then forged or thereafter to be forged on such material, or who, with such intent, has in his possession any material upon or in the substance of which any such device or mark has been counterfeited, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Fraudulent cancellation, destruction, etc., of will, authority to adopt, or valuable security.

477. Whoever fraudulently or dishonestly, or with intent to cause damage or injury to the public or to any person, cancels, destroys or defaces, or attempts to cancel, destroy or deface, or secretes or attempts to secrete any document which is or purports to be a will, or an authority to adopt a son, or

or any valuable security, or commits mischief in respect to such document, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine

[1]**477A.** Whoever, being a clerk, officer or servant, or employed or acting in the capacity of a clerk, officer or servant, wilfully, and with intent to defraud, destroys, alters, mutilates or falsifies any book, paper, writing, valuable security or account which belongs to or is in the possession of his employer, or has been received by him for or on behalf of his employer, or wilfully, and with intent to defraud, makes or abets the making of any false entry in, or omits or alters or abets the omission or alteration of any material particular from or in, any such book, paper, writing, valuable security or account, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both — Falsification of accounts.

Explanation —It shall be sufficient in any charge under this section to allege a general intent to defraud without naming any particular person intended to be defrauded or specifying any particular sum of money intended to be the subject of the fraud, or any particular day on which the offence was committed

Of Trade, Property and Other Marks

[2]**478** A mark used for denoting that goods are the manufacture or merchandise of a particular person is called a trade mark, — Trade mark

and for the purposes of this Code the expression "trade mark" includes any trade mark which is registered in the register of trade marks kept under the [3]Patents, Designs and Trade Marks Act, 1883, and any trade mark which, either with or without registration, is protected by law in any British possession or Foreign State to which the provisions of the one hundred and third section of the [3]Patents, Designs and

[1] S 477A was added by the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1895 (3 of 1895) s 4

[2] Ss 478 to 489 were substituted for the original sections by the Indian Merchandise Marks Act 1889 (4 of 1889) s 3

[3] This Act is now repealed *See* now the provisions of the Patents and Designs Act, 1907 (7 Edw 7, c 29)

and Trade Marks Act, 1883, are, under Order in Council, for the time being applicable.

Property mark.

[1]**479.** A mark used for denoting that moveable property belongs to a particular person is called a property mark.

Using a false trade mark.

[1]**480.** Whoever marks any goods or any case, package or other receptacle containing goods, or uses any case, package or other receptacle with any mark thereon, in a manner reasonably calculated to cause it to be believed that the goods so marked, or any goods contained in any such receptacle so marked, are the manufacture or merchandise of a person whose manufacture or merchandise they are not, is said to use a false trade mark.

Using a false property mark.

[1]**481.** Whoever marks any moveable property or goods or any case, package or other receptacle containing moveable property or goods, or uses any case, package or other receptacle having any mark thereon, in a manner reasonably calculated to cause it to be believed that the property or goods so marked, or any property or goods contained in any such receptacle so marked, belong to a person to whom they do not belong, is said to use a false property mark.

Punishment for using a false trade mark or property mark.

[1]**482.** Whoever uses any false trade mark or any false property mark shall, unless he proves that he acted without intent to defraud, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Counterfeiting a trade mark or property mark used by another.

[1]**483.** Whoever counterfeits any trade mark or property mark used by any other person shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Counterfeiting a mark used by a public servant.

[1]**484.** Whoever counterfeits any property mark used by a public servant, or any mark used by a public servant to denote that any property has been manufactured by a particular person or at a particular time or place, or that the property is of a particular quality or has passed through a particular office, or that it is entitled to any exemption, or uses as genuine any such mark knowing the same to be counterfeit, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

485. Whoever

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[1] *See* footnote 2 on p. 171.

(Chapter XVIII.—Of Offences relating to Documents and to Trade or Property Marks.)

[1]**485.** Whoever makes or has in his possession any die, plate or other instrument for the purpose of counterfeiting a trade mark or property mark, or has in his possession a trade mark or property mark for the purpose of denoting that any goods are the manufacture or merchandise of a person whose manufacture or merchandise they are not, or that they belong to a person to whom they do not belong, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both. Making or possession of any instrument for counterfeiting a trade mark or property mark.

[1]**486.** Whoever sells, or exposes, or has in possession for sale or any purpose of trade or manufacture, any goods or thing with a counterfeit trade mark or property mark affixed to or impressed upon the same or to or upon any case, package or other receptacle in which such goods are contained, shall, unless he proves— Selling goods marked with a counterfeit trade mark or property mark.

(a) that, having taken all reasonable precautions against committing an offence against this section, he had at the time of the commission of the alleged offence no reason to suspect the genuineness of the mark; and

(b) that, on demand made by or on behalf of the prosecutor, he gave all the information in his power with respect to the persons from whom he obtained such goods or things; or

(c) that otherwise he had acted innocently,

be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

[1]**487.** Whoever makes any false mark upon any case, package or other receptacle containing goods, in a manner reasonably calculated to cause any public servant or any other person to believe that such receptacle contains goods which it does not contain or that it does not contain goods which it does contain, or that the goods contained in such receptacle are of a nature or quality different from the real nature or quality thereof, shall, unless he proves that he acted without intent to defraud, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both. Making a false mark upon any receptacle containing goods.

488. Whoever

[1] See footnote 2 on p. 171.

and Trade Marks Act, 1883, are, under Order in Council, for the time being applicable.

Property mark.

[1]**479.** A mark used for denoting that moveable property belongs to a particular person is called a property mark.

Using a false trade mark.

[1]**480.** Whoever marks any goods or any case, package or other receptacle containing goods, or uses any case, package or other receptacle with any mark thereon, in a manner reasonably calculated to cause it to be believed that the goods so marked, or any goods contained in any such receptacle so marked, are the manufacture or merchandise of a person whose manufacture or merchandise they are not, is said to use a false trade mark.

Using a false property mark.

[1]**481.** Whoever marks any moveable property or goods or any case, package or other receptacle containing moveable property or goods, or uses any case, package or other receptacle having any mark thereon, in a manner reasonably calculated to cause it to be believed that the property or goods so marked, or any property or goods contained in any such receptacle so marked, belong to a person to whom they do not belong, is said to use a false property mark.

Punishment for using a false trade mark or property mark.

[1]**482.** Whoever uses any false trade mark or any false property mark shall, unless he proves that he acted without intent to defraud, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Counterfeiting a trade mark or property mark used by another.

[1]**483.** Whoever counterfeits any trade mark or property mark used by any other person shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Counterfeiting a mark used by a public servant.

[1]**484.** Whoever counterfeits any property mark used by a public servant, or any mark used by a public servant to denote that any property has been manufactured by a particular person or at a particular time or place, or that the property is of a particular quality or has passed through a particular office, or that it is entitled to any exemption, or uses as genuine any such mark knowing the same to be counterfeit, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

485. Whoever

[1] *See* footnote 2 on p. 171.

Making or possession of any instrument for counterfeiting a trade mark or property mark.

[1]**485.** Whoever makes or has in his possession any die, plate or other instrument for the purpose of counterfeiting a trade mark or property mark, or has in his possession a trade mark or property mark for the purpose of denoting that any goods are the manufacture or merchandise of a person whose manufacture or merchandise they are not, or that they belong to a person to whom they do not belong, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

Selling goods marked with a counterfeit trade mark or property mark.

[1]**486.** Whoever sells, or exposes, or has in possession for sale or any purpose of trade or manufacture, any goods or thing with a counterfeit trade mark or property mark affixed to or impressed upon the same or to or upon any case, package or other receptacle in which such goods are contained, shall, unless he proves—

(*a*) that, having taken all reasonable precautions against committing an offence against this section, he had at the time of the commission of the alleged offence no reason to suspect the genuineness of the mark, and

(*b*) that, on demand made by or on behalf of the prosecutor, he gave all the information in his power with respect to the persons from whom he obtained such goods or things, or

(*c*) that otherwise he had acted innocently,

be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Making a false mark upon any receptacle containing goods.

[1]**487.** Whoever makes any false mark upon any case, package or other receptacle containing goods, in a manner reasonably calculated to cause any public servant or any other person to believe that such receptacle contains goods which it does not contain or that it does not contain goods which it does contain, or that the goods contained in such receptacle are of a nature or quality different from the real nature or quality thereof, shall, unless he proves that he acted without intent to defraud, be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

488. Whoever

[1] *See footnote 2 on p. 171.*

Punishment for making use of any such false mark.

[1]**488.** Whoever makes use of any such false mark in any manner prohibited by the last foregoing section shall, unless he proves that he acted without intent to defraud, be punished as if he had committed an offence against that section.

Tampering with property mark with intent to cause injury.

[1]**489.** Whoever removes, destroys, defaces or adds to any property mark, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby cause injury to any person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

Of Currency-Notes and Bank-Notes.

Counterfeiting currency-notes or bank-notes.

[2]**489A.** Whoever counterfeits, or knowingly performs any part of the process of counterfeiting, any currency-note or bank-note, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this section and of sections 489B, 489C and 489D. the expression "bank-note" means a promissory note or engagement for the payment of money to bearer on demand issued by any person carrying on the business of banking in any part of the world, or issued by or under the authority of any State or Sovereign Power, and intended to be used as equivalent to, or as a substitute for, money.

Using as genuine forged or counterfeit currency-notes or bank-notes.

[2]**489B.** Whoever sells to, or buys or receives from, any other person, or otherwise traffics in or uses as genuine, any forged or counterfeit currency-note or bank-note, knowing or having reason to believe the same to be forged or counterfeit, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Possession of forged or counterfeit currency-notes or bank-notes.

[2]**489C.** Whoever has in his possession any forged or counterfeit currency-note or bank-note, knowing or having reason to believe the same to be forged or counterfeit and intending to use the same as genuine or that it may be used as genuine, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description

[1] *See* footnote 2 on p. 171.
[2] Ss. 489A to 489D were inserted by the Currency Notes Forgery Act, 1899 (12 of 1899), s. 2.

scription for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both.

[1]**489D.** Whoever makes, or performs any part of the process of making, or buys or sells or disposes of, or has in his possession, any machinery, instrument or material for the purpose of being used, or knowing or having reason to believe that it is intended to be used, for forging or counterfeiting any currency-note or bank-note, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Making or possessing instruments or materials for forging or counterfeiting currency-notes or bank-notes.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE CRIMINAL BREACH OF CONTRACTS OF SERVICE.

490. [*Breach of contract of service during voyage or journey.*] Repealed by section 2 and Schedule of Act III of 1925.

491. Whoever, being bound by a lawful contract to attend on or to supply the wants of any person who, by reason of youth, or of unsoundness of mind, or of a disease or bodily weakness, is helpless or incapable of providing for his own safety or of supplying his own wants, voluntarily omits so to do, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees, or with both.

[illegible]

492. [*Breach of contract to serve at distant place to which servant is conveyed at master's expense.*] Repealed by section 2 and Schedule of Act III of 1925.

CHAPTER XX.

OF OFFENCES RELATING TO MARRIAGE.

493. Every man who by deceit causes any woman who is not lawfully married to him to believe that she is lawfully married to him [illegible]

[illegible]

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[1] *See* footnote 2 on previous page.

[2] As to punishment for offences under [illegible] into by a Council of Elders [illegible] North-West Frontier Province [illegible] Crimes Regulation, 1901 [illegible]

ing a belief of lawful marriage.

married to him and to cohabit or have sexual intercourse with him in that belief, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Marrying again during lifetime of husband or wife.

494. Whoever, having a husband or wife living, marries in any case in which such marriage is void by reason of its taking place during the life of such husband or wife, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Exception.—This section does not extend to any person whose marriage with such husband or wife has been declared void by a Court of competent jurisdiction,

nor to any person who contracts a marriage during the life of a former husband or wife, if such husband or wife, at the time of the subsequent marriage, shall have been continually absent from such person for the space of seven years, and shall not have been heard of by such person as being alive within that time, provided the person contracting such subsequent marriage shall, before such marriage takes place, inform the person with whom such marriage is contracted of the real state of facts so far as the same are within his or her knowledge.

Same offence with concealment of former marriage from person with whom subsequent marriage is contracted.

495. Whoever commits the offence defined in the last preceding section having concealed from the person with whom the subsequent marriage is contracted, the fact of the former marriage, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Marriage ceremony fraudulently gone through without lawful marriage.

496. Whoever, dishonestly or with a fraudulent intention, goes through the ceremony of being married, knowing that he is not thereby lawfully married, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Adultery.

497. Whoever has sexual intercourse with a person who is and whom he knows or has reason to believe to be the wife of another man, without the consent or connivance of that man, such sexual intercourse not amounting to the offence of rape, is guilty of the offence of adultery, and shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend

extend to five years, or with fine, or with both In such case the wife[1] shall not be punishable as an abettor

498 Whoever takes or entices away any woman who is and whom he knows or has reason to believe to be the wife of any other man, from that man, or from any person having the care of her on behalf of that man, with intent that she may have illicit intercourse with any person, or conceals or detains with that intent any such woman shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both

Enticing or taking away or detaining with criminal intent a married woman

CHAPTER XXI

Of Defamation

499 Whoever by words either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs or by visible representations, makes or publishes any imputation concerning any person intending to harm, or knowing or having reason to believe that such imputation will harm, the reputation of such person, is said, except in the cases hereinafter excepted, to defame that person

Defamation

Explanation 1 —It may amount to defamation to impute anything to a deceased person, if the imputation would harm the reputation of that person if living, and is intended to be hurtful to the feelings of his family or other near relatives

Explanation 2 —It may amount to defamation to make an imputation concerning a company or an association or collection of persons as such

Explanation 3 —An imputation in the form of an alternative or expressed ironically, may amount to defamation

Explanation 4 —No imputation is said to harm a person's reputation, unless that imputation directly or indirectly, in the estimation of others lowers the moral or intellectual character of that person or lowers the character of that person in respect of his caste or of his calling, or lowers the credit of

[1] In the Punjab Frontier District in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan a married woman is punishable for adultery—*see* the Frontier Crimes Regulation 1901 (3 of 1901), *ss* 12 and 31, Punj and N W Code

of that person, or causes it to be believed that the body of that person is in a loathsome state, or in a state generally considered as disgraceful.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A says—"Z is an honest man; he never stole B's watch": intending to cause it to be believed that Z did steal B's watch. This is defamation, unless it fall within one of the exceptions.

(*b*) A is asked who stole B's watch. A points to Z, intending to cause it to be believed that Z stole B's watch. This is defamation, unless it fall within one of the exceptions.

(*c*) A draws a picture of Z running away with B's watch, intending it to be believed that Z stole B's watch. This is defamation, unless it fall within one of the exceptions.

Imputation of truth which public good requires to be made or published.

First Exception.—It is not defamation to impute anything which is true concerning any person, if it be for the public good that the imputation should be made or published. Whether or not it is for the public good is a question of fact.

Public conduct of public servants.

Second Exception.—It is not defamation to express in good faith any opinion whatever respecting the conduct of a public servant in the discharge of his public functions, or respecting his character, so far as his character appears in that conduct, and no further.

Conduct of any person touching any public question.

Third Exception.—It is not defamation to express in good faith any opinion whatever respecting the conduct of any person touching any public question, and respecting his character, so far as his character appears in that conduct, and no further.

Illustration.

It is not defamation in A to express in good faith any opinion whatever respecting Z's conduct in petitioning Government on a public question, in signing a requisition for a meeting on a public question, in presiding or attending at such meeting, informing or joining any society which invites the public support, in voting or canvassing for a particular candidate for any situation in the efficient discharge of the duties of which the public is interested.

Publication of reports of proceedings of Courts.

Fourth Exception.—It is not defamation to publish a substantially true report of the proceedings of a Court of Justice, or of the result of any such proceedings.

Explanation.—A Justice of the Peace or other officer holding an enquiry in open Court preliminary to a trial in a Court of Justice, is a Court within the meaning of the above section.

Fifth

Fifth Exception.—It is not defamation to express in good faith any opinion whatever respecting the merits of any case, civil or criminal, which has been decided by a Court of Justice, or respecting the conduct of any person as a party, witness or agent, in any such case, or respecting the character of such person, as far as his character appears in that conduct, and no further. Merits of case decided in Court or conduct of witnesses and others concerned

Illustrations

(a) A says—"I think Z's evidence on that trial is so contradictory that he must be stupid or dishonest" A is within this exception if he says this in good faith, inasmuch as the opinion which he expresses respects Z's character as it appears in Z's conduct as a witness, and no further

(b) But if A says—"I do not believe what Z asserted at that trial because I know him to be a man without veracity," A is not within this exception, inasmuch as the opinion which he expresses of Z's character, is an opinion not founded on Z's conduct as a witness

Sixth Exception.—It is not defamation to express in good faith any opinion respecting the merits of any performance which its author has submitted to the judgment of the public, or respecting the character of the author so far as his character appears in such performance, and no further. Merits of public performance

Explanation—A performance may be submitted to the judgment of the public expressly or by acts on the part of the author which imply such submission to the judgment of the public.

Illustrations.

(a) A person who publishes a book, submits that book to the judgment of the public.

(b) A person who makes a speech in public, submits that speech to the judgment of the public

(c) An actor or singer who appears on a public stage, submits his acting or singing to the judgment of the public.

(d) A says of a book published by Z—"Z's book is foolish · Z must be a weak man. Z's book is indecent; Z must be a man of impure mind" A is within this exception, if he says this in good faith, inasmuch as the opinion which he expresses of Z respects Z's character only so far as it appears in Z's book, and no further

(e) But if A says—"I am not surprised that Z's book is foolish and indecent, for he is a weak man and a libertine" A is not within this exception, inasmuch as the opinion which he expresses of Z's character is an opinion not founded on Z's book.

Seventh Exception.—It is not defamation in a person having over another any authority, either conferred by law or arising out of a lawful contract made with that other, to pass in good faith any censure on the conduct of that other in matters to which such lawful authority relates Censure passed in good faith by person having lawful authority over another

Illustration

punishable with transportation or imprisonment.

such an offence to be committed, and in such attempt does any act towards the commission of the offence, shall, where no express provision is made by this Code for the punishment of such attempt, be punished with transportation or imprisonment of any description provided for the offence, for a term of transportation or imprisonment which may extend to one-half of the longest term provided for that offence, or with such fine as is provided for the offence, or with both.

Illustrations.

(*a*) A makes an attempt to steal some jewels by breaking open a box, and finds after so opening the box, that there is no jewel in it. He has done an act towards the commission of theft, and therefore *is guilty under this section.*

(*b*) A makes an attempt to pick the pocket of Z by thrusting his hand into Z's pocket. A fails in the attempt in consequence of Z's having nothing in his pocket. A is guilty under this section.

to establish union between Tamilians and Telugus; and accordingly we find several Pandyas ruling at Tenkasi after this event. It was probably then that Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal, the younger brother of Perumal Parakrama Pandya deva, was crowned in 1553 "in the presence of the lord of the Universe at Tenkasi"[1] He took on this occasion the title of Vira-vel, a title suggestive of a subordinate rank[2] probably to the king of Madura. His son Ativirarama Pandya Alagan who is mentioned together with Visvanatha in an inscription of 1558[3] also took on his coronation day in about 1564 the name of Sivala vel,[4] which has the same connotation. In their incriptions there are no boasts like those of Perumal Parakrama Pandyadeva whose defeat had been a good lesson for the Pandyas. Neither Vira vel nor Sivala vel thought any more of rebellion and war but devoted themselves to poetry and literature. The former according to the inscription of his coronation 'feeling that flower garlands would all fade away put on a garland of verses in the *venba* metre sung in praise of him by the poets"[5] Was this not a fruit of the experience of his brother Perumal Parakrama, whose glory and pride faded suddenly before the sword of Visvanatha Nayaka?

4. In these and other affairs of administration Visvanatha was aided, no doubt, by the agents he had throughout his dominions. According to an inscription of 1550, one of these agents, named Uddandar remitted certain taxes due to the king, for offering cakes daily to the God for the merit of Visvanatha[6] According to another inscription at Kiranur (Madura) Kalahastiyappa Mudaliyar Visvanatha's minister granted the village of Kondaringi Karanur as a free gift to the Brahmins[7] In the genealogy of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam, this chief is said to have exercised the office of fouzdar or

1. Tenkasi Inscription of his coronation, *T A. S.*, I p. 105
2. Ibid., and p. 57
3. 273 of 1908.
4. Tenkasi Inscription of his coronation Ibid. p. 106.
5. *T A S.*, I 105.
6. 609 of 1916.

military chief and collector of revenue, during the time of Visvanatha[1]

His son, Krishnappa Nayaka, was also a great help to Visvanatha in the government of his state He is often mentioned in the inscriptions of his father's reign. This fact proves the importance and influence of the Crown Prince at the court of Madura According to an inscription of 1546, in the kitchen of the Bripadamba temple at Devikapuram, North Arcot, Surappa Nayaka made a gift of ghee to the temple for Krishnappa's merit[2]; in 1550 the latter is mentioned along with Chinna Bomma Nayaka[3], in 1553 he granted a piece of land for worship and for repairs in the Tyagarajasvamin temple at Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly[4], in 1555, his agent Ekambara Mudaliyar granted another piece of land for a flower garden of a temple[5], and two gifts of land made by him in 1562 to some temple are also recorded[6]

But the most efficient of his officers was his Dalavay and Pradhani, Ariyanatha Mudaliyar, "his second in power", according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS*[7] His *Biographical Notice*, translated by Taylor, is full of marvellous accounts, but contains nevertheless several facts that appear historical He came from the Kanjivaram district, according to the *Royal Line of the Karnataka Princes*[8], and was presented to the Emperor at Vijayanagara by Nagama Nayaka, later on, he aided Visvanatha in his campaign against his father[9] The importance of Ariyanatha in Madura was so great, that an inscription of 1560 records the grant of twelve villages by Vísvanatha, "the pious son of Kotyam Nagama Nayadu" and "Mandaraputtaneri Ariya Nayaka Mudaliyar"[10]

1 Rangacharya, II, p 1023, 265-E
2 391 of 1912
3 417 of 1905
4 197 of 1916
5 530 of 1916.
6 121 of 1894, 494 of 1916
7 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 111
8 Ibid,, p 117
9 *Biographical Notice*, Taylor, o c, II, p 113-5, *Royal Line of the Karnataka Lords,* Ibid, p 117
10 Sewell, II, p 2, 10

5 In the meanwhile several events had taken place in the South. In the West, the king of Travancore had withheld the tribute due to Vijayanagara and in the East the Portuguese who had taken possession of the Fishery Coast to protect the Paravas, were becoming more and more firmly established. Visvanatha, in the first years of his reign, was engaged in the two-fold task of regulating the administration of his kingdom and subduing the rebellious chiefs of his dominions in the South. Hence he was unable to meet those new emergencies. In these circumstances Rama Raya thought it reasonable to send an army from the imperial court under a valiant general to defend the interests of the Empire which were then at stake. Such was the origin and the purpose of the expedition of Rama Raya Vitthala to the South [1]

It was formerly supposed that Vitthala was the son of the Regent Rama Raya himself [2] but it has been proved that he was only his cousin [3] and the son of Ramaraja Timmaya [4] It seems that before his appointment in the South he had held in Penukonda some kind of authority over that fort and city in view of the fact that he remitted certain taxes there [5] He was also according to Mr Rangacharya, the one who exempted the barbers from taxes in Namala Dinnah, Cuddapah [6] but in the year 1543 he was appointed generalissimo of the army of Vijayanagara to conduct a great expedition to the South,

1. Mr Rangachari, *Ind Ant.*, XLIII, p. 231 supposes another inroad of the Travancore king into the Pandya territory but he does not notice that the inscription he points out as a proof of his statement is dated 1546 and Vitthala s expedition had taken place two years before. Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 17 states also that the Travancore sovereign had established himself so far successfully in the South that he held Kayal on the Fishery Coast in his possession and appointed a Viceroy but he does not prove his statement. I think sufficient reason for such an expedition the fact that the tribute was not paid by Travancore.

2. Cf, for instance Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 229

3. *M.E.R.*, *1911* p. 86 *1912*, p 82.

4. 250 of 1910

5. 348 of 1901.

6. Rangacharya, I, p. 601, 322.

having for its object a firm establishment of the authority of the Empire in its most distant corners [1].

The first country that Vitthala invaded was Travancore. Its king was then Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Kerala Varma, alias Unni Kerala Varma, who had ascended the masnad a little earlier [2] Visvanatha Nayaka offered Vitthala every facility for carrying out his enterprise, possibly gave him some detachments of his own army, and most probably himself joined the Vijayanagara troops, because it is recorded in the Tamil chronicles that Visvanatha subdued some chiefs of Travancore and levied tribute from them in the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara [3] Fr Bartoli and Fr Sousa also mention the Madura Nayak at the head of this expedition [4] Krishnappa, his son, was most likely in the expedition too, since he is described in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva as a man "who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadirajya (Travancore) of the seven parts of his kingdom" [5]. With Vitthala also went to Travancore Prince Chinna Timma, his brother [6], spoken of in the *Yadavabhyudaya Vyakhya*, as having planted a pillar of victory in token of his conquests in Travancore, near the moun-

1 146 of 1896, *M E R*, *1899-1900*, para 78 Cf Sewell, II, p 224

2 Cf S Parimesvara Aiyar, *Travancore and Vijayanagar*, *C C M*, XXII, p 188, Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p 297 St Xavier in his letters calls him *Iniquitribirim* (*M H S J*, *Mon Xav*, I, p 314, 337, 339, 343, 344, 345 and 349), a name that clearly sounds like a corruption of Unni Kerala Varma Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore* p 64, says In quitribirim "stands for Enakku Tamburan, meaning Our Prince This is vulgar Tamil, but from the words of the Lord's Prayer in Tamil, which Francis gives in one of his letters, it appears that Francis spoke the vulgar Tamil of his fisher converts on the coast, and they, in their rude speech, would call the Maharaja Enakku Tamburan"

3 17 of 1912 Cf Nagam Aiya, o c, p. 316

4 Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L'Asia*, I, p 128, Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p 142

5. *Ep. Ind*, IX, p. 341, vv 46-57

6. 250 of 1910

tains of Malaya (Malabar)[1] He had been, it seems, governor of Chandragiri[2] An inscription of Sadasiva of 1542, at Tindivanam records the gift of a village for the merit of the Mahamandalesvara Ramaraja Chinna Timmayyadeva Maharaya[3] Another inscription at Narasingapuram Chingleput District, refers to a remission of taxes by a certain Sankara Nayaka Linganayaka, in 1545 for the merit of Chinna Timmayadeva Maharaja[4] this was done during the governorship of his brother over the South. Sadasiva Nayak of Keladi was likewise probably in this expedition in the *Sivatattvaratnakara* he is said to have defeated the Keralas or people of the Malayalam country and to have planted a pillar of victory on the spot[5] An inscription of Tiruvidaimarudur also mentions a Brahmin of this place named Tiruchchirrambala Bhattan who "joined Vitthala s army and continued to fight on his side from Anantasayanam in the South to Mudugal (Mudgal) in the North. After the war he was rewarded with two villages[6]

After halting with his army at Madura, Vitthala set out for Travancore in the beginning of July accompanied by all these chiefs. Nagam Aiya says that St. Francis Xavier in one of his letters states that the army of Vitthala entered the territory of Travancore through the Aramboly (Aruvaymóli) pass[7] I could not find this letter in the critical edition of that missionary's letters. This, however seems to be the actual tradition in Travancore, that through that pass the army of Vitthala invaded the country Fr Sousa only says that they came down through the mountains in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin that divide Travancore from the Coromandel Coast[8]

1. Rangacharya I p 402, 717

2. 33 of 1905 Other records of Prince Chinna Timma will be found in Rangacharya II, p. 915 60 and 70 p 976, 608

3 250 of 1910.

4. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 210

5 Ibid., p. 195

6. 140 of 1895

7 Nagam Aiya o. c., p. 297

8. Souza, o. c., p. 142. Fr J Mahe S.J., Superior of St. Mary s High School, Madura, writes to me as follows: "I think Fr Souza means

6 When news of this inroad reached Travancore, all the people grew extremely frightened, and a great number of the inhabitants of the villages of the South emigrated northwards carrying with them all their belongings "I went *via* the Cape by land to visit these miserable Christians, who were coming, persecuted and plundered by the Badagas", says St Francis Xavier, an eye-witness of these events, "it was indeed pitiful to see them, some had nothing to eat, others had become blind on account of their age and hardships, many were married men, and their wives brought forth their children while *en route*, and there were many other pitiful things, had you seen them you would, I am sure, have pitied them even more than myself I ordered the poor people to assemble at Manapar (Manapadu)" [1]

Unni Kerala Varma collected an army from all his dominions and was ready to encounter his enemies When they were approaching the capital he was made aware of the fact that the Telugu army was not only more numerous but also more formidable than his own, on account of their cavalry and equipment According to Fr Sousa, the Brahmin Chronicles of Travancore relate that the King at this juncture called Xavier to where he was and asked him for help, since the independence of his kingdom was at stake Perhaps the Sovereign expected to make an alliance with the Portuguese through the influence of St Francis, but the holy missionary, who was engaged only in spiritual affairs, answered that the only help he was able to offer him were his prayers, since he was a missionary and not a soldier. No doubt, Xavier fulfilled his promise [2]

that same pass in the passage (of Nagam Aiya) you refer to That is the only way to Travancore on that side, with the way round by Cape Comorin Across the hills of Papanasam, near Ambasamudram, there is a way which was probably in good use formerly, for there is there an old fort on the top of a high hill very visible from our property close-by" This was likely the way followed by the army of Vitthala on this occasion Cf Ramanatha Ayyar, *The Aruvaymoli Pass or the Open Gateway of Travancore, J I H*, IV p 19-20

1 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapar, August 1st, 1544, *M R S I, Mon Xav*, I, p 330

2 Souza, o c, p 142-3.

In the meanwhile, Vitthala's army was advancing triumphantly through the Travancore country and before it the panic-stricken villagers abandoned their homes to seek refuge in the forests. But when the army was only two leagues North of the village of Kottar[1] the vanguard stopped suddenly unable to take another step further The officers who were in the rear ordered the soldiers to march on and then they learnt the reason of that sudden halt. A tall majestic man dressed in black appeared in front of us" they said "who reprimanded us and ordered us to retire at once"[2] The officers of the army and among them perhaps Visvanatha and Vitthala themselves, could realize then that the fact was true; for Xavier was still standing in front of the army in gigantic form and dignified countenance[3] barring the way to the capital. Such an order the valiant commander could not disobey and accordingly the troops were ordered to retreat. Thus was Travancore saved from the invasion of the Vijayanagara army through the prayers and at the request of St. Francis Xavier[4]

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1. Kottar known to Ptolomy under the name of *Kottiara Metropolis*, and a town of importance in the Chola period, is a suburb of Nagircoil at present. Fr P Martin in a letter to Fr Le Gobien, dated Camia Naicken Patty June 1,1700 records the tradition of fifty six years later that pointed out Kotate (Kottar) as the place where this event took place. Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure* III, p. 18.

2. These words are taken from the eldest testimonies of note 4, infra. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus* I, p. 148, who relates the fact (as also does Fr Souza) puts in the mouth of Xavier a short invective against the troops, which sounds more like one of the speeches of Livy's heroes than words of the sainted missionary

3. These details are given by Souza o. c., p. 143

4. This fact, however extraordinary cannot be denied by critical and impartial history True, St. Xavier himsel. does not say a word of it but this is his way in all his letters—never to mention a case which may be interpreted as a miracle or as something marvellous. But the authorities on whom our narration is based are too numerous and too weighty not to be admitted by impartial historians. We will enumerate them here :—

A. *Processus de sanct(itate) et Virtu(te) S. Francisci Xaverii Paile Prim(a) e second(a)* Manuscript in the Archives of the Society of

7 It seems that when Unni Kerala Varma was informed by eye-witnesses of the retreat of the Vijayanagara troops at the command of Xavier, he had already set out from his capital Kalkulam, five leagues West of Kottar, and was ready with his army to meet the enemy at any moment When subsequently the missionary reached the royal camp, the King himself proceeded to receive him and embraced him most affectionately, and after having thanked him, addressed him as follows

" They call me the Great King (Maharaja), but hereafter they will always call you the Great Father "

Jesus This volume in folio contains the processes made in India on the life and miracles of Xavier for his beatification and canonization The first part of the volume deals with processes made at Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Malaca, in 1556 and 1557, at the request of the King of Portugal Joao III, by the local ecclesiastical authorities In the process of Cochin the witness, Francisco Mansilhas, a Lay Brother of the Society of Jesus, who had worked with Xavier both on the Coromandel Coast and in Travancore, gave evidence of the fact as narrated above Considering that the process was held only twelve years after the event, his statement is of exceptional value The same is declared by Thomas de Gouvea in the second part of the volume, which is a summary of the processes of Cochin, Tuticorin and Kalkulam made in 1616 and 1617

B Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p 142-3 The authority of this work has already been declared See *Bibliographical Introduction*

C Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p 148 See *Bibliographical Introduction*

D Guzman, *Historia de las Misiones*, p 31 See *Bibliographical Introduction* Fr Guzman gives a concise narration of the fact, but suggests that the invading army was of Moors (Muhammadans)

F Bohours, *The Life of St Francis Xavier*, p 145-8

G Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Campagnia di Gesu*, *L' Asia*, I, p 128. See *Bibliographical Introduction*

H Tursellini, *De Vita S Francisci Xaverii*, l II, c XI, p 109 This is one of the earliest Jesuit authors, who wrote towards the end of the 16th century, the first edition was published in 1594, his work is a compilation of the early traditions of the Society

I Lucena, *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*, II, 17 It also represents the early tradition of the Society of Jesus, its first edition appeared in 1600.

Accordingly the King issued a proclamation throughout his kingdom commanding all his subjects to give that title to the Father in the future, and also to obey him as if he were

J Acosta *Rerum e Societate Jesu De rebus Indicis Commentarius* p. 7

K. Maffei *Vita de S. Francisco Xaverio* I. II, c. 2. Several other modern authors have admitted this fact —

L Brou, *Saint Francois Xavier* I p 256.

M. Coleridge *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier* I, p. 214

N Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore* p. 64, regards this fact as a story "The story that Francis Xavier went to meet the Madura troops, crucifix in hand, and that they retired before him, is told in *Oriente Conquistado* I, p. 143 Neither in *Oriente Conquistado* nor in any other of the above mentioned authorities mention is made of the crucifix in Xavier s hand. This is an invention of Mackenzie

O Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State* I, p. 298 says as follows "The Raja of Travancore was indebted to Xavier for deliverance from danger a panic having, it is said, been produced in the ranks of the Badagas by the sudden appearance of Xavier in front of their host, crucifix in hand and thus the Badagas failed in their attempt to conquer Travancore." The detail of the crucifix must have been taken from Mackenzie The fact that no battle is mentioned in the Hindu inscriptions and poems between the forces of Vitthala and the Travancore army confirms also the extraordinary event narrated above. It was a war without a formal battle.

P D'Orsey *Portuguese Discoveries* p. 130. The author though an Anglican clergyman, says "A band of mountaineers had poured down upon the plains of Travancore, and were plundering the possessions. The Rajah s force inferior in number went out to meet the invaders; but Xavier resolved, if possible to save their lives by being himself their champion. Raising the crucifix aloft, he rushed forward to meet the advancing foe and exclaimed in a voice of thunder I forbid you in the name of the living God to pass further Return to your homes, and leave the land in peace." Astounded by this apparition the superstitious multitute broke and fled. We give this story as it is recorded. Though improbable it is not impossible and there must be some foundation for it as the Rajah grateful for this heroic deed did all in his power to further the interests of Xavier and his mission"

Q Astrain, *Historia de la Compania de Jesus en la Asistencia de Espana*, I, p. 469-70. See *Bibliographical Introduction*

the person of the King himself[1] Xavier does not mention these honours given by the Maharaja But the extraordinary friendship between Unni Kerala Varma and Xavier which can be gathered from his letters abundantly proclaims the King's gratitude.

At the end of August, news was spread that a Portuguese had captured a servant of the King and brought him over to Tuticorin Xavier in his letter to Mansilhas dated September 2nd, 1544, evinces his interest in ascertaining the truth of this fact, on account of his friendship with the King, who had just then kindly entertained another Jesuit Missionary, Fr Francisco Coelho and then he adds "For God's sake write to the Captain (of Tuticorin) on behalf of myself, saying that I beg him most earnestly not to order nor permit, in any way that any injury be done to the Hindus who belong to the kingdom of the Great King, since they are such great friends of ours "[2] On the 7th of the same month he wrote again to Mansilhas "(Fr Coelho) wrote to me besides that Iniquitriberim was sending me an *olla* through three or four of his servants, who being somewhat fatigued, were taking some rest in Manapar, and that by these *ollas* he requested me to go there to meet him, since he wishes to speak with me on certain points of great interest to him Something else is written to me by Iniquitriberim, *viz* that the Christians residing within his kingdom are quite safe, and he will always

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R S Parameswara Aiyar, l c, p. 190.

S Mr S A Ramanantha Ayyar in his learned article on *The Aruvaymoli Pass,* l c, p 18, states that the retreat of Vitthala's army before Xavier "is perhaps reminiscent of a diplomatic mission, which this friend of the Travancore King 'Iniquitribirin' accomplished, and which stayed the punishing hand of the imperial Viceroy from committing much slaughter and shedding much innocent blood " We cannot support this view The details given by the sources are so many and so characteristic that the account cannot be taken but literally, though no miracle is to be supposed to explain the case

1 Souza, *Oriente Conquistado,* I, p 143, Du Jarric, *Thesaurus,* I, p 148, Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L' Asia,* I, p 127

2 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, September 2nd, 1544, *M H S J, Mon Xav*, I, p 338

protect them"[1] It was not at all strange that Unni Kerala Varma should want to speak with Xavier on certain points of great interest to him, seeing that Xavier was the saviour of his kingdom.

This friendship with the King was used by Xavier to protect the poor people who had fled at the approach of the army of Vijayanagara and taken refuge in the rocky islands South of Cape Comorin "I am going" he says, "with twenty boats of provisions to succour the Christians who are on the rocks near the Cape of Comorin. They fled from the Badagas, and are now dying of hunger and thirst"[2]

8. But the war was not over A treaty had to be made between Travancore and Vijayanagara. Unni Kerala Varma was the first to send an ambassador to Vitthala to open pourparlers to establish peace firmly Xavier took an active part in sending this envoy to the Telugu general at Tuticorin Iniquitriberim" says he in a letter of the 19th of August, "sends a Brahman along with a captain to make peace with this people. I do not know what they will do they are at present here, and will soon leave by sea"[3] Again he wrote on the following day to Mansilhas "This Brahman now goes there with despatches for the Badagas

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1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichandur September 7th, 1544 Ibid., p. 343.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Virandapatanam, June 23rd, 1544 Ibid., p. 327 Cf. another letter from Xavier to the same of June 30th, 1544, Ibid., p. 328. The text of the first is as follows: "Eu me parto para o Cabo de Comorim com vinte tones ou embarcacoens de mantimento a socorrer aquellos pobres christaos, que com medo dos badegas infiels, seus inimigos se meterao pelo mar e estao dentro d elle postos pelas pedras e penedos do Cabo ao sol, padecendo grandissima fome e sede e morrendo alguns com ella, que he para haver grandissima piedade." Both Souza, o c., p. 141, and Du Jarric, I p. 144, were mistaken in placing this expedition of Xavier to the Christians of the Comorin Cape after the invasion of the Fishery Coast for it took place a little after about the end of July or begining of August. After Souza and Du Jarric several authors have committed the same mistake. See for instance, *Historia Chronologica das Prelados e Fundacoes Ecclesiasticas O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 112.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 19th, 1544, Ibid, p. 333.

and for their King Betermemal (Vitthala)[1] For God's sake try to give him at once a boat to go to Tutycurim"[2]

The making of this peace was by no means an easy task At that time the army of Vitthala had invaded the Coromandel Coast, as we shall see later on, and the Vijayanagara General was busily engaged in subduing both the Portuguese and the Paravas Then the terms of Travancore were perhaps not easily accepted by the powerful cousin of Rama Raya This delay was perhaps the cause of the alarming rumours spread through Travancore in the month of September of the same year, rumours that we find echoed in one of Xavier's letters "They say that Beterbemao (Vitthala) is going full speed by sea to encounter king Iniquitriberim (Unni Kerala Varma) and to fight with him "[3]

Peace was also delayed through the demise of Unni Kerala Varma, who must have died soon after the Vijayanagara invasion, for an inscription of his successor Bhutala Vira, of the year 1547, is found at Suchindram[4] There is another inscription of his and of the same year in the Nelliappa temple at Tinnevelly itself[5] Mr. Rangachari believes that this inscription proves another inroad by Travancore into the old Pandya territory[6], but it seems to us that these inscriptions may mark the date of the final peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara The King of Travancore on the occassion went perhaps

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1 Such is the name given by Xavier to the Viceroy Vitthala, and this is the only place in which he is called king by him, in the other five cases in which he speaks of him, he calls him a captain The spelling of the name is defferently given in each case Betebumar (*M H S J*, *Mon Xav*, 1, p, 340), Betimunal (Ibid), Betermeal (*Ibid*, p 342), Beterbemao (Ibid, p 344), Beterbemal (Ibid, p 944) besides the form given above

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 20th, 1544, Ibid, p 335

3 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, September 10th, 1544, Ibid, p 344

4 Inscription in possession of Mr Gopinatha Rao, Trivandrum Cf *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 304

5 120 of 1894

6 *Ind. Ant* XLII, p 231

personally to Tinnevelly to sign the treaty By this treaty the district of Tinnevelly was ceded for ever to Vijayanagara, which in return agreed not to molest Travancore. Finally the Travancore sovereign capitulated and promised payment of an annual tribute and moreover made arrangements for the celebration in the Vishnu shrine at Suchindram of the day of Rohini, the natal star of Vitthalesvara Maharayar[1]

It was beyond doubt on this occasion that Rama Raya, the powerful Regent of the Empire, gave the Tiruvanidesa to Visvanatha as an amara nayakam[2]

Such was the end of the war with Travancore. One of the two objects Rama Raya had in sending Vitthala to the South was already attained.

9 As to the other it seems that the Fishery Coast was invaded by the Badagas[4] even before the retreat of their

1. Inscription in possession of Mr Gopinatha Rao of Trivandrum, l. c.

2. 64 of 1896.

3 17 of 1912

4. Badagas or Badugas is the name given by St. Xavier and the old Jesuit writers to the soldiers either of Madura or of Vijayanagara. This was another corruption of the name *Vaduquer* northener given to the Telugus because they came from the North. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State* I, p. 297 says that St. Xavier in one of his letters dated March, 1544, describes the Badagas as tax gatherers and lawless marauders But I could not find such a description among the letters of Xavier in their critical edition, *M H S J Mon. Xav* I. The anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier quoted above, after describing the city of Vijayanagara adds as follows These people, called Badagas, although having the same complexion and qualities as the rest of the people of India, are stronger and more powerful in war because they are rich people and have much cavalry and their behaviour is more showy than that of the others. And they have all the cities and villages surrounded with br ck or stone walls with bastions here and there as in our fortresses." *M H S. J Mon Xav.* I p. 62. Fr Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p. 144, describes the Badagas as follows They are "wild and cruel people, naturally fond of stealing, coming from Bisnaga foes of everybody but specially of Christians." This last note given by almost all the early Jesuit writers needs

army from Travancore St Francis Xavier informs us in a letter dated September 7th, 1544, that when he was at Trichendur, Tinnevelly, in the beginning of June of that year, he heard "of a rising in the country because the Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Betermeal (Vitthala), and they (*viz* the insurgents) wanted likewise to capture the Christians of the Cape of Comorim "[1], that is the Portuguese and the Paravas who were under them

The latter, after returning from Cochin in 1532,[2] had received some slight instruction in the Christians faith and were baptized by Fr Michael Vaz, Vicar General of India, and by several other priests who had come from Cochin[3] Then the Portuguese established themselves in Manapadu, Punnei Kayal, Tuticorin and Vambar, and took over the civil and

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some explanation, since it might be misunderstood The Telugu soldiers and their generals had nothing against the Christians as Christians Both the Nayaks of Madura and the Emperors of Vijayanagara tolerated and received respectfully into their capitals the Jesuit missionaries The Telugu armies that invaded the Fishery Coast were so often sent against the Christians, because the latter had put themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, and these had taken possessions of the Coast that belonged to Vijayanagara Now Madura wanted to retain as her dominion that rich shore The motive of this first invasion was a little different, as related above These Badagas must not be confused with the agricultural caste of the Nilgiris, also called Badagas Cf Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India,* I, p 62-124

1 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichendur, September 7th, 1544, I e Xavier calls Christians of the Comorin Cape all the Christians of both Travancore and Coromandel

2 Cf Ch VI, No 9

3 Souza, o c, I, p 130 Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction* to Satyanatha Aiyar's *History of the Nayaks*, p 13, supposes that St Xavier converted the Paravas Again the same is supposed in p 123, note 43 I have been told that the Paravas themselves maintain they were converted by Xavier Cf Castets, *St Francis Xavier's Indian Mission*, p 7-12, Miranda, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India*, p 6 But it is historically evident that the majority of the Paravas were Christians from 1533 or 1534, when St Xavier was not yet in India. Xavier went there

criminal jurisdiction of the whole of the coast. Their principal settlement was Punnei Kayal [1]

On the 3rd of August Xavier was sure that the army of Vitthala would overrun the Fishery Coast. "I sent one Father there" he writes from Manapadu to Mansilhas, "in order that the boats might be thrown into the sea in time and the people might embark when the occasion should offer itself for I feel sure that they will attack and capture these your Christians" [2] The first news of the invasion of the army of Vitthala reached Xavier's ears on August 19th while at Manapadu. At the end of a letter written on that date he says. 'I am given a letter of Guarim just now in which he informs me that the Christians have fled to the forest, since the Badagas have robbed them of their property stabbed two men one a Christian and the other a Hindu' [3] But most of the Paravas embarking on their miserable boats sought refuge in the small islands that face the Comorin Cape leaving their country to the fury of their enemies. Those islands were inaccessible to the Madura soldiers on account of the frequent sand banks separated by canals known only by the fishers of the coast. But this was certainly not an ideal place for the unfortunate refugees, from the lack of good drinkable water and of trees and vegetables of all kinds [4] St. Xavier in another letter of September 5th, tells us that Punnei

precisely to accomplish their instruction in the faith. In one of his letters, dated Tutioorin, October 28th, 1542 he says. "We are going through the villages of the Christians who became Christians about eight years ago. There are no Portuguese in these places, because the soil is not fertile at all and very poor. When arriving at any of these villages, I baptized all the children who are not yet baptized so I have baptized a great multitude of infants, *quid inter dextram and sinistram interest ignorantes*" *M H S.J., Mon. Xav* I p. 273. The last remarks of Xavier show that the adults were already baptized at the time of his arrival.

1. Cf. *Tinnevelly Manual* p. 43.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 3rd, 1544 Ibid., p. 331. Cf. p. 332.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 19th, 1544 Ibid., I p. 333.

4. Souza l. c. Du Jarric, l. c.

Kayal was one of the cities attacked by the Badagas, while the house and boat of the Portuguese captain of the place were set on fire; and that the aforesaid captain fled to the islands with the rest of the inhabitants of the coast [1] Tuticorin was also swept away by the Badagas [2] and was probably made the temporary residence of Vitthala, since the ambassador of Unni Kerala Varma was sent there [3] In the two above-mentioned letters Xavier orders Mansilhas, who was instructing the Paravas in the North of the coast, to make a collection among the rich people of those places, to succour the poor Christians of the islands who were dying of hunger and thirst, he particularly urges him to carry there many casks full of water, the more, he says, the better He was at Punney Kayal on August 21, and he wrote from there to Mansilhas that "the Badagas had left the place for Cabecate" [4]

We are not aware how long the army of Vitthala stayed on the Coromandel Coast, both Souza and Du Jarric say it remained there quite a long time, though it never reached the villages of the North [5] We suppose that one of the reasons why Vitthala retreated was the recovery of his brother-in-law, which took place, no doubt, before he returned to Madura

10 After these two compaigns in Travancore and in Coromandel, Vitthala remained in the South for a period of about twelve years, until 1558, as Viceroy of the southern country [6] According to an inscription at Koiladi, he "was granted the whole country", *viz* the South, by Sadasiva [7] We know of one of his inscriptions at this time in the old temple of Perumal at Madura itself, in which he is called Rama Raya

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1 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5th, 1544, Ibid, p 341

2 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5th, 1544, Ibid, p 340

3 Cf above No 8

4 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Punnei Kayal, August 21st, 1544, Ibid, p 337,

5 Souza, l c, Du Jarric, l c.

6 129 of 1905, *M E R*, *1899-1900*, para 78 Cf Sewell, II, p 224

7 273 of 1901

Vittaladeva Maharaya[1] His authority was acknowledged in the whole Madura kingdom as far as Coimbatore and the South of Salem District for we know that the old Kongudesa was under his sway and he is said to have levied tribute even from Ceylon[3]

The epigraphical records acquaint us with two of the officers of Vitthala during his governorship of the South. One was Ramappa Nayak his agent at Kalakadu in 1552[4] and the other was Timmapa Nayaka son of Basavana Nayaka. This Basavana Nayaka made three grants to the Kudal Alagar temple at Madura for the merit of Vitthala[5] In fact Basavana himself is, in an inscription at Tirukkurungudi Tinnevelly said to have been an officer of Vitthala[6]

The relations between Visvanatha Nayak and the Viceroy Vitthala must have been those of cordial friendship and mutual understanding but pending the discovery of new inscriptions this question remains without a satisfactory solution Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar supposes that Visvanatha and his son Krishnappa Nayaka were subordinate to Vitthala[7] perhaps his statement is based on an inscription of 1550 in which Visvanatha is called the agent of the Mahamandalesvara Rama Raja Vitthalayadeva Maharaja for whose merit he presents a gift of a *devadana* hold of land[8] But this only proves the friendly relations between the two chiefs.

The sphere of action of Vitthala was quite different from that of Visvanatha. The latter as a ruler had to administer his kingdom, and occasionally to subdue the rebel Palaiyakarans or other chiefs under his authority But the aim of Vitthala was to re-conquer Travancore and Coromandel for the

1. Sewell I p. 292
2. 5 and 27 of 1906.
3. 129 of 1905 *M.E.R., 1905* p. 60 The date 1536 is evidently wrong.
4. 423 of 1916 129 of 1905
5. 557 558 and 559 of 1911.
6. Rangacharya, III p. 1472, 287
7. Sathyanatha Aiyar *History of the Nayaks* p. 14
8. 599 of 1916. In the inscription 721 of 1915 Visvanatha is again called the agent of Vitthala

Empire There was no need of subordination to each other Each could fulfill his aims independently. Nevertheless Visvanatha helped Vitthala in his expedition against Travancore, as well as in some of the expeditions against Coromandel The relations between Vitthala and Visvanatha may be compared to those between the Agent of the Governor General and the Raja of one of the native tributary States in India now-a-days And perhaps not to interfere in the matters of Visvanatha's Government, Vitthala spent a great deal of time during his viceroyalty in the city of Trichinopoly [1] An inscription of 1545 at Ratnagiri, Trichinopoly, records that under the orders of Ramaraja Vitthalaraja, Timma, his younger brother, made a grant to the god on the said hill Ratnagiri [2] Another of 1544 at Tiruvidaimarudur, Tanjore, refers to a gift of two villages to the Mahalingasvamin temple by Vitthala [3] Again in 1546 he made another gift to the Ranganatha temple of Koviladi, Tanjore [4] The action of the Viceroy over the the South was only opposed, as far as we know, by a young chief of the Chola country named Solaga, who became later on notorious for his cruelties [5]

II During the time of his governorship Vitthala led several attacks against the Portuguese and their proteges the Paravas on the Coromandel Coast These expeditions have not been narrated hitherto by any author of Indian History. We now propose to fill up this gap with the information given in the old Jesuit chronicles and Portuguese histories [6]

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1 273 of 1901

2 191 of 1914

3 140 of 1895

4 273 of 1901

5 *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 286 Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l c, note, doubts the identity of the Viceroy Vitthala Raja opposed by Solaga and the nephew of Rama Raya Fr Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p 647, says that Solaga was eighty years old in 1597, hence he was thirty in 1547 during the viceroyalty of Vitthala over the South

6 The sources consulted for the narration of the following raid of 1549 are these Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p 163-5, Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p 451-5, Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae Soc Jesu*, I, p

The Portuguese possessions on the Coromandel Coast extended as far as Rameswaram, and between one and two leagues away from this famous town in the village of Vedalai[1] on the frontier of the kingdom of Marava, they built a mud fort in which there was always a small garrison under a captain. Correa informs us that the Governor of Cochin went to inspect the fortress of Beadala, (Vedalai) near the sand-banks of Chilao (Ceylon)[2]

In the year 1549 there was at Vedalai a garrison of forty soldiers under the command of one Joao Fernandes Correa whose rapacity provoked an attack from the Badagas. He dug a trench close to his fort barring the path of the numerous Hindu pilgrims to the temple at Rameswaram, perhaps the most celebrated in the whole of southern India. Thus the pilgrims had to pay toll to the Portuguese; in consequence of which the alms received by the Brahmans of the temple at Rameswaram went on dwindling day by day. Accordingly the Brahmans, who were as covetous as the Portuguese captain appealed to Madura, probably through the Setupati of Ramnad who was in charge of the causeway leading to Rameswaram and the result was the Badaga invasion.

We have no knowledge as to whether Vitthala came over again to attack this fort but we do know that six thousand soldiers appeared suddenly before Vadalai[3] among whom were some Muhammadans who easily made alliance with the Telugus against their former slaves. The Portuguese captain seeing that it would be impossible to resist so large a force with such ammunition as he had, retreated towards the sea and

145-6 *Anonymous Life of St. Francis Xavier M H S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 137-8 *Chronicon Societatis Jesu M H S. J.*, I, p. 470 Nieremberg *Varones Ilustres de la Compania de Jesus* II, p. 137-8. Other documents will also be cited in the course of our narrative.

1. Bedala or Beadala say the Jesuit Chroniclers. About the location of Vedalai see Dessal, *Ou a etc martyrise le Ven. Antoine Criminal Soc Jesu*

2. Correa, IV 6, p. 324.

3. Fr Alphonso Cypriani wrote from Sao Thome December 3rd 1549 that there were only 15 Portuguese in Vedalai against five or six hundred Badagas *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae* p. 98.

with his garrison sought refuge in the islands of the coast A great number of Paravas did the same, but their small boats could not receive the whole population

Fr Antonio Criminali, an Italian Jesuit, who had been appointed Superior of the missions among the Paravas of the Fishery Coast on St Xavier's departure to Japan in May of the same year, was then in Rameswaram, instructing in the faith some Paravas who had been baptized shortly before [1] On hearing that the Badagas were appaoaching Vedalai, he fled there to protect his Christians He transported many in their frail craft He was invited to do the same, but refused to do so until every one of his flock had left the village From the landing place he walked to the small chapel of St Vincent where many of the Christians had taken refuge but before reaching it he encountered two detachments of Telugu soldiers, who however did not molest him Then a third detachment arrived, and one of the solders in the rear, a Muhammadan on horse-back, pierced his left side with a lance The father fell down, but getting up after a while walked again towards the chapel. There he met some other soldiers who finally beheaded him and, raising his head on the top of a spike, placed it afterwards as a sign of their valour over the door of the chapel [2] Some Paravas were also murdered on this

1 Souza, Du Jarric and others do not mention the name of this place, but the following authorities record that it was Ramanacor or Rameswaram Annual letter of the Goa Mission announcing the murder of Fr Criminali, dated Goa, June 19th, 1549, *Litterae Indiarum nunc primum editae* (Florentiae, 1877), XXIV, para 15, Letter from the Bishop of Goa to the Queen of Portugal, Goa, October 25th, 1549, Massara, *Del P Antonio Criminali* (Parma 1899), Letter from Fr A Gomez, Rector of the Jesuit College at Goa to the King of Portugal, *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, XXII, p 102, *Chronicon S J*, *M H S J*, I, p, 470 Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p 627, Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad Sanguinis*, p 212-4

2 The Dutch traveller Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p 245, relates likewise the tragic death of this missionary He says that the head and garments of Criminali were at last triumphantly carried by the soldiers to their temple at Trichendur Fr Criminali is supposed to be the protomartyr of the Society of Jesus Certainly he

occasion and others reduced to captivity The chapel as well as the fort was razed to the ground, and the trench dug by the captain was filled up The Jesuit chronicles conclude their account by saying that the soldiers went finally to Rameswaram to pay a visit to the temple. Probably on account of this and other similar expeditions, we read in the *History of the Karnataka Governors* that Visvanatha protected the pilgrims who used to go to Rameswaram [1]

12. But two years later at the end of 1551 peace on the Fishery Coast was again disturbed by the soldiers of Vitthala. They captured a young Portuguese Jesuit Father named Paolo de Valle but the Paravas appearing suddenly in the Telugu camp after some days, succeeded in rescuing him. This valiant action of the Christians provoked another incursion of the Badagas. On reaching the sea-shore, they saw only the rafts of the Paravas at a distance carrying with them the Portuguese Jesuit, who died soon after as a result of the hardships of his captivity [2]

At this time, however it appears evident that quite a good number of villages of the Fishery Coast, if not all had promised to pay an annual tribute to the Nayak of Madura to obtain freedom from future molestation by occasional incursions [3] This tribute consisted in the catch of

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died for the sake of the Christians, but it seems that the reason of his murder was not hatred of the Christian faith. These expeditions of the Badagas had a political reason and beyond doubt his murderers supposed that he was one of the paranguis or Portuguese, against whom they were waging war These remarks are not calculated to detract in any way from the virtue of Criminali St Xavier writing to St. Ignatius from Cochin, on January 14th, 1549 described him as follows Antonio Criminali is now in Comorin with six others belonging to the Society He is a holy man indeed, believe me and just born to be the apostle of this country I beg you to send here many like him of whom you have plenty there, I am sure" *M H S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 482-3.

1. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II, p. 15
2. Souza *Oriente Conquistado* I, p. 174 Du Jarric, I, p. 459
3. Souza o. c., p 175

one day's fishing, which, according to Couto, would amount to about ten thousand *pardaos*[1].

Now it happend in the year 1552 that one of the nobles of the kingdom of Travancore, with a strong detachment of soldiers, invaded several villages of the South of Çoromandel near Cape Comorim, pillaging the poor villages and capturing some of them The rest of the inhabitants, who were all Christians, appealed to the Nayak of Madura, their protector, this was naturally an inducement to Visvanatha, who accordingly, proceeded at once with his army against the villages belonging to the Malayalam noble, entered them by surprise and ravaged them On hearing this the Travancore Maharaja became furious, and since he could not oppose the forces of Madura, joined forces with Vitthala and overpowered the poor Christians of the villages who had appealed to Visvanatha The combined army arrived in the silence of the night, and a great slaughter of people took place before dawn, one of the victims was a Portuguese Missionary, Luis Mendez, a Lay Brother of the Society[2]

13 But Vitthala was not satisfied with this apparent submission of the villages of Coromandel, the Portuguese were still the lords of the pearl fisheries and were practically in possession of the whole country His object was to crush them completely And since on former occasions they had always escaped by sea, he made an alliance with a Muhammadan pirate named Irapali (Ali), a subject of the Zamorim of Calicut, so that now, while the Muhammadans attacked the Coast by sea, Visvanatha Nayak with the Telugu troops would attack the Portuguese by land[3] The place for launching the assault was Punney Kayal, the capital of the Portuguese settlements of the Fishery Coast, with a garrison of 50 soldiers[4] under captain Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho

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1 Couto, VII, p 249

2 Souza, o c, p 175, Du Jarric, o c, p 459

3 No mention is made here of Vitthala I am inclined to believe that the apellation 'Vichuva, Capitao dos Badagas' must refer to Visvanatha Nayaka, because this chief is called Vizuva Naiche by Fr Bartoli, *Dell, Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L' Asia*, VII, p 161 Cf infra No 16

4, Seventy, according to Couto and Faria y Souza,

Accordingly at the end of June of the year 1553, the Muslim fleet took up a position in front of the Coromandel Coast it was composed of some galleons and forty sloops. A small village called Mugel formed just a year before, was the first to be attacked twenty fishing boats and many Paravas were captured. From there they went straight to Punny Kayal, and on the first of May five hundred Muhammadan soldiers landed on the shore but were valiantly repulsed by the fifty soldiers of the place. The standard bearer one Antonio Franco de Gusmao attacked the standard bearer of the Muhammadans an Abyssinian soldier and after capturing his standard killed him on the spot. On seeing the defeat of his detachment the Muslim chief who was on board his galleon came with reinforcements. But the Portuguese soldiers considered themselves unable to resist the horde of Muhammadan combatants who numbered fifteen hundred. Almost all the Portuguese retreated. But Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho their captain, left alone with seventeen of his men stood where he was till he was convinced by his men that he ought to retreat to the town where behind the brick walls of the fort they could better resist the attack of the enemies. They did so but on reaching the town were all captured by the soldiers of Vitthala while the Muhammadans took possession of the town itself together with the fort. Irapali issued a proclama tion to all the inhabitants of the Coromandel Coast announcin the end of the Portuguese rule, and inviting all to become th disciples of the Prophet unless they prefered to feel the edg of the Muhammadan sword.

When this news reached Cochin, the Portuguese of tha settlement resolved to avenge the offence to the Christia name and the national honour Gil Fernandez de Carvalh offered to lead the forces against the Muslims. He was give a huge galliot three lighters and one sloop After three days with one hundred and seventy men they left Cochin an arrived before Punney Kayal where the Muhammadan flee was lying a little to the north at Calecare. They went there but could not cross the sand-bank at the mouth of th harbour owing to an unfavourable wind one of the lighters however commanded by Lourenco Coelho, attempted to cros

and ran aground As soon as the Muhammadans who were anchored between the sand-bank and the shore saw this, they surrounded the boat and a great fight ensued This lasted the whole day, the Portuguese being determined not to surrender to the enemy, by evening all of them had been slaughtered, and many of the Muhammadans had likewise perished, among them Irapali himself

This unfortunate action took place within sight of the Portuguese Commander, who could not go to Lourenco Coelho's assistance on account of the wind Accordingly he retreated to a small neighbouring island, where he found another Portuguese boat going to Negapatam which made up for the loss of the first Then an envoy of a Marava chieftain reached the place, and promised Gil Fernandez to attack the Muhammadans at Calecare while the Portuguese attacked them by sea After a few days the wind changed, and on the fifteenth of May in the morning the two fleets met before Calecare The Muslim forces outnumbered the Portuguese, but by evening all the Muhammadan galliots had been captured by the valiant Portuguese Not a few of the followers of the late Irapali escaped by swimming, but the Marava chief, who was on the lookout, slaughtered many while the Portuguese took the rest

After this glorious victory Gil Fernandez at once opened pourparlers with Vitthala for the rescue of Captain Coutinho, his wife and children, the fifty soldiers of the garrison and the Jesuit Father Enrique Enriquez, who happened to be at Punney Kayal at the time of the combined invasion of Vitthala and Irapali A hundred thousand fanams were demanded as a ransom for Captain Coutinho and his family Gil Fernandez found himself unable to accede to this, so he sent a secret message (through a Muhammadan of great influence who was a very good friend of the Portuguese) to Rama Raya at Vijayanagara asking for the favour of the captive's liberty. An order finally came to Vitthala to hand over the captives to Gil Fernandez This was done in Tuticorin, Vitthala however demanded from Captain Coutinho the sum of a thousand

pardaos, which were partly given by the Christians of the Coast [1]

14. It was probably after this expedition that the whole of the Fishery Coast agreed to pay the small tribute of the catch of a day's fishing to the Nayak of Madura for we do not read of any other inroad of Vitthala on the Coast of Coromandel. On the other hand we know that in the year 1558 Vitthala led another attack into the kingdom of Travancore probably because its King, who was still Rama Varma, had again refused to pay his annual tribute.

The Vijayanagara general invaded the Travancore territory with an army of six thousand *soldiers*. *The Travancore* sovereign was not able to oppose this force, since his own army consisted at most of a thousand soldiers. Rama Varma despatched an envoy to Fr F Perez, a Portuguese Jesuit, who was the *Superior* of the Travancore missions and resided at Calculam (Kalkulam) begging him to pray much to God for the success of his army Fr Perez promised to do so and sent him a standard in the centre of which the name of Jesus was painted, at the same time he recommended that the ensign bearing this standard should precede the army and that while engaging in battle all should fervently invoke the name of Jesus. This was done, and the Telugu soldiers, on hearing the roar retreated panic-striken and were pursued by the Malayalams who slaughtered many of them [2]

Fr Souza says that this standard was afterwards kept in the Royal Treasury and at the end of his narrative makes the following remark "I do not say anything else

1. Sousa, o c., p. 177-80 Du Jarric, o. c., 459-60 Couto, VI, pt. 2 p. 456-65 Faria y Sousa, II, p. 270 1 Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 719 Bartoli, *Dell Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu L Asia*, VII, p. 143-6; Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes* II p. 522-4.

2. This fact may be explained naturally Fr Sousa supposes it to be a miracle. Fr H. Hosten, S. J., St. Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling who travelled through Trvancore in 1924, informs me that this banner cannot be found in the Maharaja's treasury but the Syro-Christians of Travancore keep the tradition of this victory won under the banner of the name of Jesus to this day

on this Kingdom, because I have found nothing else in the MSS"[1].

15 Was Vitthala killed in this retreat of his army from Travancore? We are not aware of it, we only know that no other mention of Rama Raya's cousin is made either in the Hindu inscriptions or in the western chronicles Anyhow this year, 1558, marks the end of his governorship in the South[2]

Vitthala's aim was only partly attained The defeat of his army in Travancore was practically equivalent to the complete independence of this kingdom As to the Fishery Coast, the Portuguese remained there as powerful as ever, the only point conceded was the annual tribute of the catch of a day's fishing to the Madura Nayak, but the Paravas did not acknowledge any lords other than the Portuguese, if they paid such tribute to Madura it was only in order to get rid of the incursions of the Telugus on to their own shores Caesar Frederick, who passed through the Fishery Coast in about 1567, says that "the Fishermen are all Christians of the Countrey, and who so will may go to fishing, paying a certain dutie to the King of Portugall, and the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paul (Jesuits) which are in that Coast"[3] The Vijayanagara General had therefore not yet succeeded in gaining supreme power

Although the success of the expedition of Vitthala was not so great, still apparently on account of this campaign Rama Raya is flattered in the *Ramarajiyamu*, with the title of 'Planter of Pillars of victory at Cape Comorin and on the banks of the Bhima'[4]

16 The end of the viceroyalty of Vittala was not the end of their troubles for the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, because in the year 1560 Visvanatha, the Nayak of Madura, again invaded the country, demanding the catch of two days' fishing

1. Souza, o c, p 188

2. According to Souza, o c, p 193, Vichuva (Vitthala) was still in the South in 1560 But his account on this occasion is not trustworthy, as contradictory to other Portuguese sources

3 Purchas, X, p 105

4 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 182.

as the tribute due to him. The vanguard of his army headed by a Deccani captain named Melrao, reached Punney Kayal some day in the month of August, early in the morning They set fire to all the houses they could. But it happened that at the time there was in Punney Kayal a strong detachment of soldiers, who had come to the Fishery Coast some days before under the command of Dom Duarte de Menezes a Portuguese noble. On learning the cause of the revolt, Dom Duarte immediately proceeded with his forty soldiers to encounter Melrao and his army The fight was long and indecisive. Meanwhile the whole population was able to take refuge in the mud fort which overlooked the river Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho, who was still the captain of the fort, set out to drive the enemies out of the town. They were on the point of succeeding in this enterprise. For Dom Duarte de Menezes had valliantly killed Melrao and had put to flight the rest of his enemies. But just then the main body of the army commanded by Visvanatha Nayaka himself appeared on the scene [1]

Neither Menezes nor Coutinho were able to resist the enemy and so started a slow retreat towards the fort, which was reached by Coutinho after he was wounded. Then at high-tide all the women and children were embarked on several sloops that came up the river near which the fort was built. Finally as the fort was very weak and the enemies very numerous it was decided to surrender it accordingly all the men boarded a sloop and Coutinho surrendered the fort before he embarked. But the tide being on the ebb so that no ships could sail away all were captured by Visvanatha after a stout resistance. Thereupon the whole town was sacked and destroyed.

A fortnight of captivity followed. When this was over Coutinho proposed to the Madura Nayak to pay a thousand fanams as every one s ransom. Visvanatha agreed, and accordingly all were set free, excepting the Jesuit Missionary Fr Joao de Mesquita, who was retained as hostage, while Coutinho was to visit Tuticorin to collect the price of their liberty In the meantime, an opportunity for escape offering itself, Fr Mes-

1. Couto and Faria y Sousa call him Bisminaique.

quita took advantage of it and finally reached Tuticorin safe and sound [1].

We hear no more of Visvanatha's expeditions against the Paravas and the Portuguese of the Coromandel Coast From this we may conclude that Coutinho finally paid the price agreed upon, and that perhaps even the Paravas consented to pay him the catch of two days' fishing, as demanded Moreover at the end of the same year the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Constantino de Braganca, built a fortress on the opposite island of Manar, to which the inhabitants of Punney Kayal were transferred, in order to secure them against the incursions of Visvanatha Nayaka [2] The Madura ruler vainly tried to impede the realization of the Viceroy's scheme [3] In 1597, Fr Nicolao Pimenta visited this new settlement "We passed that Cape (of Rameswaram)", he writes to Fr General C Aquaviva, "and came to Talemanare at the entrance of the Ile Manare, and having visited the Churches in the Island, passed the River and went by land to the Pearle-fishing" [4] At the end of the century the fortress built in Manar was in a ruinous state It was restored and fortified again through the diligence of the Jesuits working among the Christian Paravas of the Fishery Coast [5] The Dutch traveller John Nieuhoff, who passed through Manar in 1662, says that "this city as well as its castle call'd Ragu acknowledge the Portuguese for its founders, the castle being built for their better security against the attempts of the Naik or Nayk, lord of the circumjacent country" [6]

17 This was perhaps the last campaign of this valiant general The *Mrtyunjaya MSS* inform us that during his life-time he caused his son Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka to be anointed [7]

1 Couto, VII, p 249-55, Faria y Sousa, II, p 343-4, Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia de Gesu, L'Asia*, VII, p 160-2, 164-5

2 Faria y Sousa, I, p 348

3 Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p 318

4 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 207

5 From King Philip III to the Viceroy, Lisbon, January 22nd, 1601, Ap B, No XX

6 Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p 199

7 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 117 Cf 121 of 1894

The latter's wife was Lakshmamma,[1] or Lakshmyambika[2] We do not know exactly the date of this memorable event in the history of Madura which marks the end of the reign of the Nayak founder Mr Rangachari places the accession of Kumara Krishnappa in 1562[3] but according to Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar the date 11th of Tai, Rudhirodgari corresponds approximately to the 25th of January 1564[4] Anyhow it seems quite certain that Visvanatha's demise occurred shortly after the coronation of his son so much so that there are suspicions that the anointing of Krishnappa took place at the death bed of his father Hence we are inclined to believe that Visvanatha's renunciation occurred in 1563, since the first inscription we know of the reign of Krishnappa corresponds also to this date[5]

The founder of the Nayak Dynasty of Madura proved a valiant warrior and a skilful administrator The Palaiyakaran system was developed by him in the South. This system though somewhat defective as fomenting ambitions and weakening the central power was nevertheless a definite progressive step towards the modern federation of states. In this respect Visvanatha Nayaka's administrative system was far in advance of his age. In his rule he was energetic and practical, he is called "the best skilled in putting down disputes" in his presence Timmappa Nayaka, the King's agent, settled some disputes between the two parties of the inhabitants of Kondakai[6]

Knowing that agriculture is one of the best sources of wealth, Visvanatha fostered it with great interest by the creation of extensive water-courses which he ordered to be

1. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 187 vv 67 79

2 Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297 vv 60-61, Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, Ibid., p. 320 vv 53-98.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, XLV p. 81.

4. Sathyanatha Aiyar *History of the Nayaks*, p. 68.

5 17 of 1912. Sewell, II p. 201, thinks that Visvanatha died in December 1563

6. Burgess, p. 108-9; Rangacharya II, p. 1177 166.

opened in Madura [1], in Trichinopoly [2], and in Tinnevelly [3], and in this way the rivers communicated with the fields Thus he fertilized extensive districts [4] and laid out new fields for tillage and brought new inhabitants to cultivate them [5]. His interest in the progress of agriculture is also shown by the fact that he once dispatched his minister Ariyanatha to inspect the agricultural improvements of the District of Tinnevelly [6]. The progress in agriculture increased the number of inhabitants, hence many new villages were built by Visvanatha's order in these three districts, while the old ones were repaired and beautified [7]

Hinduism was also fostered by "the pious son of Kotyam Nagama Nayadu", as he is called in a grant of 1560 [8] Visvanatha was a very staunch Hindu who carried from Vijayanagara to Madura the statue of the goddess Durga, and as soon as he reached his capital, restored and enlarged its temple The *History of the Karnataka Governors* informs us that he also built the temple of Srirangam [9], but since we know that Srirangam already existed before the conquest of Visvanatha [10], this must have reference to the enlargements carried out by his order As a matter of fact, the *Srirangam-Koyil-olugu* records that Visvanatha made to the god Ranganatha gifts of several golden vessels, costly ornaments and pieces of land to the extent of three lakhs of pons [11] The *Tiruppanimalai* also mentions several of his gifts to the god Sundaresvara of Madura [12] Moreover he erected many new temples in

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1 *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 15

2 Ibid, p 17

3 Ibid, p 21

4 Ibid, p 15

5 Ibid, p 17

6 Ibid

7 Ibid, p 15, 17, and 21

8 Sewell, II, p 2, 10

9 Taylor, o c, p 17

10 Cf Ch VI, No 3

11 Cf *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 305

12. Ibid

Tinnevelly[1] and in other parts of his dominions and along with them the usual mandapams and connected places[2] Similarly in many parts of his dominions he built agraharams or Brahman streets[3]

We know also of a grant made by him for the religious service of a mosque in 1560 he gave a plot of land in the Ramnad District to Mullamakudam Mullaperoja (Mullha Pheroz ?) for the maintenance and lighting of a mosque for the use of fakirs[4]

As to Visvanatha s attitude towards the Empire, he was always as faithful a subject of the Vijayanagara Emperor as when he went to wage war against his father In 1535 during his first viceroyalty he is called an officer of Achyuta[5] and though already a king he calls himself 'the agent of Sadasiva[6] In 1558 he is called also the agent of Ramarajadeva Maharaja[7] In 1560 he makes a gift of taxes on looms for the merit of the same Aliya Ramarajayyan[8] In 1561 an inscription records a gift of his son Krishnappa Nayaka to the Tinnevelly temple and mentions the same Rama Raya[9] From all these inscriptions and grants we know that Visvanatha s relations with the Empire were those of a faithful tributary king to his overlord.

The fact that Visvanatha struck coins in his own name[10] does not prove that he ever broke allegiance with the Emperor since all the provincial rulers of the Empire had independent coinage, as it is testified by Frederick in his travels

1. *History of the Karnataka Governors* Taylor o.c p 21.

2. Ibid., p. 17

3. Ibid., p. 15 17 and 21.

4. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras* p. 28.

5. 113 of 1908 *M.E.R., 1909*, p. 119

6. Burges, p. 108-9

7. 385 of 1916.

8. 623 of 1915

9. 28 of 1894.

10. Cf. Hultzsch, *South Indian Copper Coins Ind Ant* XXI p. 325 Nos 14 16.

through South India[1] Nor is it to be supposed that the development of the Palaiyam administrative system was intended to create a new empire in the South which would rival one day the empire of the North Such ambitious intentions were far from Visvanatha's mind We must admit, however, that Visvanatha's system of government paved the way for the future rebellions of some of his successors, and was responsible for the treason of Tirumala Nayaka

18 The first trouble proceeding from this system arose shortly after Visvanatha's death in the beginning of Krishnappa's reign One of the Palaiyakarans, a certain Tumbichchi Nayaka, an old man of great influence (as is shown by his being mentioned along with the Emperor Achyuta in an inscription of Ramnad[2]), rebelled against the Madura Nayak, captured several towns for himself and built a fort which he called Parambai-kudi (Paramakudi) Krishnappa Nayaka could not at this juncture make use of the services of his minister and general Ariyanatha, who had gone northwards to assist the Empire against the Muhammadans[3]. But with great speed he himself marched against the rebel, overthrew him in battle, took possession of the whole of his country, and put Tumbichchi to death Then two of the sons of the rebel chief appeared before Krishnappa, and kneeling down at his feet implored his clemency the Nayak gave them the fort of Paramakudi together with the adjoining pettah, and some villages around which constituted a small Palaiyam, and appropriated to himself the whole of Tumbichchi's territory[4]

Not long after this Krishnappa was obliged to wage another war in Ceylon against the King of Kandy, probably to exact the tribute he refused to pay to the Empire[5] The

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1 Purchas, X, p 99

2 398 of 1907

3 Cf Ch IX, No 3

4 *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, o c, p 23, *Singhala dwipa Raja Ratha*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 278, this work erroneously calls Tumbi Nayaka king of Ceylon

5 This was the real cause of the war, not the bitter words of the king of Kandy against Krishnappa on the occasion of Tumbi-

Singhala dvipa Catha states that the Madura Nayak along with fifty-two of his Palaiyakarans embarked for Ceylon at Navapashana and landed at Manar Before invading the Kandy territory Krishnappa sent a conciliatory message to the King demanding his tribute. But Jayawira the Sinhalese Sovereign rejected it and despatched an army of forty thousand men under four ministers and eight governors to oppose the invaders The two armies met at Puttalam where the army of Kandy was defeated and routed by the general Chinna Kesava Nayaka with twenty thousand men. Among the prisoners there were two ministers, five chieftains and other influential people of Ceylon. The poem says that these captives in vain urged their King to yield. But the Kandy sovereign, collecting an army of sixty thousand Sinhalese and ten thousand Kaffirs (Portuguese?) marched against the Madura King In the bloody struggle that ensued eight thousand Kaffirs and about as many Sinhalese were slaughtered, while the King of Kandy himself lost his life in the engagement. His corpse was taken with due honours to his capital [1]

Krishnappa Nayaka could not remain long in Ceylon since the administration of his kingdom required his presence in the capital. The poem upon which we base our account says that he remained in Kandy only three days. He treated the family of the deceased King with great kindness and sent them to Aurangam, the old capital of Ceylon and after appointing his brother in law Vijaya Gopala Nayaka, his Viceroy in Ceylon returned to Madura [2] This appointment was doubtless only temporary as we do not hear of any subsequent viceroyalty Vijaya Gopala's purpose was to arrange the

chohl's execution. Visvanatha Nayaka had also waged war in Ceylon. Dom Joao de Castro, Governor of Goa writing to King Joao III on the 6th of December 1546, mentions this war made by the Madure, viz. de Nayak of Madura, then Visvanatha Nayaka, against the King of Condo (Kandy) Castro sent forty soldiers to protect the latter against the incursions of the Nayak. *Obras Varias Manuscriptas*, fol. 113. I could not find any other trace of this war

1. No mention is made of this defeat in the Ceylon chronicles. The numbers of combatants are, no doubt, exaggerated.

2. Taylor *Catalogue Raisonne* III p. 183-6.

administration of the country and to procure the regular payment of the tribute

This conquest of Ceylon was probably the last important event of the South during the reign of Sadasiva His inscription of 1564, in which he records having plundered Ceylon, refers probably to the expedition of Krishnappa Nayaka [1]. In the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, he is said to have "acquired the overlordship of the South" [2], a title which he deserved on account of these two successful wars.

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1 451 of 1905 Cf Ch IV, No 2

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p. 320, vv 53—98

CHAPTER VIII

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE, JINJI AND IKERI, THE RAJAS OF MYSORE AND OTHER FEUDATORY CHIEFS

SUMMARY —1. Foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore.—2. Sevvappa Nayaka's reign.—3 Foundation of the Nayakship of Jinji.—4. Foundation of the Nayakship of Keladi Ikeri.—5 Sadasiva Nayaka and his successors.—6 The Rajas of Mysore.—7 Kempe Gowda I of Yelahanka. Foundation of Bangalore.—8. The chiefs of Bellur and Chitaldroog.—9 The kingdom of Honavar annexed to that of Bhatkal. —10 Treaty between the Portuguese and the Queen of Bhatkal.—11. Bukkadevi, Queen of Ullal, and the Portuguese Erection of a Portuguese fort at Mangalore. Other petty states in Karnataka.—12. The Rajas of Udiripikonda Venkatagiri and Vellore.—13 Other minor chiefs.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2 *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra, Rukmini-parinaya, Sahithyaratnakarakaviyam, Jaimini Bharatamu Keladi Raya Padhti Srutattvaratnakara, Keladi Arasu Vamsavali Valagutioaru Vamsavali.*—3 *Tratados (Archivo da Torre do Tombo* Lisbon)—4. Faria y Sousa Barros.—5 C. Frederick.

IT is not yet known for certain when the Chola kingdom of Tanjore first came under the subjection of Vijayanagara. It seems that Prince Kumara Kampana Odeyar conquered the Tanjore territories when sent against the Muhammadans of Madura by Bukka I[1] Since that time the Chola Princes were supposed to be under the sway of the Telugu Emperors in the same way as the Pandyas of Madura. On the southern wall of the big temple of Tanjore there is an inscription of Deva Raya II, of the year 1455[2] and in two other temples of the same city *viz.* that of the Alagesuvara Pillaiyar in the southern fortification, and that of the god Rajagopal in the North Street, are to be seen two inscriptions of Achyuta Raya corresponding to the years 1532 and 1539 respectively[3]

1. Cf. Ch. VI No. 3.

2. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions* II, p. 118.

3. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayak Princes*, p. 1.

It is precisely this Prince to whom the foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore is attributed According to the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, the Chola country was ruled by Visvanatha Nayaka from Madura as a subordinate of the Emperor of Vijayanagara, but on the occasion of the wedding of Murtimambal (the younger sister of his wife Tirumalamba) with Sevvappa, Achyuta appointed the latter sole Viceroy over the Chola country, which was given him as the *stridhana*, or dowry of his bride [1] The date of this important event is not yet ascertained the first inscription of his that we know of is on a stone pillar in the Samusaru mosque, near the Tanjore Railway Station, it corresponds to the year 1549 [2] But this was not the first year of the reign of Sevvappa Nayaka, for Achyuta Raya had probably died at the end of 1541 Now, we know from the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* that Tanjore was governed by Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura, even after the death of Chandra Sekhara Pandya when the former had already been appointed King of the southern throne [3] (and this could not but have happened at the end of Achyuta's reign [4]) Hence we must assign the same year 1541 as the probable date for the foundation of the Tanjore Nayakship

According to the epic *Rukmini-parinaya*, the parents of Sevvappa Nayaka were the sudra Timma or Trimmapa Nayaka and Vayyamba [5] or Bayyambika [6] It seems that Sevvappa's father and grandfather and other elders of his family were generals under the kings of Vijayanagara [7], and that he himself had been a valiant general, for the epic *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam* states that he became master of Tanjore by his own prowess [8], *i e* by his prowesss he won Achyuta's sister-in-law, and with her the kingdom of Tanjore as her dowry

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 323, Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p 176

2 Cf Kuppuswami Sastri, o c, p 4

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l c

4 Cf Ch VII, No 1

5 *Rukmini-parinaya*, III, 34 Cf *Ep Ind*, XII, p 343, note 3

6 *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 284-5

7 Cf Kuppuswami Sastri, o c, p 3

8. Ibid

2. We know very little of the reign of Sevvappa Nayaka, who was equally subject to Vijayanagara with Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura. His works of public utility are about the only things regarding which we have any information. He built for instance a big tank outside the Tanjore fort which was destined to feed the Sivaganga tank inside it in order to supply the inhabitants of the capital with water[1] The name it bears to the present day reminds the one of its builder it is called Sevvappaneri The new Sivaganga fort of Tanjore was also built by him[2] Besides he enlarged and beautified many temples throughout his dominions. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* records that Sevvappa built many towers mantapas and prakaras (compounds) to the temples of Tiruvannamalai and Vrddhachalam[3] The *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam* mentions a big tank dug by him outside the temple of Tiruvannamalai as well as the eleven-storeyed gopura of the same temple[4] A strange fact is that in 1549 he granted a piece of land for the maintenance of fakirs This is recorded in the inscription of the aforesaid Samusaru Mosque at Tanjore[5]

The relations of Sevvappa with the Portuguese were very friendly Several Portuguese merchants had in the beginning of his reign or perhaps even earlier settled in a small village on the coast near Tanjore called Nagapatam. To quote from the anonymous life of St Xavier *they were greatly favoured by the lord of that country who is a very powerful Captain of the king of Bisnaga*"[6] Encouraged by this show of favour more and more Portuguese established them selves there as years went on. They built several

1. *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam*, canto III, v 3 (Raja Sarfoji's Library Tanjore, No. 10291) *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 3-3

2. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, l. c.

3 Ibid.

4. *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam* canto III, v 6.

5 Kuppuswami Sastri o.c p. 4.

6. *M H S I., Mon. Xav.*, I p. 59 This powerful lord can be no other than Sevvappa Nayaka who was the contemporary of St Xavier

good houses, and the former village was converted into 'half a city' There was no Portuguese authority in the town, since it was supposed that it belonged to the Tanjore Nayak, but every three years the Portuguese Viceroy, or Governor, used to send a captain to administer justice among his subjects Negapatam became after a few years a very rich and noble city [1] It contained two churches, one dedicated to St Francis of Assisi and the other to Our Lady of Health (Nossa Senhora da Saude) [2] Caesar Frederick who visited Negapatam in 1567 calls it "a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the Country and part Gentile" [3]

Sevvappa's reign lasted a considerable time, we shall again speak of him when dealing with the reign of Ranga I

3 We do not possess very good information about the foundation of the Nayakship of Jinji According to the above mentioned work of Narayan, the *Karnataka Rajakal Savistara Charitram*, the first Raja of that place was Ananta Kon, who about 1200 A D became the founder of the Shepherd Dynasty At the end of the 14th century an army of Vijayanagara defeated the Raja of Jinji, named Kobilingam, and took possession of the country around [4] This expedition must be the one of Kumara Kampana, because during Kampana's campaign in the South we find his general Gopanaraya at Jinji as governor of the country [5] He appears to have had jurisdiction over the South as far as Chidambaram, for according to the *Guruparampara* Sri Vedanta Desika, taking advantage of an internal commotion in Chidambaram, compelled Gopanaraya of Jinji to re-place there the image of Govinda Raja [6] Later on, probably at Gopanaraya's death, the Jinji country was delivered to Narasinga

1 Ibid

2 *O Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas*, I, p 86 It is recorded that in the very first years of the Portuguese occupation of Negapatam, about three hundred Hindus were baptized

3 Purchas, X, p 108

4 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, III, p 39

5 Cf Ch VI, No 3

6, Cf Rangacharya, I, p 132, 64,

Udiyar to be held as a fief he accepted it with the promise to send an annual tribute to the emperor[1] Then we find Vala Krishnappa Nayakkan mentioned as Raja of Senji (Jinji) his son Vala Venkatapati Nayakkan in 1464, during the reign of Rama Deva Maharaya (?) drew up a document recorded in an inscription at Jinji[2] According to Prof. Srinivasachari this Vala Venkatapati probably was the one who persecuted the Jains of the neighbourhood in 1478[3] Nevertheless, Jinji was subsequently lost to Vijayanagara, for the *Jaimini Bharatamu* informs us that Saluva Narasimha conquered Jinji during his campaign in the South[4]

Leaving aside the conquest of the whole of the Tamil country during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, which has been previously narrated[5] we shall mention here Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka, who seems to have started the line of the Nayaks of Jinji, dependent on the Vijayanagara sovereigns, just after that conquest. His rule lasted till 1521. Many buildings of the Jinji fortress are attributed to him, such as the fortifications at the top of Rajagiri the granary in the lower fort and the Kalyana Mahal. The enclosure of the present fortress with the impressive bastioned wall and ditch, enclosing the three mountains seems also to have been his work. He founded many pettahs around the primitive town[6] He was it seems succeeded by one Achyuta Vijaya Ramabhadra Nayaka, who ruled over Jinji during the reign of Achyuta Raya. In a ruined temple at Chandragiri near the palace an inscription of this monarch records a gift by Achyutaraya Nayaka governor of Jinji[7]

As to the reign of Sadasiva, an inscription on the South wall of the central shrine in the Venkataramaswamin temple at

1. Taylor l. c.
2. Sewell, II p. 9 Rangacharya, I, p 178, 359
3. Srinivasachari *The History of Gingee* p 7 8
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 86.
5. Cf. Ch. VI No 7
6. *The Mackenzie MSS.*, I p. 353 (Madras Oriental MSS. Library)
7. 244 of 1904.

Jinji mentions the name of the Nayak of Jinji at this time, without stating whether he was a relation of the governor Achyuta or not This inscription records a gift of land made by King Sadasiva, and another gift made by Surappa Nayaka, for the merit of Sadasiva, who is entitled Vira Pratapa Maharaya Both these gifts were made in 1550[1] The drama *Bhavana-purushottama* by the famous poet Ratnakheta Srinivasa Dikshita gives some information about this Surappa, at whose court the poet lived Surappa's father had been Pota Bhupala who had married Vengalamba, and by her got Surappa Nayaka besides two other sons, Divakara Nayaka and Bhairava Nayaka[2]

4 We pass now from the East to the West of the Empire, *viz* to the old Karnataka country[3], and the most important subordinate state we find there at this time is that of Keladi, afterwards called of Ikeri There are diverse opinions concerning the origin of its Nayaks[4] Their ancestors, according to the *Keladi Raya Paditti*, their family chronicle, had originally been hereditary *gowdas* or chiefs of five or six villages in the neighbourhood of Keladi[5] We know from the *Sivatattvarat-nakara* that a person named Basava or Basavappa, according to the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali*, a husbandman[6] of the Sudra caste[7], married a woman of the same name, and that by her he had four sons. After the death of Basava and the first two children, his widow gave birth to two posthumous sons who were named Chauda and Bhadra On one occasion, when Chauda

1 240 of 1904. There is another inscription at Jambai, South Arcot, probably belonging to the same chief 104 of 1906

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 272, note

3 The present word Kanara is but a corruption of the word Karnataka, made by the Portuguese Faria y Sousa, II, p 189, says "This kingdom of Charnataca (or Canara which is a corrupted form made to shorten the name) had no Sovereign till the year 1200," and speaking shortly after of the city of Visajanagar (sic) he says that Visnaga is likewise a corruption of it Cf V B Alur, *The Karnatak and its Place in Indian History*, *Q J M S*, IX, p 33

4 Cf Rice, *Mysore*, II, p 431

5 Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, II, p 379

6 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 333,

7 Sewell, II, p 177.

was ploughing his land his ploughshare is said to have struck considerable buried treasure. With it he managed to become the headman of the village, and as such, he collected a small company of soldiers. The then king of the country who was probably Krishna Deva Raya [1] on hearing of this, sent for Chauda. Krishna Deva Raya was much pleased to hear his story and knowing the personal character of the Keladi man appointed him governer of Pulla-desa with the title of Keladi Chaudappa Nayaka. Chaudappa had two sons, Sadasiva and Bhadra [2] He died soon after but not before he had appointed Sadasiva his successor

Sadasiva proved a very fine governor The poem says that "the people were happy under him On hearing of his achievements Rama Raya, the Regent of Vijayanagara, called him to the court in order to employ him in the wars against the Muhammadans. Rama Raya was at the time engaged in some business that required his presence in the capital so he put Sadasiva at the head of his army which, in alliance with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was to attack the Bijapur fort at Kaliyani. We have already narrated the achievements of Sadasiva during this campaign [3] He was also despatched against some rebellious chiefs of the Karnatak [4] He overran this country as far as Kasargod, and captured the forts of Barakura Mangalura and Chandragutti [5] Perhaps it was on account of these

1. I suppose that this is the reason of the confusion existing even in the contemporary sources about the creator of the Nayakship of Keladi Ikeri The *Keladi Raya Paddati* affirms that its institutor was Krishna Deva Raya (Buchanan l.c.) and the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* says that it was Achyuta Raya (Wilson l.c.) But the real royal Nayakship of Keladi was not founded till the time of Chauda s son Sadasiva Nayaka, who was appointed by Emperor Sadasiva.

2. It seems that the first of these two brothers took the name of Sadasiva, as Sadasiva Raya favoured him so much. The *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* for instance, calls him Chaurapa. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333

3 Cf. Ch. V No. 6.

4. Cf Ch. IV No. 2.

5 Cf. Rice *Mysore* I, p. 433

campaigns that one of the titles of the Nayaks of Ikeri was *Kote Kolahala*, disturber of forts [1] Sadasiva was also sent against the Sultan of Bidar Him he captured (along with seven constituents of his royalty) and brought as a present to Rama Raya, who gave him the title of *Sabtusaptangaharana*, captor of the seven constituents of royalty of his enemies Further, he joined an expedition against Travancore [2], and conducted another against two chiefs named Yadava and Murari in the country of Jalihalu, whom he defeated and brought as prisoners to his sovereign The Emperor gave him the title of Yadavamu-rari Kotikolahala [3] And it was probably then that his dominions were enlarged by the grateful sovereign, who thus caused the foundation of a Nayakship similar to those of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, although the title had already been given to his father by Krishna Deva Raya

5 After this series of campaigns, Sadasiva Nayaka retired to his capital An inscription of 1554 records that Sadasiva Nayaka purchased a piece of land for the Brahmans [4]

But soon a new expedition was led by him against the governor of Bankapura, named Madarasa, who had considerably enlarged his dominions and was regarded as a menace Madarasa was captured and led as prisoner to the Emperor [5] Then Sadasiva erected several forts in the strategic points of his dominions, to provide against any eventuality to wit, the forts of Keladi [6], Beakul [7] and Chandragiri, South Kanara [8] He also built the temple of Isvara at Ikeri [9] Upon him, later, was conferred the governorship of Barakura-rajya by Venkatadri, who was then 'ruling the whole kingdom' [10]

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1 Cf Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 156
2 Cf Ch VII, No 5
3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 194-6
4 Rangacharya, II, p 850, 21
5 *Sivatattvaratnakara*, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 196
6 Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, II, p 381
7 Ibid, p 213
8 Ibid, Sewell, I, p 258
9 Buchanan, o c, p 380
10 168 of 1901, *M E R*, *1911-12*, p 179 It was at this period when the whole government was on the shoulders of Tirumala and Venkatadri Cf Ch III, No 9

After this turbulent and successful career Sadasiva Nayaka, being too old to govern bestowed upon his brother Bhadrappa Nayaka the title of Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka and anointed him governor in his stead. Then Sadasiva "retired to the forests in the evening of his life, says the *Sivatattvarat nakara*[1] Sewell puts the end of Sadasiva's reign in the year 1576[2] but this date is obviously wrong, since his second successor was deposed by Rama Raya. We may say however that this event took place during the last years of Rama Raya, some time after 1560 because the reign of Bhadrappa Nayaka did not last long the aforesaid poem says only that he "ruled for some time[3] He is said to have transferred the capital from Keladi to Ikeri[4] Before his death he nominated the elder son of Sadasiva Nayaka, Dodda Sankanna Nayaka, as his successor and the younger Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, as the heir-apparent[5] There had been to Sadasiva by different mothers[6]

Dodda Sankanna Nayaka's rule was, it seems, of short duration. All we know of him is that he was deposed by Rama Raya for putting a Jangama priest to death. Rama Raya then made the former's brother Chikka Sankanna, Nayak of Keladi in his stead[7] It appears that Dodda Sankanna set out on a pilgrimage to the holy places of India from Rameswaram to the Himalayas, and lived in retirement for the rest of his days[8] An inscription of Sadasiva Raya, bearing a wrong date, mentions Ramaraja Nayaka, grandson of Sadasiva Raya Nayak of Keladi[9] This Ramaraya Nayaka must have been a son of one of these two brothers.

1. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar l. c.
2. Sewell, II, p. 177
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar l. c.
4. Rice, *Mysore* II, p. 431.
5. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, l. c.
6. Ibid., p. 194.
7. *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 353.
8. Rice *Mysore* II p. 433
9. 131 of 1901.

6 The Keladi Nayaks of Ikeri were not the only rulers of the Karnataka country which were tributary to the power of Vijayanagara Many petty states were formed or were then being formed Of these we shall also give a brief account The one that in due course became most important was the state of Mysore.

This country had come under the sway of Vijayanagara during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya This monarch had crushed a refractory chief of those surroundings, the Ganga Raja of Ummatur, and had captured the strong fort of Sivasamudram and the city of Seringapatam After this all the country had submitted to him [1] The origin of the Rajas of Mysore is traceable to a legendary source A grant of Kanthirava, of 1657, gives the genealogy of his family from Vishnu through Brahma, Atri, Indu, Buddha, Pururava and other heroes down to the historic founders of the family settled in the Karnataka country [2]

These were two young Kshatriyas of the tribe of Yadava, Krishna's tribe, named Vijaya and Krishna, who, according to tradition, had left Dvaraka in Gujarat to establish themselves in the South [3] Their enterprise in rescuing the daughter of the Wodeyar of Hadana from the hands of the chief of Carugalli seems more a poetical figment than a historical fact The truth is that Vijaya was fortunate enough to attain the chieftainship of one or two towns that proved to be the basis of the future aggrandizement of the family We have no knowledge of the date of Vijaya's arrival in the South [4]

Nothing is definitely known of his descendants prior to the 16th century when Chama Raja is mentioned as succeed-

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1 *Madras Journal*, XIV, p 39

2 *Ep Carn*, IV, Ch, 92

3 Wilks, *History of Maysur*, I, p 31, Rice, *Mysore*, I, p 361

4 P Krishna Row, *A Brief History of Mysore*, p 4 Rice, *Mysore*, I, p 362, says that he ruled from 1399 to 1423 About the first settlement in the South of the Mysore ruling family, there is no agreement between Wilks and the *Palace History* Cf S Krishna swami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p 275-6

ing in or about 1507[1] Another Chama Raja[2] is said to have built in 1524 a fort at Puragary which was thereafter called Mahish Asur commonly pronounced Mahishasur and now contracted into Mysore. Since that time the chiefs of this family used to reside there[3]

We hear of no intercourse between them and the court of Vijayanagara at all. This means that these petty chiefs rendered at the time the submission due to the imperial power In these days there was no viceroy of Vijayanagara at Seringapatam the whole country was directy subject to the Emperor We know of a gift of land belonging to Seringapatam made by Rama Raya, to whom it had been granted by Sadasiva in 1550. No viceroy or agent of either Sadasiva or Rama Raya is mentioned in this document[4]

7 More powerful than the Raja of Mysore at this time was the Prabhu of Yelahanka. The family of these chiefs had come to the Karnataka country from Alur a village near Kanchivaram and settled down at Avati in the vicinity of Devanahalli 25 miles North-East of the present Bangalore. One member of this family in 1418, established himself at Yelahanka, 9 miles North of the same city and began to style himself *Yelahanka Nadu Prabhu*, Lord of the Yelahanka country[5] This title was kept up by his successors. They ruled as vassals of the Vijayanagara Emperor paying tribute to him as long as their power lasted.

The most famous among the Yelahanka Lords was Kempe Gowda I son of Kempanacheya Gowda according to an inscription near his statue in the Sivaganga temple. He commenced his rule in 1513. He had been favoured by Krishna Deva Raya, from whom he received the villages of Ballapura Devanahalli and Hoskote[6] But his successful career began

1. P Krishna Row l. c.
2. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 332.
3 Wilks, o. c., p. 34.
4. *Ep Carn.*, III, My 50
5 This chief seems to have been called Jaya Gowda. Cf Narasimiah, *The Founder of Bangalore* p 11.
6. *M.A.D.*, *1922*, p. 15

during the reign of Achyuta Deva Raya in 1537, when Kempe Gowda founded Bangalore in the place of the old village of Sivanasamudram by erecting a mud fort[1] The Emperor appreciated the enterprise of the Yelahanka chief, summoned him to his court, and granted him the enjoyment of twelve hoblies or groups of villages, yielding a revenue of 30,000 pagodas On returning to his estate he beautified the new city and made it his capital He built in it the Vishnu and several other temples, and endowed them with grants of villages, lands and agraharas for their perpetual worship

Nor were these the only temples erected by him in his dominions The inscription running near his statue in the Sivaganga temple describes him as a very pious man "Kempaya Gowda, son of Kempanacheya Gowda of Bengaluru, who is always making obeisance to the feet of the god Gangadharaswami" Accordingly many of the temples round about Bangalore claim to have been erected by our hero The Lakshmamma's remple at Koramangala, the Somesvara Channigarayaswami temples at Halsur, and the Gavi Gangadharesvara temple at Gavipur, as well as the Kempambudhi tank near it, along with the rest of the village and its large lake, are some of the works due to the piety and munificence of Kempe Gowda He also enlarged and beautified the shrines of the sacred hill of Sivaganga where his statue is shown to this day

Such increase of power made him covet indepedence, and was also the cause of his disgrace with the Emperor His ambitious purpose was shown when he exceeded the powers of a feudal chief by establishing a mint without permission of the Vijayanagara sovereign, where he coined the Bhire Deva pagodas This happened probably at the beginning of the reign of Sadasiva Raya, when several chiefs of the Karnataka country rebelled against the central power, as stated by Ferishta[2] Rumours of Kempe Gowda's proceedings reached the court, and he is said to have been sent for by Rama Raya, but it seems more probable that he was defeated

1 The new town was called Bengaluru after a hamlet of this name in the surroundings Cf Narasimiah, o c, p 13,

2 Cf Ch, IV, No 2,

and captured by a general of Vijayanagara perhaps by Sadasiva Nayaka of Ikeri, who at about the same time, conducted an expedition against some rebel chiefs of Shimoga. The fact is that Kempe Gowda on reaching Vijayanagara was cast into prison at Anegundi on the other side of the Tungabhadra and that his territory was confiscated and added to that of Jagadeva Raya.

After remaining in confinement for five years Kempe Gowda was released in or about 1563 through the influence of his friends and after the payment of a heavy fine his possessions were restored to him. After he had returned from the metropolis he abolished the family custom of amputating the two ring fingers of the marriageable females of his household, because he considered it incompatible with his dignity as *Prabhu* of the country He lived five years more after his release, and died in 1569, one year after Tirumala's accession to the throne of Vijayanagara [1]

8. Bellur was another of the petty states of Karnataka. Its chief at this time was Era Krishnappa Nayaka, who appears to have been enfeoffed by Krishna Deva Raya in 1524 [2] He was the son of Baippa Nayaka and Kondamma [3] The great influence he enjoyed at the court of Vijayanagara is proved by epigraphical records when Sadasiva remitted the taxes to the barbers in 1546 Rama Raya at once informed Era Krishnappa Nayaka of the execution of the King's order [4] He enjoyed the dignity of bearer of Sadasiva's betel-bag [5] He is given the titles of 'Sindhu Govinda, champion over adulterers, terrible with his white ensign boon lord of Maninagapura [6] a place not yet identified [7] Finally when in

1. The best account of the Lords of Yelahanka is the one of Mr B. Puttaiya *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, published in the *Q J M S*, XIII, p. 724ff., it is a compilation of the information given by both tradition and documents hitherto available.

2. Cf. *Ep Ind.*, XI p. 329

3. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg 18 and 39

4. Ibid., Hk, 110

5. Ibid., Dg, 18 and 39; *M A. D., 1920* p. 38

6. *Ep Carn.*, XI Dg 18 and 39

7 *Ep Carn.*, V, p. XXXIII. In 1535-6 these titles were given to Tirumalaraya of Udayagiri. Cf. *Ep Carn.*, III Sr 95.

1554 the outer petha of Bagur was rebuilt by Sada order, it was named Krishnapura, after Era Krishi Nayaka [1] Both Sadasiva and Krishnappa Navaki mentioned together in an inscription at Hassan [2]

We know but little of his achievements A Kanares cription of 1543 in a temple at Badami refers to the constr of a bastion by Era Krishnappa Nayaka, under the super dence of Kondaraja [3] In 1561 he made for the merit parents a grant of the Kadaji village in the Bilichodu-sin ghee, the chatra and other necessary offerings to th Harihara, with exemption from customs-dues, watch and privileges [4] From one of the Kanarese books of the M zie Collection we know that one of his daughters was Venkatama [5].

We are not aware of the date of Krishnappa Na death We know only that in 1576-7 the head of the fam his son Venkatadri Nayaka [6]

The chief of Chitaldroog was another of the petty of Karnataka During the reign of Krishna Deva Timmana Nayaka, a Telugu from the neighbourh Tirupati, visited Vijayanagara and was invited to join th dition against the Deccani Mussulmans When the car was over he was rewarded with many honours At period, however, he incurred the royal displeasure ar imprisoned at Vijayanagara where he died His son Nayaka was appointed Nayak of Chitaldroog during the of Sadasiva [7]

9 From the Portuguese chronicles we know of feudatory chiefs of Vijayanagara in the Karnatik, n coast of the Arabian sea The earliest relations Portuguese with these chiefs began with the King o

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1 *Ep Carn*, XI, Hk, 112

2 Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p 90, 533

3 *Ind Ant*, X, p 64, *M A D*, *1920*, p 38 Cf Ch III,

4 *Ep Carn*, XI, Dg, 18 and 39.

5 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 345

6 *Ep Carn*, IV, Yd, 59

7 Rice, *Mysore*, II, p 501-2,

(Honore) the present Honavar[1] We do not know his name, but have information that in 1506, when the first Viceroy Dom Francisco d Almeida was in Anjediva on the coast of Kanara the King of Onor sent ambassadors to him in order to seek his friendship Later however Dom Francisco went from Anjediva to Onor and not being well received, burnt the town and a number of ships which he found there. The Indians defended the ships valiantly and during the encounter the Viceroy was wounded by an arrow The city nevertheless was captured and its governor named Timoja, an influential person who owned many of the burnt ships, in an interview with Dom Franciso excused the King for what had happened and offered vassalage to Portugal on his behalf[2] Affonso d Albuquerque, in a letter written in 1512 writes to King Dom Manoel that "the King of Onor gives him a tribute of more than one thousand pardaos. Nevertheless" says Albuquerque "he aids the Sabayo (the Sultan of Bijapur) against us and has always his ambassador at the latter's court"[3]

This kingdom was afterwards annexed to that of Bhatkal either during the reign of Sadasiva or a little earlier for when Caesar Frederick passed through Onor in 1567 this city was "in the kingdom of the Queen of Bartacella" (Batecala or Baticala Bhatkal) The same traveller says that "there is no trade there but onely a charge with the Captaine and companie hee keepeth there[4]

10. The kingdom of Bhatkal was visited by the Portu-

1. In this and other similar cases we keep to the denomination of King applied to the petty chiefs of Kanara. Pietro della Valle II, p. 216 speaking in 1623 of Venkatappa Nayaka, *King* of Ikeri, says "Who in my judgment, should rather be called a Regulus or Royolet although the Portugals and Indians give him the honour of a Royal title, being he hath in effect neither State, Court, nor appearance, befitting a true king."

2. Barros, II 267-83 Faria y Sousa I, p. 77-8 Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* II p. 282.

3. From Affonso d Albuquerque to Dom Manoel, Goa April 1st, 1512, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas* p. 32.

4. Purchas, X, p. 101.

guese early in 1502 Vasco de Gama, on passing by the city of Bhatkal, gave orders to land at that famous port, and noticing that the natives were making attempts to prevent the landing of his soldiers, took the offensive On learning this, the King of Bhatkal despatched some Muhammadans to offer his submission The Portuguese accepted it on condition that the Turks should not be allowed to trade there, that no trade in pepper should be carried on at that port, and that vessels should not be permitted to sail from thence to Calicut The King accepted these terms, and offered an annual tribute of 1,000 loads of common rice for the Portuguese soldiers, and of 500 loads of superior rice for the officers, excusing himself at the same time for not giving more, as he was only a tenant of the Emperor of Vijayanagara to whom the country belonged [1] The Italian traveller Corsali, while visiting the place in 1517, wrote likewise to Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici that "the king of Narsinga was the lord of it (Bhatkal)" [2]

The tribute promised to Vasco de Gama was faithfully paid, it seems till about 1540 The sovereign of Bhatkal at that time was a valiant woman whose name is not given Her predecessor, perhaps her husband, had died at Vijayanagara sometime before [3] She defied the Portuguese power by withholding the customary tribute of rice, and by giving shelter in her dominions to some pirates who were infesting that sea and disturbing the Portuguese trade

That was the reason why the first act of Martim Affonso de Sousa, after he assumed the reins of government in 1543, was to raise a force of 2,000 men, with which he proceeded in a fleet of seventy ships to chastise the haughty Queen of Bhatkal

On reaching the port, Martim Affonso demanded the tribute and the surrender of the pirates' vessels The Queen made several excuses, but the Governor landed at once with a contingent of 1,200 men, which he divided into two battalions, putting Fernao de Sousa e Tavora at the head of one, and him-

1 Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p 81-2

2 Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori*, p 117

3 Correa, IV, p 252

self taking command of the other At the same time he ordered 20 vessels of light draught to sail up the river to attack the city by sea. The governor marched with his force through a palm-grove. Here he was met by a body of the enemy who, notwithstanding their gallant opposition were driven to the gates of the city The Portuguese entered the town in pursuit, and the struggle that ensued in its streets lasted for many hours. It seems that the Queen herself went personally to her soldiers and encouraged them to defend her rights. But by night the Portuguese were in the possession of the city

The next morning the Portuguese soldiers, whilst plundering the town disagreed among themselves as to the division of the spoil, and tumult reigned supreme. The enemy who had retired to a neighbouring hill perceived the commotion, and fell upon them in such numbers that they fled in disorder and took to their ships in such panic that several were drowned. The governor incensed with fury ordered a fresh attack to be made the next day The city was burnt and the country laid waste so much havoc was caused throughout the land by this final action of Martim Affonso de Sousa that the Queen no longer able to resist, submitted and made peace under the terms proposed by the Portuguese Governor [1]

This treaty was finally signed on September 17th, 1548, during the reign of Sadasiva, when Garcia de Sa was Governor of Goa. According to the treaty the Queen undertook to pay the annual tribute previously promised, as well as all arrears. She likewise promised not to permit pirates ships to leave her territory and in case of her failure to restrain them, she made herself responsible for any damage they might cause to the Portuguese.

II Another feudatory state of Vijayanagara in the Karnataka country was that of Ullal. In 1530 the Portuguese under the command of Nuno da Cunha had crossed the river of

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 117-20 Correa, IV p. 257-63 Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* II p. 289

2 *Archivo da Torre do Tombo* Lisbon, *Tratados* I p. 130. Cf. Danvers, *Report* p. 51. See the text of this treaty in Botelho, *O Tombo do Estado da India*, Lima Felner *Subsidios* p. 242-3.

Mangalore, which flowed through the Ullal territory, and destroyed the stockade and the fortified positions with the purpose of punishing a rich merchant of that place, who was in league with the King of Calicut against them [1] This time the war was not supposed to be against the Queen of Olala (Ullal) She either paid tribute to Portugal then, or was bound to do so shortly after, for in the year 1556 Dom Alvaro de Silveyra was sent at the head of several vessels against the Queen for refusing to pay the ordinary tribute The city of Mangalore was plundered on this occasion and a gorgeous Hindu temple destroyed The Queen then accepted the terms of the Portuguese captain

Nevertheless ten years after, either the same Queen, or her successor, again refused payment of all tribute The name of this Queen, according to the Portuguese chroniclers, was Bucadevi Chantar (Bukka Devi Chautar) Pietro della Valle, who met this Queen in the course of his travels through India, corrupts her name even a little more according to him she was named Abag-devi-Ciantru [3] The Viceroy Dom Antao de Noronha, with a fleet of seven galleys, two galliots and five smaller vessels, carrying in all about 3,000 fighting men, proceeded to Mangalore, determined to erect a fort there, and bring about the submission of the Queen

The fleet anchored in the bay where both the cities, Mangalore and Ullal, are situated The Viceroy then landed his men in six battalions on January 4th, 1567 But that night, while the Portuguese, quite unconscious of danger, were supping in their camp, the enemy sallied forth in a body of 500 men, followed by another of 1,500, and fell on them so suddenly that for a time they were helpless and thrown into great disorder Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, one of the generals, who held an advance post, received the brunt of the attack, and though he fought well, he lost several men He was finally relieved by Dom Luiz de Almeida and the enemy were driven off

The next day the Portuguese assaulted the city, and after

1 Faria y Sousa, I, p 283-4
2 Ibid, II, p 301-2
3 Della Valle, II, p 311

they had forced their way into it, set it on fire and cut down its grove of palm trees. The Queen fled to the mountain. Of the Hindus 500 were slain and of the Portuguese troops about forty The Viceroy then laid the foundations of the fort giving it the name of Sao Sebastiao, because the first stone was laid on that Saint's day and in commemoration of the then reigning King of Portugal By the middle of March the fortress, with a church and other buildings, was completed The Viceroy gave the command of the fort to his brother in law Antao Pereira and having left there a garrison of 300 men, and ammunition for six months, returned to Goa. Later on during the govern ment of Dom Luiz de Atayde, Bukka Devi sued for peace which she purchased at the cost of an additional tribute, and a payment of ready cash [1]

Frederick, who passed through Mangalore a few months after this attack, states that there is very small trade, but only for a little rice [2]

In the neighbourhood of Barcelor (Basrur), the old Barace of Ptolomey near the mouth of the Kundapur river there was another chief called by the Portguese King of Cambolim (Gangolly) subject to Vijayanagara [3] Frederic mentions also the Queen of Gargopam (Gersoppa), near Honavar as tributary to the King of Bezenegar (Vijayanagara)." The city of Ancola belonged to her [4] In 1540 the King of Gersoppa most likely that Queen's predecessor had acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of Portugal, to whom he promised to pay a thousand sackfuls of rice every year [5]

12. Turning now to the centre of the Empire, we find in the North the petty state of Udinpikonda. Its first Raja seems to have been Timma Nayadu. From an inscription in the Pennahobalam temple at Udinpikonda we know that he was

1. Faria y Sousa, II p 435-8; Dos Santos, o.c., II p. 292 Lafitau *Histoire des Decouvertes* II, p. 597-9

2. Purchas, X, p. 101.

3 Faria y Sousa, II, p. 469 and 474.

4. Purchas, X, p. 99.

5 Botelho, *O Tombo do Estado da India*, Lima Felner *Subsidios* p. 257-8; Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas* p. 92.

living in 1556 He seems to have done much to improve the fortifications of his capital Perhaps, he had been appointed Raja by Krishna Deva Raya after a campaign, as a reward for his services during the war His son Narasa Nayadu enlarged the fort by building a new bastion, surrounded the village with a mud wall, and built for himself a palace in the village and another on the top of the hill The Udiripikonda family reached during his reign the climax of its prosperity He was succeeded by his son Vemala Nayadu, in whose time the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi took place [1]

In the North-East corner of the Empire there was another petty state, that of Venkatagiri The Valugoti family of its Rajas was at this time subject to Vijayanagara. One of them, Pedakondappa Nayadu, as well as his brother, Gene Nayadu, with the latter's two sons, Nayanappa and Timma, distinguished themselves against the Mussulmans in the reigns of Krishna Raya, Achyuta Raya and Sadasiva [2] In the Virabhadresvara temple in the village of Macherla, Guntur District, there is an inscription of 1554 recording a gift of the village of Lingapura to the temples of Viresvara and Ishtakamesvara, at the said village of Macherla, by the Queen of Komara Timma-Nayaningaru of the Recharla-gotra and Velugoti family, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Virapratapa Sadasivaraya Maharaya [3]

Turning now southwards, we come to the present North Arcot, and here we find the Rajas of Vellore The ruling family was one of the most influential in the whole of the Empire, and one of its members was destined to create a great deal of trouble in the reign of Venkata II [4] The chief

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1 Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p 165 The information is taken from one of the Mackenzie MSS

2 *Valugutivaru Vamsavali*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 274 The Bobbili Zemindari was at this time depending on the Venkatagiri Raja Cf Maha Rajah Sri Rao Sir Venkata Swetachalapati, *A Revised and Enlarged Account of the Bobbili Zemindari*, p 13-7

3 584 of 1909

4. Cf Ch XV, No 11

contemporary of Sadasiva was Chinna Bomma Nayaka, whose earliest known inscription is dated 1549[1] We do not know at what time his father Chinna Virappa Nayaka died[2] He was very likely ruling some time along with one of his brothers; for an inscription of Sadasiva of the year 1550 mentions Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka and Chinna Bomma Nayaka, as the chiefs of Vellore[3] His influence at the court of Vijayanagara is beyond question The grant of the village of Arambaritti to Jvarakandesvara, the Lord of Vellore, made by Rama Raya at the request of Chinma Bomma, proves it conclusively[4] He was still ruling after the battle of *Raksas-Tagdi because on February 5th, 1567*[5] *he obtained* three grants from the Mahamandalesvara Tirumala who was then the governor of the Empire on behalf of Sadasiva[6] we know from these inscriptions that Bomma Nayaka's jurisdiction extended over the villages of Arapakkam Ariyur and Sadupperi all in the vicinity of Vellore. From other inscriptions of the time of Ranga I. we learn that he exercised jurisdiction also over Sattuvachcheri Samanginellur and Perumai[7] During the reign of Venkata II we shall deal at length with his son Lingappa Nayaka after those events Vellore became the capital of the Empire.

13. The names of many other chiefs of petty states may be found on going through the inscriptions of the reign of Sadasiva the greatest number is in Cuddapah District. An inscription of Cuddapah itself records that a feudatery of Sadasiva erected a stone mandapam and planted a garden near it[8] Another states that Ellappa Nayaka, a feudatory of Sadasiva, granted to the god some land in the village of Chintakommadinne[9] Ramarajayya Pimmaraju Garu, a

1. Hultsch, *South Indian Inscriptions* I, p. 84, 57
2. Vilapaka grant of Venkata II *Ep Ind.*, IV p 271.
3. 417 of 1905
4. 39 of 1887
5. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, p. 132.
6. 37 38 and 44 of 1887
7. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions* I, p. 73-5 47-9
8. Rangacharya, I, p. 578, 33
9. Ibid., p. 577 22.

feudatory of Sadasiva, exempted the barbers of the village of Chinna Mudiyam from taxes [1], The Mahamandalesvara Maharaya of Yeragudi remitted taxes on barbers at Kalamalla, with the permission of Rama Raya [2] One Narayana, son of Tirumala Raja of Bhojanapullah, gave two tums and six mundas of land to Brahmans for the maintenance of the watershed [3] Finally Nandyal Aubalaraja, son of Mahamandalesvara Singarayadeva Maharaja [4], feudatory of Sadasiva, granted some land to the god Tiruvengalanatha [5], and again gave half a kunda of dry field in Cuddapah to the deity [6] It seems that he was succeeded by his grandson Nandyala Timmayyadeva Maharaju, who claims to be the grandson of Nandyala Avubalaraja when making a gift of a village to the temple of Ragunathadeva on the Gandikota-durga [7] He also, as feudatory of Sadasiva, built the village of Potladurti and gave it to the god Chennakesava [8], granted some lands to the gods and Brahmans of the village of Nellala [9], gave the god Chennakesava of Kodur some lands in Nandapadu [10] and Kodur itself [11], granted the rent of a village for meeting the expense of ceremonial [12], gave the dues of the village of Koppulu to learned men [13] and remitted the tax on the barbers of Bondalakunta [14], Lingala [15], Nallapalli [16], and Gandikota-sima [17]

1 Ibid, p 589, 145
2 381 of 1904
3 Rangacharya, I, p 587, 129
4 106 of 1905
5 Rangacharya, I, p 578, 36
6 Ibid, p 578, 38
7 486 of 1906
8 Rangacharya, I, p 616, 480
9 Ibid, p 629, 594
10 Ibid, p 612, 440
11 Ibid, p 612, 444
12 Ibid p 574, 8
13 Ibid, p 580, 60
14 Idid, p 588, 136
15 Ibid, p 613, 450
16 Ibid, p 602, 331
17 318 of 1905 Some relations to these chiefs are mentioned in 81 of 1915 and Rangacharya, II, p 964, 534-537.

CHAPTER IX

THE BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI

SUMMARY.—1 Project of a league of the Deccani Muhammadans against Vijayanagara.—2. Reconciliation between the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar The Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar join the alliance.—3 Rama Raya s preparations against the Muhammadans.—4. Description of the two armies.—5. Advance positions near the river Krishna.—6 Order of battle in the two camps.—7 First action: Venkatadri s attack against Ali Adil Shah, and Tirumala s against the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar.—8. Second action Engagement between Rama Raya and Husain Nizam Shah Muhammadan retreat.—9 Third action The last effort of the Muhammadans. Treachery of two Muslim captains of Rama Raya.—10 Capture and execution of the Hindu ruler.—11. Flight of the Hindu army.—12. Plunder of the Hindu camp.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Ferishta Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma asir Basatin-us-Salatin*.—2. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—3. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Maratha and Kanarese accounts of the battle.—4. Poona Persian Poem *Ramarajiyamu Chikadevaraya Vamsavali Jangama Kalainyana*.—5 Couto, Faria y Sousa.—6. C. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.

IN one of the preceding chapters we said that the arrogance of Rama Raya was responsible for the Muhammadan alliance which culminated in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. They disliked Rama Raya for interfering in the Muslim kingdoms especially in the last campaigns their pride had been insulted, their religious feelings despised and their independence threatened by the Hindu Monarch [1] The natural consequence of this was the Muhammadan league.

1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 268 says that "the Hindu records state that on going to an audience of the Raja the envoy of Ibrahim Adil Shah passed on his way some swine intended to be given to menials of the court. As he expressed his abhorrence of this unclean animal to the Raja the latter treated his aversion with ridicule, and

According to both Couto and Ali ibn Aziz, it was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar who promoted this alliance among the Deccani kingdoms, spurred on by his hatred towards Rama Raya, who had often laid waste the territories of his realm [1] But Ferishta says clearly that "Ali Adil Shah resolved to curb his insolence (Rama Raya's) and reduce his power by a league of the faithful against him" The first idea, then, of such an alliance came from the Sultan of Bijapur, and was confirmed by the opinion of his courtiers, for having discused this point in an assembly of his counsellors, two of them, Kishwar Khan Lary and Shah Aboo Turab Shirazy, represented "that the King's desire to humble the pride of the Raya of Bijanagar was undoubtedly meritorious and highly politic, but could never be effected unless by the union of all the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, as the revenues of Ramraj, collected from sixty seaports and numerous flourishing cities and districts, amounted to an immense sum, which enabled him to maintain a force, against

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asked him how he could hold them as unclean when he fed upon fowls, which picked out grains from the ordure of swine He took an opportunity of showing him the fact The insult roused Ibrahim Adil Shah to arms" Wilson is mistaken at least in referring to Ibrahim Adil Shah as the Sultan of Bijapur who was present at the so-called battle of Talikota It was his son Ali Adil Shah

1 Couto, VIII, p 28-9, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L, p 143 It seems however that Husain Nizam Shah was the most prominent in the battlefield among the four Sultans Naturally the P P P does not mention any other Sultan, according to the poet, the army of Ahmadnagar alone fought against and defeated Rama Raya See Ap A. A Marathi MS of the Mackenzie collection refers to the pretext for commencing this campaign against Vijayanagara, as follows "While Rama Rayalu was ruling, a Mahomedan Fakir came (to Anegundi) and bathed in a sacred pool, and being taken while doing so, was carried before the ruler, at whose command the Fakir himself, and two others of his class, were beaten and allowed to escape barely with life They went to Delhi (a word often loosely used for Mohamedan) and represented that if Vijayanagara were not taken, the Delhi ruler was no Mussulman In consequence of this incident preparations were made to go against Vijayanagara, which was captured" Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p 691-2,

which no single king of the Mussulmans could hope to contend with the smallest prospect of success"

2. *Accordingly by the Sultan s command,* Kishwar Khan took the necessary measures to effect a general league. The first step was to send an envoy to Golkonda to sound Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and to propose to him, if found prudent, the aforesaid plan. The Golkonda Sultan at once fell in with the views of Ali Adil Shah, and even offered to bring together Ali Adil Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, who were in perpetual disagreement on the question of the possession of the fort of Sholapur [1] With this view he deputed Mustafa Khan one of the ablest nobles of his court, to the courts of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, with the object of effecting a reconciliation between Husain Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah and forming some family connection between them if possible, in order to perpetuate the alliance [2]

On reaching Ahmadnagar Mustafa reminded its Sultan that during the times of the Bahmani princes the whole strength of the Mussulman powers was united under one king, which maintained the balance against the force of the Raya of Bijanagar that now though the Mussulman dominion was divided yet policy required that all the princes of the faithful should unite in restraining the increasing power of their common enemy He observed that the authority of the Raya of Bijanagar who had reduced all the Rajas of the Karnatic to his yoke, required to be checked and that his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam, in order that the people of their several dominions, who should be considered as being committed by the Almighty to their care, might repose in safety from the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels [3]

1. Ferishta, III, p. 123-4.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 123 says that Mustafa Khan was directed first to Bijapur but I here prefer the authority of the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, l. c., p. 413 Moreover, no satisfactory reason is forthcoming for his journey first to Bijapur since from Bijapur the first idea of the league went out to Golkonda

3. Ferishta, l. c., p 124-5 *Burhan-i-Ma asir Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 143-4.

The mission of Mustafa Khan proved eminently successful Husain Nizam Shah was moved by his reasons, and shortly afterwards plans were laid for the reconciliation between both Sultans Husain Nizam Shah was to give his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Ali Adil Shah, and with her the fort of Sholapur as her dowry In return, the Sultan of Bijapur was to give his sister Falah Bibi Hadya Sultana to Nizam Shah's eldest son, Prince Shahzada Murtaza, afterwards Murtaza Nizam Shah [1] Couto adds here that Husain Nizam Shah gave Ibrahim Qutb Shah another of his daughters as wife [2] These family unions were only a sanction of the league calculated to reduce the power of Rama Raya, for this purpose it was resolved to march against him at the earliest practicable moment

Mustafa Khan then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Mowlana Inayatullah, the ambassador of Nizam Shah There the political treaties and marriage agreements were drawn up and naturally confirmed by the most solemn oaths The marriages were celebrated with great pomp, and nuptial rejoicings were held in both the cites of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar [3]

Were the other two Deccani Sultans invited to join this league? Faria y Sousa speaks only of the three above-mentioned Sultans, Nizamaluco (Nizam Shan), Idalxa (Adil Shah), and Gutubixa (Qutb Shah) [4] The same only are mentioned by the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* [5] But Ferishta, although he does not mention the

1 Ferishta, l c, p 125, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda Ferishta, l c, p 413, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind Ant*, L, p 144, Couto, VIII, p 89 Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p 192, incorrectly speaks of the bride of Prince Murtaza as the daughter of Adil Shah Both Muhammadan historians say that she was his sister

2 Couto, l c

3 Ferishta, l, c, p 125-6, Couto, l c

4 Faria y Sousa, II, p 432

5 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind Ant*, L, p 144 The Maratha account of the battle gives six names of sovereigns allied against the Hindus on this occasion The first mentioned is Akbarshah Padsha Cf Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara, Account of the Second Conference of the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona, 1914, p 170.

Sultan of Bidar when relating the making of peace and alliance, nevertheless goes on to say that Ali Barid Shah was making active preparations for the campaign against Rama Raya, as the other three Sultans were doing [1] Frederick also mentions four *viz.* Dialcan (Adil Khan) Zamaluc (Nizam Shah) Cotamaluc (Qutb Shah) and Vindy (Barid Shah)[2] Anquetil du Perron states likewise that Bisnagar was plundered by the four kings of the Deccan and the Concan [3] But Couto says that the Izamaluco (Nizam Shah) invited four other kings to join the alliance *viz.* Idalxa (Adil Shah) Hebrahe (Burhad Imad Shah, of Berar?) Cotubixa, (Qutb Shah) and Verido (Barid Shah) [4] According to this authority all the Deccani Sultans were united to this holy campaign against the infidels. Yet the *Basatin-us-Salatin* says that the Sultan of Berar did not join the other Sultans on account of his hatred for Husain Nizam Shah [5]

3. Rama Raya soon heard of the intentions of the Muhammadan Sovereigns, and lost no time in making preparations to oppose their united forces [6] The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda informs us that Rama Raya on this occasion summoned "all his dependents and Rajas from the banks of the Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon" [7] One of the Princes summoned was the Nayak of Madura, Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka. This prince, who had shortly before succeeded his father Visvanatha [8] did not proceed himself in person to the North to aid the Empire, for his kingdom was not yet entirely subdued. But he sent his prime Minister and great

1. Ferishta III, p. 126 and 246
2. Purchas, X, p. 92.
3. Anquetil du Perron, *Des Reserches Historiques* l. c., p. 166. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao* p 309 metions also four but instead of the Sultan of Bidar he puts here Mellque, the petty lord of Dabul in the Konkan.
4. Couto, VIII p. 88
5. *Basatin-us-Salatin* p 95
6. Couto, VIII p 19
7. Ferishta, III, p 413
8. Cf. Ch. VII, No. 17

general Ariyanatha Mudaliyar with a large force [1] One of the chiefs who accompanied Ariyanatha to the North for the defence of the Empire was Basavaraja, as we know from the Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya [2].

While he was thus preparing for the attack, Rama Raya was the recipient of an embassy from Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur demanding restitution of Etgir, Bagrakot, Raichur and Mudgal, which had at different times been wrested by the Vijayanagara sovereigns from their neighbours of Bijapur This was supposed to afford Adil Shah a pretext for breaking with Rama Raya, who "as was expected," says Ferishta, "expelled the ambassador with disgrace from his court, and the united sovereigns made this circumstance a plea for hastening on their preparations to crush the common enemy of Islam" [3]

4 Both the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda and the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* state that the four Sultans finally met at the fort of Sholapur [4], but the statement of Ferishta locating the place of their meeting in the plains of Bijapur seems more probable [5] Such is also the view of Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri, who affirms that the Sultans marching towards Bijapur finally encamped in the vicinity of Talikota, where they were generously entertained by Ibrahim Adil Shah [6] On December

1 *Mrtyunjaya MSS*, Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 115 Prof Satyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 68, thinks that Ariyanatha arrived at Vijayanagara a little late

2 *T A S*, I, p 84, vv 161-164

3 Ferishta, III, p 126 The Maratha account introduces Ali Adil Shah protesting against the war with Vijayanagara, the other Sultans sent him the following message "Please allow us passage through your territory You should also join us with your army" Ali Adil Shah, duly honouring the envoy, replied as follows "As I call myself a friend of Ram Raj, I am sorry I cannot help you" Cf Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar*, *Account of the Second Conference of the B I S M*, Poona, 1914, p 170 Afterwards however the Sultan of Bijapur appears by the side of the other Sultans against his old friend

4 Ferishta, III, p 413, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L p 144

5 Ferishta, III, p 126

6. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 96

26th, 1564, they started for the South. The Portuguese authors record that the allied army contained fifty thousand horse and three thousand foot[1] The anonymous chronicler mentions several of the Muslim generals in charge of the detachments of this army: Mustafa Khan from Golkonda, Mowlana Inayatullah from Ahmadnagar and Kishwar Khan from Bijapur[2] Rifat Khan was also in the army of Golkonda, he had been summoned from the South where he boasted of having reduced part of the country[3] Of these Mustafa Khan whose real name was Kamal ud-din Husain (Mustafa Khan being only a title) was as excellent a general as h was a shrewd politician and diplomatist, and was one of the foremost warriors of the Muslim world of those days The beautiful Tughra inscription over the Makki gate of Golkonda still displays the titles bestowed upon him by the Sultan in token of the royal satisfaction and as a reward for his services to the state[4] Moreover according to the *Mrityunjaya MSS* several Maratha detachments had joined the Muhammadan army[5] This seems certain, for shortly after we find a body of six thousand Maratha cavalry in the army of Bijapur[6] The anonymous chronicler mentions six of the officers of this Mahratta cavalry Yeswunt Row Bhoj Mul Naig, Dew Naig Buswunt Row Viswas Row and Koli Row

On the other hand the Hindu army according to Ferishta consisted of seventy thousand horse and ninety thousand infantry[8] but the anonymous chronicler gives higher figures, *viz.* one hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand infantry[9] and both Couto and Faria y Sousa, while agreeing

1. Couto, VIII, p. 89 Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432. The P.P.P says that "on account of the Arabian horses and of the intoxicated elephants, the desert and the fields become black" Ap. A.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 414.

3. Ibid., p. 421.

4. Yazdani, *Inscriptions in Golkonda Fort Ep Ind. Masl.*, 1913 14 p. 48-9

5 Taylor *O.H MSS.*, II p. 15

6. Ferishta, III, p. 418.

7 Ibid., p. 433.

8. Ibid., p. 247

9 Ibid., p. 413.

as to the number of horse, state that the footsoldiers were more than six hundred thousand [1] Rama Raya and his two brothers were at the head of this formidable army. The so-called Emperor of Vijayanagara was then a very old man · according to Ferishta he was seventy [2]; the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* says he was eighty [3], but the Portuguese authors, who seem more reliable on this point, on account of their frequent intercourse with the court of Vijayanagara, state that he was in the 96th year of his age [4].

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1 Couto, VIII, p 89, Faria y Sousa, II, p 432

2 Ferishta, III, p 129.

3 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind Ant*, L, p 146

4 Couto, III, p 90, Faria y Sousa, l c, Sewell, p 203, agrees. The Maratha account gives interesting details of the proceedings of Rama Raya on the eve of his departure from the capital "He then went to his own harem, spent some time with Sathyabhamabai, the chief Queen, and presented many rich jewels to her Then he went to another of his wives whose name was Devachintamani Trivegal Her company gave him great pleasure and he made presents to her Then he came to the drawing room of his third wife, Mana Mohini Nijaswarapi She tried to please him in different ways He ordered sundry fruits from his orchards and presented them to his wives (There is here a list of 20 different kinds of fruits) Then he visited the chamber of his mother Chandrasala She waved many jewels over his head that evil may be warded off He then explained to her the state of affairs, how the four kings had made a common cause in attacking him and how the temples, alms-distributing houses, and the existence of the Brahmans was threatened He therefore intimated to her the plan of repulsing and punishing the enemy. He then fell at her feet and asked for her leave She did not like the idea and said "We have not hurt the Muhammadans, but even then they are all coming united It would be better to negotiate with them" He, not approving of her advice, went away Whereupon she consented in order to please him Afterwards he took rest during the night in his chambers There he dreamt that somebody was depriving him of his ear-jewel and his throne and that he was being pulled down At once he caused all the astrologers and fortune-tellers of long standing to be summoned and related his dream to them They consoled him by saying that the enemy would be warded off, and that he would be long-lived and rule over his kingdom He then presented them with costly cloths as well as coco-nuts He also distributed 5,000 huns among the Brahmans" Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c, p 171-2.

5. Rama Raya soon sent his brother Tirumala with twenty thousand cavalry five hundred elephants and one hundred thousand foot to occupy the right bank of the Krishna, and *defend all the passages of the river He also sent his second* brother Venkatadri with another equally large army He himself next followed by slow marches with the rest of the forces of his dominions [1] According to the Maratha account "horses, elephants, camels stores, cattle, drink-shops, hunting materials, treasure houses and corn stores all these were also brought to the neighbourhood of the royal camp. Every man in Vijayanagara (every one having his own horse) was ordered to join the army" [2]

The Muhammadan armies, having passed the town of Talikota, which wrongly gave its name to the battle [3] were laying waste the Vijayanagara territory to the North of the Krishna [4] Tirumala and Venkatadri had encamped on the South bank of this river where they had constructed field fortifications and strenghtened them by cannon and rockets [5] The allies on reaching the Krishna, found that the only known ford was already occupied by the Hindu army and despatched scouts to explore the river hoping to find another fordable passage for their troops it was not long before they

1. Ferishta, III p 127 *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 96-7 compares Rama Raya s army to a locust cloud, and states that the total number of his soldiers were one lakh of horse and five lakhs of foot-soldiers. There is a slight difference in these numbers as given in the *Burhan-i-Ma asir Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144 Venkatadri s army 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 100,000 foot. Eltamraj s (Tirumala s) army 12,000 horse 1,000 elephants and 200,000 foot.

2. Chandorkar *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 172.

3 Talikota is twenty five miles North of the Krishna. This is the reason which inclined me to change the appellation of this battle. History must be accurate even in these minor details.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 89 Both the *Burhan-i-Ma asir Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144, and the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 97 describe the battle as having taken place on the banks of the Krishna. Only Ferishta, III, p. 246, says that the allies had crossed the Krishna and the fight occurred near the river Hukery twelve miles South of the Krishna.

5. Ferishta, l. c., p. 127 There was no fort there as Sewell, p. 201 supposes.

fully ascertained that the only safe ford was just in front of the Hindus

"On obtaining this information", says Ferishta, "the allies held a council, when it was determined that they should march to another part of the river, as if with the intention to cross, in hopes that the enemy might be induced to quit his position and follow, thus enabling the Muhammadans to return suddenly, and throw part of the army across at the desired ford without interruption Agreeably to this plan the army of Islam moved on the next morning, and continued to march for three days successively, which completely deceived the enemy, who quitted all his posts, and manoeuvred along the opposite side of the river The allies on the third night suddenly struck their camp, and moved with such rapidity that, during the next day, they gained the ford which the enemy had deserted and crossed the river without opposition" Husain Nizam Shah was among the first to cross the river. On the next day the vanguards of both armies met some miles South of the Krishna [1], in the neighbourhood of the two villages of Raksasji and Tagdiji, the names of which combined give the word Raksas-Tagdi [2]

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1 Ferishta, III, p 127-8; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind Ant*, L, p. 145, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 97-8 Sewell, p 199, note 2, says that this place was probably "the plains about the little village of Bayapur or Bhogapur on the road leading directly from Ingaligi to Mudkal" Ferishta, III, p 247, while narrating the history of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, says "The kings of the Deccan made overtures to him (Rama Raya), promising the restitution of the districts they had taken from him on the march, in order to obtain peace, conceiving themselves unequal to cope with his formidable army Ramraj however refused to listen to any accomodation" This statement seems inconsistent with the whole account of the battle and its preparations, and with his own narrative It is evidently intended to extol the Muslim bravery in winning such an unequal engagement

2 Patwardan, *The Battle of Raksas-Tagdi*, *The Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, IV, p 72 Raksas-Tagdi is mentioned both in a Kanarese, and in the Maratha account Cf Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c., p 176, S Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *The Bakhair of Ram Raj, Indian Historical Records Commission, Poona Session*, p 57

eighty years (?) without having disgraced himself and that he did not wish to be disgraced by cowardice at the end of his life. He said that anybody who was overcome by fear was free to depart while there was yet time, and to save his life. The Raya's brothers and their 30,000 horsemen swore that they would fight to the death [1] Then Rama Raya mounted a litter of state called *sing kasun* in spite of the entreaties of his officers, who felt that he would be much safer on horseback. But" said he, " there is no occasion for taking precautions against children, who would certainly fly on the first charge this is not war" [2]

7 It was noon [3] when the two armies advanced and soon joined battle [4] The left wing of the Hindu army under the command of Venkatadri, was the first to attack its opponent the Sultan of Bijapur [5] Venkatadri had always been a helpmate to his brother Rama Raya on the battlefield verily as Lakshmana was to the epic hero Rama as the Kondyata grant of Venkata III says [6] He was a great hero according to the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III [7] and a veritable

1. *Burhan i-Ma asir Ind. Ant.*, L p. 146.

2. Ferishta III p 128-9 *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 99 According to the *Burhan-i Ma asir* l.c., p. 145 Rama Raya and his brothers on approaching the Muslim army " were terrified and decided not to fight on that day but to make the most of their last day of dominion and power They therefore withdrew from the field, and Husain Nizam Shah and the other two Sultans took advantage of their unwillingness to fight, to allow the armies of Islam time for repose, and rested that night in anticipation of the morrow's battle" The P.P.P says also that "when that infidel (Rama Raya) heard that the army (of Ahmadnagar) was approaching the world became dark to his eyes" Ap. A. This conduct of Rama Raya is not consistent with the narrative of Ferishta and other authorities. This passage is an evident concoction of the author in order to represent the Vijayanagara ruler as a cowardly warrior

3 Ferishta III, p. 128 *Burhan-i-Ma asir* l. c., p. 146.

4. Ferishta III, p. 120

5 Couto, VIII, p. 91 *Burhan-i-Ma asir* l. c., p. 193.

6 *Ind. Ant.*, XIII p 129

7 Ibid., p. 157



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V Battle of Raksas-Tagdi The Hindu Army First engagement Rama Raya in upper right corner (P P P)

(By kind permission of the Hony Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona)

Arjuna in the battlefield' according to the *Ramarajiyamu* [1] This great general was the first to attack the Mussulman force "The infidels," Ferishta remarks, "began the attack with vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery" [2]. Venkatadri had under his command two hundred thousand infantry, twenty five thousand cavalry and five hundred elephants [3], and with this force he fought valiantly, inflicting great loss on his enemies The *Ramarajiyamu* records that Venkatadri "in a pitched battle dealt destruction to the combined troops of the Nizam, Adil Khan and Qutb Shah, and drove away all the three chiefs from the field" [4] The second part of the sentence sounds like a poetical exaggeration, but points, nevertheless, to the success of Venkatadri's army over that of Adil Shah [5] The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* agrees with this when affirming that Ali Adil Shah 'left the position allotted to him' [6]

After Venkatadri had opened the attack, the action be come general [6] On the right wing of the Hindu army, Tirumala, at the head of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand infantry and five hundred elephants, was likewise successfully opposing the combined armies of the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar [7] Both he and his eldest son, Ragunate Raje (Raghunatha), distinguished themselves by their heroic conduct and mercilessly slew hundreds of Muhammadans [8] The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* openly declares that "the left of the allies under Ibrahim Qutb Shah was beaten back" [9] Raghunatha had previously defeated the armies of Nizam Shah near the

1 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 119

2 Ferishta, III, p 129

3 Ibid, p 247

4 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 222

5 The *Narasabupaliyamu* speaks also of the military achievements of Venkatadri in a pitched battle against Adil Shah If the Bijapur poem refers to this battle, it is quite certain that the Sultan was driven from the field Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 224

6 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 193

7 Ferishta, III, p 129

8 Ibid, p 247 According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 102, Tirumala was defeated by the Sultan of Bijapur

9 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 193

river Krishna and had driven them to the North of the river[1] But as Couto records both father and son had at last to retire from the battle field for both were dangerously wounded[2] The Portuguese chronicler does not say what these wounds were, but C. Frederick informs us that "Timaragio fled in the battle having lost one of his eyes[3] Raghunatha's injuries are not recorded anywhere, but since no mention of him is found afterwards, and it is known that he was not alive at the time of his father's death, we may suppose that he died as the result of the injuries received in this battle.

8. When the news of this event reached Rama Raya's ears, the valiant chief, realizing that the issue was much beyond his expectations, was incensed with fury and in order to encourage his troops he remounted his horse, and shouting several times *Gorida! Gorida!* (Garuda! Garuda!)[4] with his men charged the allied army The wings commanded by the Sultans of Bijapur Golkonda and Bidar soon broke before the indomitable fury of the old Hindu King and his Rachevadu soldiers. Then the Hindu army charged straight to the centre of the allied army which was led by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar with ten thousand horse under his command. But the attack of Rama Raya was so unexpected and effective that the Nizam's army retreated about half a league with the loss of more than two thousand of its men Here the Rachevadu soldiers proved the bravery of their race for seeing their Sovereign engaged with the enemy they dismounted in great haste and rushing to his defence slew many Muhammadans.

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1. *Vasucharitramu* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 216 This action must have occurred before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi because Vijayanagara never recovered the territories to the North of the river

2. Couto, VIII, p. 91

3 Purchas, X, p. 93

4. "Que he o seu idolo das batalhas, como nos o fazemos ao apostolo Santiago." Couto VIII, p. 91. According to the Maratha account this horse was called Amritanidhan. Chandorkar *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 172. The exaggerated account of the

But the field was not yet clear of the enemy[1] Adil Shah returned to battle, with his soldiers, to check the advance of Rama Raya In the meanwhile the Sultan of Ahmadnagar collected his dispersed forces, and was back again on the battle-field before the engagement between Rama Raya and Adil Shah was over[2] Then several detachments of the Hindu army were sent against the Nizam's troops In the first lines of the latter's army there were now two thousand Iragi and Khurasani archers under Ikhlas Khan, drawn up to conceal the artillery that lay behind in charge of Rumi Khan "These kept up a heavy discharge on the enemy (the Hindus) as they approached, and fell back as the Hindus advanced, till they were close to the heavy battery, which opened upon them with such effect that they retreated in confusion with dreadful loss"[3]. "In fact," says Ali ibn Aziz, "Ikhlas Khan and Rumi Khan were the heroes of the day"[4]

"At this phase of the fight," continues the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, "Husain Nizam Shah ordered the camp followers to set up his pavilion in front of the enemy The pavilion was the king's great tent of state, and it was the custom of the Sultans of the Deccan, whenever they ordered this pavilion to be set up on the field of battle, to stand their ground without

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P P P is full of oriental imagery and worth copying "On account of the noise the beasts of the desert took to flight When they were arrayed for the battle, even the devil fled away from their excessive clamour The two clouds (of soldiers) began shouting and the two seas of fire came into tumult And such was their shouting that on account of its dread the devil became mad The trampling of the horsemen broke the ribs of the bullock (that supports the earth) The black cloud started shouting and the shining of the fish (that supports the bullock) reached the sky The clamour was such that it reached the sky and even deafened the ears of the angels" Ap A

1 This retreat of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar is, of course, omitted in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, but it is also recorded in the Maratha account Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c, p 180

2 Couto, VIII, p 91-2

3 Ferishta, III, p 248, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 193, Couto, VIII, p 92

4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.

quitting the saddle until victory declared for them. The erection of this pavilion at this stage was not without danger to the king's honour"[1]

This was probably too much for the old Hindu ruler who now dismounted and sat similarly "on a rich throne set with jewels,under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls" But not to discourage his troops with his weakness, he ordered his treasurer to give some money to them, and "to place heaps of money around him that he might confer rewards on such of his soldiers as merited the distinction rich ornaments of gold and jewels were also placed before him for the same purpose" The Hindus, inspired by this generosity recovered from the panic produced by the dis charge of the Nizam s artillery and charged the right and left wings of the allies "with such vigour that they were thrown into temporary disorder and Ali Adil Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah began to despair of victory and even to prepare for retreat [2] This account of Ferishta, who also states that " the two flanks had already fallen back" [3] agrees not only with the *Burhan-i-Ma asir* which says that " the defeat of the Muslims appeared inevitable" [4] and with the Hindu chronicles which say that two divisions of the Muslim army had been defeated [5] but also with Faria y Sousa, who writes that " Rama Raya almost defeated his enemies" [6] The *Basatin-us-Salatin* relates this tremendous havoc in the Muslim army as follows

The Muslim slain were piled in heaps over heaps, and autumn seemed to have come over the Muslim army The infidels showed their superiority and valour"

1. Ibid *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 101. According to this authority Husain Nizam Shah had in the camp several of his wives and concubines ; at this point he placed eunuchs next to every one of them with the special command of killing them should the battle take a bad turn.

2. Ferishta, III p. 129

3. Ibid., p. 248.

4. *Burhan-i-Ma asir* l. c.

5. Cf. Taylor *O.H.MSS.*, II p. 142

6. Faria y Sousa II, p. 432.

7 *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 101.



11

VI Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The Defeat of the Hindu Army
(P.P.P.)

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9 Husain Nizam Shah, however, remained firm in the centre[1] The commander of the artillery, Chalabi Rumi Khan, had provided bags of copper money to lead off with, should the enemy close, and these proved so destructive, that upwards of five thousand Hindus were left dead close to the muzzles of the guns before they retreated" The confusion of the Vijayanagara army then grew enormous Kishwar Khan Lary, an officer of Bijapur attached to the centre of the Muslim host, charged with five thousand cavalry and routed the centre of the Hindu line[2]

And then, at the height of all the confusion, there was a movement in the Hindu army that decided the fate of the day Two Muhammadan generals who served under Rama Raya, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the last charge of Kishwar Khan Lary, turned their backs on their lord, and went over with their troops to the cause of Islam This treason, recorded neither by Ferishta nor by Ali ibn Aziz, explains quite satisfactorily the sudden change of fortune at the end of the battle We are made aware of it by C Frederick, who heard the account of the whole action one year later when he passed through Vijayanagara "These foure Kings," says he, "were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores (Muhammadans)· and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men These two Captaines, being of one Religion with the foure kings which were Moores (Muhammadans), wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields, and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King and made disorder in his Armie, that as as-

1 Ferishta, III, p 129
2. Ibid, p 248.

toried they set themselves to flight [1] Anquetil du Perron records likewise that "the king abandoned during the battle by two Muhammadan chiefs perished [2]

Who were these two Mussulman generals who so treacherously deserted the Vijayanagara army? Their names are found nowhere, but I suspect that one of them was that Ain-ul Mulk whom Rama Raya used to call his brother [3] and at whose request Sadasiva granted the village of Bevinahalli to the Brahmans [4] He seems to have come from a family of traitors His father mentioned also in the aforesaid grant as the chief Ainana Malukka, was beheaded for treason at Bijapur in 1553, during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah [5] and it was perhaps then that his son "offended Ibrahim Adil Shah, left his service and entered that of Ramraj" [6] As a matter of fact we find one Ain-ul Mulk in the army of the Sultan of Bijapur in the subsequent wars with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar [7]

10. The desertion of these generals threw the division of Rama Raya into chaotic confusion [8] in the course of which he himself was wounded [9] On seeing this the old Sovereign again mounted his state litter to retreat from the battlefield but the bearers, panic stricken at the approach of a furious elephant of the Ahmadnagar army ran away abandoning their Monarch

1. Purchas, X, pp. 92-3 According to the Maratha account the final cause of the defeat was the surprise of the Hindu camp by the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur Chandorkar *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 181.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166. This treason, not mentioned by Sewell, is recently recorded by Krishnamacharlu, *The Origin Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire* *Ind. Ant.*, LII p. 11.

3 Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III p. 381.

4. *Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 231, vv 64-68

5. Cf. Cousens, *Bijapur* p. 53 and Ch. V No. 9

6. Ferishta, l. c.

7 Ibid., p. 133 Anonymous chronicler Ibid., pp. 419 437 etc

8. Ferishta, p 129 "The soldiers refused to obey the orders of their generals and ran away in all directions *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 103.

9 *Basatin-us-Salatin* l. c. Couto VIII p. 92.

in the middle of that tremendous turmoil [1] Rama Raya then attempted to make his escape on foot, but just when he was dismounting from the litter he was overtaken by the elephant, who seized him with his trunk [2] The venerable prisoner was then conducted to Chalabi Rumi Khan [3], who just was going to kill him when one Dalpat Rai, a Brahman general of the Hindu army, cried out "Do not kill him, but carry him alive before Divan Barid, for he is Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya)" [4] Rumi Khan on hearing this brought the prisoner into the presence of Husain Nizam Shah [5]. Ferishta, Ali ibn Aziz and the P P P say that the Ahmadnagar Sultan ordered his head to be instantly cut off [6], but Couto relates that Husain Nizam Shah beheaded him with his own hand exclaiming

"Now I am avenged on thee! Let God do what he will to me!" [7]

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1 Ferishta, III p 129

2 Ibid, p 249 The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind Ant*, L, p 193, relates that the capture of Rama Raya took place when he was riding on horseback

3 Ferishta, III, p 130 According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 103, Rumi Khan himself was riding the elepha t that seized Rama Raya

4 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, l c

5. Ferishta, III, p. 130, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, l c The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, pp 193-4, says also as follows "They therefore straitly bound the chief of hell and carried him before Husain Nizam Shah"

6 Ferishta, III, p 249, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 194, P P P, Ap A.

7 Couto, l c The *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 103, depicts here an incredible scene "Nizam Shah was much pleased with the capture of Rama Raya, caused him to sit down before him and asked him 'How are you?' and 'How do you feel?' Rama Raya could not speak, but pointed out to his own head saying 'This was destined' On this point Akim Hasan Beg of Dabris, who was a favourite of Nizam Shah and the confidant of his Court, hastily came forward and told him that this was not the time for talking, saying 'Send him immediately to the gallows of retribution (kill him), otherwise Adil Shah who claims to be his son, will cause great disturbances and will snatch Ram Raj from your hands' - Accordingly Ram Raj's head was severed from his body"

His mischievous head" says Ali ibn Aziz, "was then severed from his foul body and was cast beneath the hoofs of the king's horse" [1] Moreover the P P P relates that Rama Raya s head was stuffed with straw [2]

Husain Nizam Shah then caused Rama Raya s head "to be placed on the point of a long spear that his death might be thus announced to the enemy" [3]

The death of Rama Raya on the battlefield is also recorded in the Hindu contemporary sources A grant of his brother Tirumala 1568, says that when Sadasiva was governing the kingdom of the world the Mahamandalesvara Aliya Rama Rajayya Deva-Maha Arasu having by the action of kings, suddenly set," (died), etc. [4] In another similar grant of Tirumala it is said that Rama Raya, "owing to the action of the kings of the Turukas (Turks, i. e. Muhammadans) having set' (died) etc. [5] The Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and

1. *Burhan-i Ma asir* l. c.

2. P P P., Ap. A.

3. Ferishta III, p 130 *Burhan-i-Ma asir* l. c. Briggs, Ferishta l. c., note says that "the real head (of Rama Raya) annually covered with oil and red pigment, has been exhibited to the pious Muhammadans of Ahmadnagar on the anniversary of the battle, for the last two hundred and fifty four years by the descendants of the executioner in whose hands it has remained till the present period" This was written in 1829 Since then no remains in Ahmadnagar of such a head can be traced. The Maratha account states that Rama Raya s head was sent to Benares. Chandorkar o. c., p. 181. In the Museum of Bijapur there is a stone representation of Rama Raya s head. M J Bird, *On the Ruined City of Bijapur J B B R. A. S.*, I, p. 376 says as follows: "The only other thing that formerly attracted notice at the citadel was the stone representation of Rama Raya s head. It was on the right of the gate at entering; but having been removed from there by the Raja of Sattara was lately thrown into the ditch" As a matter of fact it seems to have been thrown into the Taj Bauri; for when it was subsequently cleaned out this head was discovered in the mud at the bottom. Cf. Cousens, *Bijapur* p. 9 note 2 The sculpture is photographically reproduced in the frontispiece of this volume.

4. *Ep Carn.*, XI Hk 7

5. *Ep Carn.*, XI, Hk 6.



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VII Battle of Raksas-Tagdı The executıon of Rama Raya (P P P)

(By kind permission of the Hony Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona)

Varatungarama Pandya say that "in Vidyanagari the famous Rama Raya was killed by his enemies"[1] The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* states that "in one of his invasions against the Yavana kingdoms of the North he lost his life"[2] Rama Raya's death is also mentioned in the *Krishna Raya Rajya aleda vivara*[3] Finally his defeat and death are given in the *Jangama Kalajnyana* in a prophetic strain by Sarvajna, a Jangama priest, and his son, staunch devotees of Siva[4]

11 When news of the capture of Rama Raya reached Ali Adil Shah, this affectionate Sultan, who sometimes called Rama Raya his father, proceeded to where Husain Nizam Shah was, in order to save the life of the old Monarch, but before he reached the spot his old friend had been beheaded, to the great sorrow of the Bijapur Sultan[5]

The noble head of Rama Raya was soon raised on the top of a pike, according to the Nizam's orders; and this was the cause of the flight of the Hindu army "The Hindus", says Ferishta, "according to custom, when they saw their chief destroyed, fled in the utmost disorder from the field"[6] towards Vijayanagara[7] They were pursued by the Muhammadans "Husain Nizam Shah," says Ali ibn Aziz, "pursued the fugitives, and so many were put to the sword that

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1 *T A S*, I, p 84, vv 161-164

2 S Krishnaswami Ayangar, *Sources*, p 302

3 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 345.

4 Ibid, p 272

5. Couto, VIII, p 92, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 194 One of the paintings of the P P P, reproduced here, shows the Sultan of Bijapur begging for Rama Raya's life before Husain Nizam Shah Ali Adil Shah is there represented as far too advanced in years The Hindu accounts say generally that Rama Raya was beheaded by Adil Shah, and speak of him as having performed a meritorious action in saving Rama Raya from the disgrace of captivity Cf Taylor, *O H MSS* II, p 142 See for instance Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c, p 181

6 Ferishta, III, p 130, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 104 Maratha account, Chandorkar, o c, p 181

7 Ferishta, III, p 249, Maratha account, Chandorkar, l c, p. 181.

the plain was strewn with their accursed bodies"[1] The river" according to Ferishta, was dyed red with their blood. It is computed by the best authorities" he continues, 'that above one hundred thousand infidels were slain during the action and in the pursuit [2]

What was the fate of Venkatadri the youngest brother of the deceased Raya? Frederick says that both Venkatadri and his brother died[3] and Couto[4] and Anquetil du Perron[5] agree with the Italian traveller But Ferishta definitely asserts that Venkatadri escaped from the battle to a distant fortress"[6] The *Ramarajiyamu* seems to confirm this, while stating that "the combined armies of Nizam (Nizam Shah) Yedulakhana (Adil Shah) and Kutupusahu (Qutb Shah) altogether gave up the hope of capturing him"[7] Finally the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, dated at least two years after the Raksas-Tagdi disaster speak of Venkatadri as still alive they say that he shone on earth as a hero and a conqueror[8] Probably the fact that he retired to that distant fortress was the cause of the belief that he was dead. Which fortress this was it is difficult to say Chandragiri near Tirupati, would have offered him a safe refuge It is distant, indeed, from the Mussalman realms, and considered as one of the strongholds of the Empire Krishna Deva Raya had imprisoned there his three brothers and his nephew as soon as he was enthroned, according to Nuniz[9]

12. The victorious Muhammadans did not pursue the Hindus up to the walls of Vijayanagara. Their bloodthirsty pursuit perhaps extended over same leagues but then they

1. *Burhan-i Ma asir* l. c., p 194.

2. Ibid., p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 105 The anonymous chronicler agrees, Ibid., p. 414 but the *Burhan-i-Ma asir* l.c. says that the number of the slain was nine thousand.

3. Purchas, X, p. 93.

4. Couto VIII p. 91.

5 Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166. Accordingly Sewell, p. 180 seems to suppose that Venkatadri died also at Raksas-Tagdi.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

7 Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* l.c.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 330.

9 Sewell, p 315-6



VIII Battle of Raksas Tagdi The retreat of the Hindu Army
Tirumala Raya in upper left corner (P P P)

(By kind permission of the Hony Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona)

returned to the battlefield and halted some time over there Couto says they halted only three days [1], but the anonymous chronicler, who is more reliable, expressly states that "the allied armies halted for ten days on the field of action" [2], and Ali ibn Aziz agrees to his statement [3]

All the riches of the Hindu camp fell into the hands of the Muslims "The victors," says the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, "captured jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maidservants, menservants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantity that the whole army was enriched "[4] "The plunder was so great," adds Ferishta, "that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use" [5] The Maratha account states that the treasures Rama Raya had brought to the battlefield were valued at 12,357,411 huns [6] Among all these jewels the Muhammadan writer mentions only "necklaces which had been brought into the treasury (of Ahmadnagar) from the plunder of Ramraj, composed of valuable rubies, emeralds and pearls" These necklaces became later on the cause of one of the mad excesses of Murtaza Nizam Shah [7]

This tremendous disaster to the army of Vijayanagara took place on January 25th, 1565 [8]

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1 Couto, VIII, p 92

2 Ferishta, III, p 414

3 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 194 According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 105, the Sultans lived for 20 days in the battlefield

4 Ibid

5, Ferishta, III, p 130, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 104 "The army became rich in wealth and jewels" P P P, Ap A

6 Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c, p 172

7 Ibid, pp 264-5

8 Ibid, p 414 The date given by the anonymous chronicler seems the most reliable Ferishta does not give the exact date The one assigned by the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L, p 146, corresponds to January 7.

CHAPTER X

THE END OF THE TULUVA DYNASTY

SUMMARY 1. Influence of the battle of Raksas-Tagdi on the history of the South of India —2. A criticism of Rama Raya and his rule. —3 Tirumala succeeds Rama Raya as Regent of the Empire.—4. The Vijayanagara court flies up country —5 Triumphal entry of the Muslim Sultans into the city of Vijayanagara.—6. The sack of the city —7 Departure of the Muhammadans.—8 Return of Tirumala and the court.—9 The imperial palace at this time.—10 Intercourse between Tirumala and Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda.—11. Sadasiva under the Regency of Tirumala. —12. Tirumala transfers the capital of the Empire to Penukonda. —13 Previous history of this place.—14. Further information about the city of Vijayanagara.—15 The abandonment of Vijayanagara deals a death blow to Portuguese commerce in India —16. Muhammadan conquests in the North of the Empire. —17 Internal state of the Empire.—18 The Krishnapuram grant at Srirangam.—19 Murder of Sadasiva.—20 An estimate of his reign.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES. 1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i Ma asir Basatin-us-Salatin* —3 Couto, Correa Faria y Sousa.—4. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.—5. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* Poona Persian Poem.

THE battle of Raksas Tagdi is the milestone that separates the era of Hindu splendour in the South of India from the age of Muhammadan expansion Impartial history acknowledges its influence centuries after since it paved the way for the Maratha cavalry of Sivaji and his successors fostered the ambitious ideals of Aurangzeb and his Nawabs and attracted the ambitious Haidar Ali to overthrow the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. The glorious Empire of Vijayanagara, faithful trustee of the inheritance of the Hoysalas for two centuries and a half, was now seriously menaced by its secular opponents, the Muslim powers of central India. Perhaps this action would mark the end of its existence but for a new family of fresh and

vigorous blood, that succeeded in saving the imperial crown from the midst of that turmoil of death The Empire of Vijayanagara thus lasted another century Such was the destiny of the Aravidu family

Nevertheless, Vijayanagara never wholly recovered from that tremendous blow, the foundations of this marvellous Empire, which was the wonder of both merchants and travellers, were deeply shaken, and its star never rose again to the zenith of its sky "The Kingdom of Vijayanagara," wrote Ferishta at the close of that century, "since this battle has never recovered its ancient splendour"[1] The victory meant for the Muhammadans the immediate recovery of all the districts which had been taken from Ibrahim Qutb Shah by the efforts of the deceased Rama Raya, as the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda informs us[2] Accordingly the P P P states that "with the falling of the head of the infidel (Rama Raya), you may say the day of resurrection appeared"[3] The Deccani Sultans were elated at their good fortune Hence farmans with accounts of this important victory were sent at once to their several dominions and to the neighbouring states[4] Ali ibn Aziz says that these letters "were sent to all parts of the world"[5]

2 The death of Rama Raya, as it had been welcomed with great joy and exultation by the allied Sultans, so was, no doubt, a great and irremediable loss to the Hindu Empire The chief of the Aravidu family had saved the Empire from the chaos created by Salakam Timma Raju and maintained the lustre which had belonged to it during the time of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya That chief's indisputable qualities as a statesman, combined with his victorious campaigns as a warrior, place him among the great Hindu rulers of India His reputation is indeed clouded by his usurpation of the throne and by the imprisonment of Sadasiva But perhaps

1 Ferishta, III, p 131
2 Ibid., p 415
3 P P P, Ap A
4 Ferishta, III, p 130
5. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ep. Ind*, L, p 194.

even this fact was due more to the incapability of the young puppet sovereign than to his own ambition. From this point of view his usurpation provides a special sidelight of self-sacrifice for the welfare of the country and the salvation of the Empire.

As a matter of fact, the inscriptions and grants of that time have nothing but praise for Rama Raya and his government. "While having uprooted all the enemies, we read in a grant of 1554 Rama Raya ruled over the earth, as famous as Bharata and Bagiratha"[1] 'This heroic Rama Raya the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III state, resembled by his great fame Bharata, Manu, Bagiratha and other kings [2] He is said, in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, to have "ruled the earth with justice after having destroyed his enemies [3] in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, to have been endowed with valour nobility and kindness" [4] and in one of his grants of 1561 he is noted for valour generosity and mercy' [5] His generosity towards his subjects seems to have become proverbial Manucci extolled it a century later [6] and the aforesaid Vellangudi plates of Venkata II affirm that he surpassed even the wishing tree of the gods in his gifts" [7]

The *Burhan-i Ma asir* gives an interesting account of the power of Rama Raya just before the battle in which he met his end. It runs as follows Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya) was distinguished above all the kings of Vijayanagara for the strength of his army and for his power and was puffed up with pride owing to the extent of his dominions It possessed the whole of the kingdom of Vijayanagara with its sixty sea-ports. Its length was near 600 leagues and its revenue 120 000,000 huns and that accursed infidel had reigned over this kingdom for a long time [8]

1. *M A. D., 1923* pp. 125 7
2. *Ep Ind.*, III, p. 252, v 13
3. *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 319 vv 17 18.
4. *Ep Ind.*, IX, p. 340 vv 28-30.
5. *Ep Carn.*, V Hn, 7
6. Cf. Ch. III No 6
7. *Ep Ind* XVI p. 319 vv 17 18.
8. *Burhan-i Ma asir Ind. Ant* L, p 143. Ferishta, III pp. 133-4, also speaks of the 60 sea ports of the Vijayanagara Empire.

3 Five sons were born to Rama Raya by his four wives[1], but none of them was destined to succeed his father in the difficult task of ruling over the Empire Tirumala, Rama Raya's brother, who had been his prime minister during the last stage of the latter's life, was naturally the one man able to take over that responsibility, and he actually did so Whether he was appointed by the King, or whether it was the result of circumstances and more in the nature of a self-nomination, we do not know, but from the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva[2] and from the two Tirumala's grants of Holalkere, mentioned in the preceding chapter, we know that Tirumala succeeded his brother in the regency of the Empire[3] Moreover, in another inscription of Sadasiva, Gutti Tirumalayyadeva Maharaja, of the Aravidu family, is stated to have been the prime minister of the King[4] The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* records, too, that after the death of Rama Raya "his younger brother, Yera Timma Raja, then made himself ruler"[5] If we are to believe this statement, Tirumala appointed himself the Regent of the Empire

4 What were his first steps on this rough road to save the Empire from a Muhammadan invasion? It seems that when the first news of the defeat and execution of Rama Raya reached Vijayanagara, nobody thought of anything else but of hurrying to escape either certain death or ignoble slavery Tirumala with his relatives, his wives and those of his brothers and sons, the ministers and nobles of the Empire, the generals and soldiers together with their Emperor Sadasiva, who then for the first time appeared in public after six years of rigorous imprisonment[6], left the city of Vijayanagara a few hours later[7] A

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1 Cf Ch II, No 4
2 Cf a little further on No 18
3 Cf p 214, notes 4 and 5
4 412 of 1911
5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 302
6 A circumstance only given in Frederick, Purchas, X, p 93
7 The Maratha account says that "the mother and the wives of Rajbhuwar (Rama Raya), as soon as they came to know this untoward incident (the defeat and execution of the Hindu chief), set fire to the palace" Chandorkar, l c, p 181 If this is true, the palace referred to must be the zenana, since the palace of the King was seen and described one year later by C Frederick Cf No 9

great convoy followed them one thousand five hundred and fifty elephants laden with treasure in gold, diamonds and precious stones, coins of the Empire, and other things of this kind, valued altogether at more than a hundred millions sterling. They also carried away the famous jewelled throne of the kings celebrated and mentioned in the inscriptions in every corner of the Empire [1]

According to modern authors this convoy as well as the noble retinue which preceded it mad for the fort of Penukonda [2] but nothing of the kind is said in the original contemporary sources. Ferishta does not speak of this retreat Frederick only remarks that they "fled away [3] Faria y Sousa mentions no destination at all Couto alone gives a hint, so long for gotten which is the real solution of this problem. "They" says he, with all this outfit left for the interior and stored every thing in the palace of Tremil for it was very well fortified on an impregnable mountain at ten days distance from Bisnaga" [4] Now where was this palace of Tremil? We cannot offer a satisfactory answer but it seems to us that the circumstances mentioned by the Portuguese author —viz. that it was a fortified up-country place, standing on the top of an impregnable mountain and ten days distant from Vijayanagara, and that its name was Tremil,—cannot be applied to any other spot but to the temple on the Tirumala hill at Tirupati [5] Its shrine of

1. Couto VIII, pp 92-3 Faria y Sousa, II, pp. 433-4.

2. Cf. for instance Sewell, p 206 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* p. 120.

3 Purchas, l. c

4. Couto, VIII, p 93

5 The Jesuits who lived at the court of Venkata II called the temple of Perumal, at Tirupati, the temple of Perumal or Primal. See Ap. C No VIII. Is not this a corruption similar to that of Couto? Even Wilks *History of Mysore* I p. 42, writes Tremul instead of Tirumala. Cf. Ch. IV No 4 and note 3 of p. 60. But the best proof is given by Correa, IV p. 283, who evidently speaking of Tirupati says that "the temple of Tremello, that is the chief and richest house of the whole Kingdom of Bisnega (Vijayanagara) is in the port of Paleacate (Pulicat)" (So the Portuguese believed) Dos Santos, *Ethipia Oriental* II, p. 304, likewise calls Tremel this famous Hindu temple: Um pagode tem estes gentios da India a que chaman o

Sri Venkatesvara Perumal, surrounded by three stone walls on the top of the holy hill Tirumala, 2,500 feet high, might easily be called by the Portuguese writer the impregnable palace of Tremil Moreover, Correa states that the sovereigns of Vijayanagara had a house or palace at Tirupati [1], and Sadasiva himself in the beginning of his reign used to go to the sacred fair held there [2] On the other hand we recognize that its distance from Vijayanagara does not agree with the ten days' journey given by Couto, but for a man who never travelled through the country, one or two days more does not make much difference Indeed it would not be at all strange that the first monarch of the Aravidu Dynasty took shelter for a while, in those days of distress, in the same country where his successors settled finally first at Chandragiri, just at the foot of the Tirumala hill, and then at Vellore

5 After the departure of the Emperor and the nobility from the capital, no garrison remained within its walls to defend it against any attack And Couto says that then the Bedues "who are jungle people" pounced down on the helpless city, and in six different attacks looted all its houses, carrying away numberless precious things left by the nobles in their hasty flight [3]

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pagode de Tremel, mui nomeado, assim pela muita riqueza, e thesouro, que dizem ter, como por ser casa de muita romagem dos gentios, en que se acham ordinariamente cada dia infinitos, que ali vem de diversas partes e reinos, e muito mas no dia da festa do dito pagode" According to this, Sadasiva retired to where he had been first crowned Cf. Ch II, No 1

1 Correa, IV, p 300

2 Ibid, pp 302-3

3 Couto, l c Couto does not say that the Bedues entered Vijayanagara on the day following the departure of the Emperor, nor that their six attacks all occured on the same day I cannot trace where Sewell, p 207, takes this information from Were not these Bedues the Bergies whom Ferishta III, p 141, speaks of as people living around Vijayanagara? Their chief at the end of this century was Handistan Nayaka, of whom we shall again speak when discussing the reign of Venkata II Most of them were finally put to death by the Sultan of Bijapur Ibid, p 142.

But this calamity was nothing in comparison with the one which befell the unfortunate city some days after

The four Muhammadan Sultans of the Deccan[1] after the ten days rest on the battlefield, proceeded towards Vijayanagara with all their troops. Ferishta relates that they halted in the city of Anegundi on the other side of the Tungabhadra river while their advanced armies penetrated to Vijayanagara itself[2] This was done no doubt to prepare the great triumph described by Frederick, of the four Kings on their entry into the capital of their enemy[3] From Anegundi they crossed the river by the bridge built some years previously by Rama Raya, the piers of which can still be seen in the centre of the river As soon as they reached Vijayanagara, the temple of Achyuta Raya stood before them with its high entrance gopuram, at the end of the so-called dancing girls street but turning to the right and passing in front of the temple of Kodanda Rama, they followed the way paved with large granite slabs that runs by the river side, until they reached the end of the broad bazaar of Hampi, just at the foot of the tremendous monolythic Nandi that watches silently over the first steps leading to the top of the abrupt ridge on the left Here the state procession was probably arranged first the soldiers, then the captains the prisoners next, and finally the four Sultans riding on elephants or on horseback and it is not even improbable that the head of Rama Raya was carried aloft before the Kings on the top of a long spear and shown to the terrified inhabitants of that desolate city The gorgeous cavalcade probably did not reach the Pampapati temple; but turning to the left, started the ascent of the rocky hill crowned by the two small shrines where the colossal statues of Ganesa were once worshipped. After a while they entered the enclosure of Krishna's temple, a fine specimen of the architectural work of Krishna Deva Raya the road turns then to the right and on reaching the plains the victorious sovereigns of the Deccan passed before the shrine containing the huge monolythic statue

1. Frederick Purchas, X, p. 92
2. Ferishta III, p. 131.
3 Frederick, l. c.

of the god Narasimha, which was mutilated by their soldiers shortly after Subsequently, they entered the citadel, where the Sultans took up their residence either in the enclosure of the royal palace or in the Danayak's enclosure, the zenana enclosure was also probably reserved for their wives

6 The Mussulman sovereigns spent six months at Vijayanagara [1] During this time their troops were occupied in plundering the city and its surroundings "The efforts of the conquerors," says the anonymous chronicler, "were directed to the plunder of the country and of the city" [2], and Frederick states that they were "searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden" [3] The booty was enormous Couto and Faria y Sousa state that Ali Adil Shah got from the spoil a diamond as large as a hen's egg, and this was affixed to the base of the plume on the headdress of his favourite horse, he also got another diamond not so large but very uncommon, besides a multitude of jewels and precious things [4]

Was this sack so destructive as it has been supposed? I regret to say that Mr Sewell, whom we may rightly call the pioneer historian of Vijayanagara, has completely misdescribed the state of Vijayanagara as caused by the Muhammadans during those six months [5] More than three centuries have

1 Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta, III, p 415, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 106, Frederick, Purchas, X, p 93, Couto, VIII, p 93 Faria y Sousa II, p 432, says that they were at Vijayanagara five months only The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 194, states that they remained at Vijayanagara four months only

2 Ferishta, III, p 414 Cf Ibid, p 131

3 Purchas, X, p 93

4 Couto, VIII, p 93, Faria y Souza, II, p 433 Probably several pearls and precious stones the Sultan of Bijapur got from the sack of Vijayanagar were finally presented to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, after the peace concluded between the Deccan and Prince Khurram in 1617 Cf *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p 399-401

5 Sewell, p 207, says "They slaughtered the people without mercy, broke down the temples and palaces, and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing *now remains* but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood" (Italics are mine) How can it be supposed that the destruction we see at present is the effect of the plunder of the Muhammadans only?

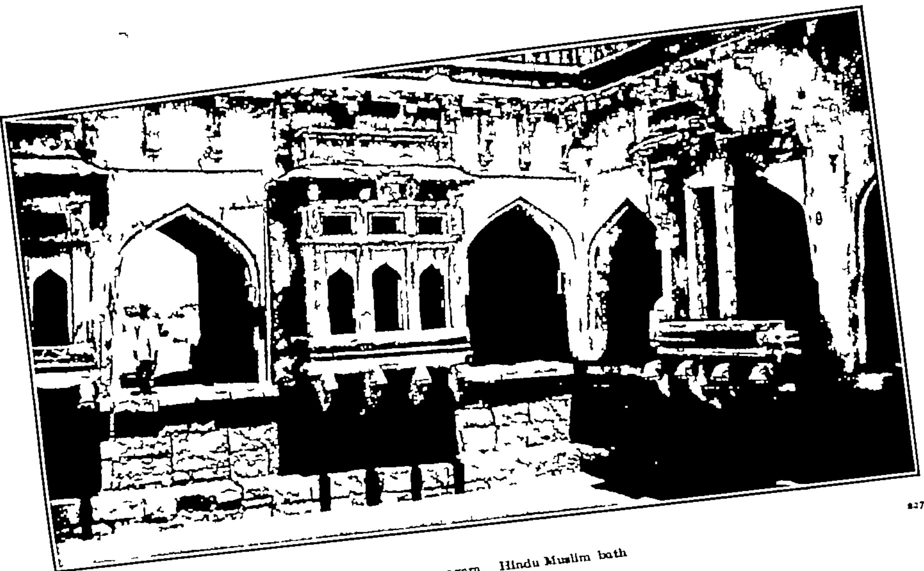
elapsed since those memorable days and time is as sure a destroyer as man His statement is perhaps founded on the Muhammadan authors, who seem to give a picture of a most tremendous havoc. Ferishta says: "They plundered, rased the chief buildings to the ground and committed every species of excess [1] The anonymous chronicler states that "the conquerors were directed to the destruction of the stone buildings" [2] and Ali ibn Aziz relates that during their stay they were busy "destroying the temples and dwellings of the idolaters and utterly laying waste all the buildings of the country" [3] I do not doubt that many a temple was desecrated in those days that many idols were partially broken or completely destroyed, or that several shrines were, perhaps, razed to the ground by the fanatical iconoclasts but I cannot admit Ferishta's saying, that the chief buildings were razed to the ground, for the simple reason that the chief buildings of the capital of the old Hindu Empire may be partly seen even now The huge imposing basements both in the royal enclosure and in the zenana the partly destroyed gopurams of the Vitthalaswami, Krishna and Achyuta Temples, of which only the brick work has partially disappeared, the beautiful well kept gopuram of the Pampapati temple at Hampi, one of the first the invaders saw on their coming from Anegundi even the two small shrines of Ganesa between the Hampi temple and the one of Krishna, of which not a stone has crumbled down after three centuries, are manifest proof of the exaggeration in Ferishta's statement. His religious prejudice against the idols and the temples of the *unbelievers* made him suppose things done in the imperial city of which its invaders were never guilty

I feel sure that almost all the idols worshipped at Vijayanagara were destroyed during those days because they are *not*, as a general rule, discoverable in the ruined temples. The huge Narasimha was mutilated, no doubt, at the time, since it is not in the power of centuries to cut off such big limbs as that idol's. Two images nevertheless, inexplicably escaped the general des-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 414.

3 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* l.c., p. 194.



IX. Vijayanagara. Hindu Muslim bath

truction, they are the above mentioned statues of Ganesa. As to the temples, the crumbling of the brick-work of the gopurams, the falling in of the ceiling slabs and the consequent shaking of the whole building, are things that require no help from any iconoclast invader. Time does it more quietly and more easily than any human agency can.

Moreover we must admit that several edifices of the city were destroyed by the invaders, partly while searching for treasures and partly by order of Husain Nizam Shah, who set on fire a number of houses, according to the information given by Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri.[1] As a matter of fact we have often found traces of a conflagration while going through the ruins.

Besides, the poor inhabitants of the city, who had taken refuge in the valleys of the surroundings, were diligently searched for by the Muslim soldiers, and when found, tortured till something was exacted from them.[2]

7. Anyhow the Mussulman sovereigns did not intend to destroy Vijayanagara. Their long six months' stay within its walls seems to demonstrate their purpose of retaining the city for themselves. Another fact, which has never been pointed out hitherto, tells the same story: their construction of new buildings in the old Hindu capital. There are still at Vijayanagara five or six buildings (such as the bath on the east side of the royal enclosure, the so-called elephants' stable, the lotus-palace in the zenana, the small building at the opposite corner of the same enclosure, the tower house in one of the corners of the Danayak's enclosure and the octogonal pavilion on the road to Hampi), that do not belong to the old Vijayanagara style, but to a new school that marvellously combines both Hindu and Muslim styles, the latter predominating. Moreover, the ancient Hindu structures of Vijayanagara were built without mortar: the basements of the royal enclosure, the walls of both the city and the different enclosures and the ruins of the temples show their mortarless construction. But for building the edifices in question mortar was used, and such mortar as has gloriously

1. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 106.
2. Ibid., p. 107.

defied the destructive inclemency of the weather for three centuries and a half. Now speaking of the buildings of Bijapur and specially of the flat ceiling of the famous Ibrahim Rauza, Mr H. Cousens, in his monumental work on *Bijapur* says "The whole secret of the durability of the masonry of those days is the great strength and tenacity of the mortar"[1] Such was the secret of the masons of Bijapur For these reasons I am inclined to believe that the buildings mentioned above were the work of the Deccani Sultans during their sojourn in the capital of the Hindu Empire. My opinion is confirmed by the following words we read in the *Basatin us-Salatin* "After this (the battle) they (the Sultans) devoted their attention to Vijaya nagara and raised mighty and lofty buildings"[2]

Yet six months after their triumphal arrival, that is at the end of July or at the beginning of August of the same year 1565 they with their respective armies left Vijayanagara. "They departed to their own kingdom, Frederick relates because they were not able to maintaine such a kingdom as that was, so farre distant from their owne Countrie"[3] But before leaving they received an embassy which ought to have been for them the cause of immense joy "Venkatadri, says Ferishta who escaped from the battle to a distant fortress, sent humble entreaties to the kings to whom he agreed to restore all the places which his brother had wrested from them"[4] By whose authority did Venkatadri make such an overture? No doubt by Tirumala's. If the distant fortress to which Venkatadri escaped was Chandragiri as we have supposed and if the palace of Tremil, where Tirumala and Sadasiva took refuge after the battle, is in upper Tirupati, as we have pointed out as probable in the beginning of this chapter both brothers could have communicated with each other on important state matters and Venkatadri could have opened these pourparlers with the Muhammadan sovereigns, as generalissimo of the Vijayanagara army on behalf of his brother the new Regent of the Empire.

1 Cousens, *Bijapur* p. 72.
2. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 105
3 Purchas, X, p. 94.
4. Ferishta III p. 131.

Misunderstandings among the four Sultans and among their respective generals, that had probably arisen during these six months, hastened their departure. Both the Golkonda chronicler and Ali ibn Aziz, as well as Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri, refer quite clearly to this disagreement among them [1], and the wars that ensued soon after, and of which we shall speak a little further down, confirm our supposition Nevertheless, no public manifestation of this mutual enmity was then given. They went together as far as Raichur, where they "took leave of each other and returned to their respective dominions" [2]. The anonymous chronicler informs us that before leaving Vijayanagara, the four Sultans deputed three of their generals, Mustafa Khan, Maulana Inayatullah and Kishwar Khan "to attack Mudkal (Mudgal) and Raichur, which places were easily reduced" [3]

8 Vijayanagara was thus abandoned by its own conquerors, and soon after, its natural lord again entered its gates Tirumala "returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Dekanese," says Anquetil du Perron [4] Mr Sewell seems to attach little importance to the Regent's return, but to my mind it is one of the outstanding events of those days It signifies that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the ruler of Vijayanagara did not despair of restoring the Empire to its ancient grandeur, to maintain the capital next to the boundaries of their enemies showed the indomitable courage that could still challenge the Deccani Muhammadans, with the sure hope of crushing them as in former days for Vijayanagara was the City of Victory!

No inscription at Vijayanagara records this second stay of Tirumala within its walls after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi [5] But fortunately we have an account by an eye-witness of this return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muhammadans C Frederick, who had seen it with his

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1 Ferishta, III, pp 414-5, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 194, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, pp 109-10 Cf Scott Waring, *History of the Maharattas*, p 40

2 Ferishta, III, p 131

3 Ibid, p 414 Cf *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 196

4 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166

5 Cf. H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 181, note

own eyes describes the royal palace as invested with no less splendour than before the Muslim invasion and he relates an episode relating to Tirumala, which is quite characteristic of that ruler It is worth while to quote it in his own words —

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger this Temirago returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to re-populate it and sent word to Goa to the Merchants if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall carried those Horses that they had to Bezeneger Also this Tyrant made an order or law that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell (of Raksas-Tagdi) or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants faire words until such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses which when the poore men saw they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe" [1]

This episode clearly shows the determination of Tirumala to continue the war with the Muhammadans. For which purpose he was in need of horses and money that was why after obtaining the horses he refused to make any payment to the poor merchants. This fact discredits Tirumala's character in the light of impartial history a ruler who oppresses his foreign benefactors in order to carry out his designs is not a ruler but a tyrant.

9. Frederick goes on to say that he "rested in Bezeneger seven months [2] His description of the imperial palace again proves that the Muhammadans did not raze to the ground

1. Purchas, X, p. 94. This fact is also narrated by Sewell, p. 209 but as having occurred in Penukonda. No doubt it took place at Vijayanagara Frederick says that he went there with the merchants.

2. Ibid.

every chief building in the city, as stated by Ferishta "I have seene many Kings Courts," says he, "and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say for the order of his Palace, for it hath nine Gates or Ports First when you goe into the place where the King did lodge, there are five great ports or gates these are kept with Captaines and Souldiers then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are kept with Porters Without the first Gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie Souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day, and within that another with the like guard, where thorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court And in this wise are the first five Gates guarded and kept with those Captaines and then the lessor Gates within are kept with a guard of Porters which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the costume of the Gentiles is to doe bisinesse and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day" [1]

10 The return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara, and his attempt to repopulate this city, must have coincided with the attack of Bijapur against Ahmadnagar, in which even the Sultan of Golkonda took some part Husain Nizam Shah had died shortly after his retreat from the Hindu capital, and his son Murtaza Nizam Shah, although young, became very unpopular on account of his excesses, so that before the end of the same year 1565, or perhaps in the beginning of 1566, Kishwur Khan wrote privately to the Sultan of Bijapur, inviting him to attack Ahmadnagar where there was, he said, a strong party in his favour Such was the origin of this war in which Golkonda and Birar supported the Sultan of Ahmadnagar [2] This was an ideal opportunity to enable the energetic Regent of Vijayanagara to carry out his plan

And such was the luck of Tirumala that, shortly after, he himself was invited to interfere again, like his brother Rama Raya, in the destiny of their opponents For Murtaza Nizam Shah, in order to be revenged on Ali Adil Shah, "sent an

1 Purchas, X, pp 97-8
2. Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta, III, pp. 416-8.

envoy to Golkonda," says the anonymous chronicler "inviting Ibrahim Qutb Shah to form an alliance against the king of Bijapur while at the same time an envoy had been previously despatched for the same purpose to Ahmadnagar by the king of Golkonda, proposing that they should march to the river Krishna, when *Yeltumraj (Tirumala), the brother of the late* Ramraj might be invited to join with his forces, when they could all proceed to the reduction of Bijapur After reaching the Krishna, the kings of Golkonda and Ahmadnagar wrote to Yeltumraj requesting him to become a member of the confederacy"

This was an excellent chance for Tirumala to recover the *countries taken by Ali Adil Shah from Rama Raya,* which he expected would be restored by the allies to Vijayanagara he also seized this opportunity to enfeeble his enemies by fostering war among them, following the Machiavellian policy of his late brother But at the same time he received another despatch from the Queen Dowager of Ahmadnagar Khunzah Humayun who was ruling over the kingdom during the minority of her son demanding from him the sum of two lakhs of huns for aid to be given him by the allies against the encroachments of the Sultan of Bijapur Tirumala, very much astonished at the Queen's demand, sent a message to the Golkonda Sultan informing him of the circumstance. Ibrahim Qutb Shah *promptly deputed a person to Ahmadnagar to express to the* Queen his surprise at this unexpected demand remarking that it appeared very impolitic, in the present posture of affairs to make demands of money on Yeltumraj instead of conciliating one who was a useful ally at the head of ten thousand men and who had reason to bear great enmity towards the powerful state which they were on the point of attacking" Khunzah Humayun, instead of acting on this advice, persisted in her demand, and even accompanied it with threats. Tirumala could not tolerate this accordingly he not only refused to pay the money but set out from his capital against the allies. Ibrahim Qutb Shah did not expect such an unfavourable turn of events and fearing the power of the Hindu army *dispatched an envoy to* Tirumala, advising him to retreat to his country and promising

that his own troops would also move simultaneously On the following day, both armies struck camp and retreated to their own countries[1]

II It seems quite certain that Sadasiva did not come back to Vijayanagara with the Regent of the Empire, the contemporary sources do not give any information on this point, and from their silence we may deduce that he probably remained in the palace of Tremil, Upper Tirupati, or that perhaps he was transferred to the neighbouring fortress of Chandragiri Frederick merely says that Tirumala "had in prison the lawful king"[2] This statement is confirmed by the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, which states that Tirumala governed "setting aside the nominal sovereign Sadasiva"[3] We know from these testimonies that Sadasiva's imprisonment did not end at the death of Rama Raya Tirumala, who had probably formerly rebelled against his brother on hearing of his sovereign's imprisonment, now followed the same policy himself Chandragiri was a splendid prison for a king, and since the only place where we find Sadasiva hereafter is Srirangam, where he made the Krishnapuram grant, we may reasonably suppose that he never went back to the North of his Empire Venkatadri who was probably at Chandragiri, might have been his jailor, or perhaps this office was filled by the third son of Tirumala, Venkata, the future Venkata II, who seems to have governed a portion of the Empire during the reign of Sadasiva[4], and during the reigns of his father and of his brother Ranga I, had been their viceroy at Chandragiri, and was at this time, according to an inscription of Markapur, of 1467, already one of

1 Ferishta, III, pp 418-20 The chronicler says that Tirumala marched to Penukonda, he seems to ignore the fact that the Regent was at Vijyanagara at this time, as we know from the sources mentioned above This campaign of the Golkonda Sultan against the Sultan of Bijapur is mentioned, too, in the Telugu poem *Tapatisamvaranam* Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 238, and hinted at in the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, pp 113-4

2 Purchas, X, p 97

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 302

4 *M E R*, *1905-6*, para 49.

the ministers of the Empire[1] In the year 1567 he made a grant to the Puranist Parankusan Lakshmanaiya[2] Another of his gifts is recorded in an inscription of 1568[3]

Tirumala therefore was the sole ruler of the Empire. We know of several grants made in his own name without any mention of Sadasiva at all such was the one given in 1567 as recorded in an inscription close to Siva's temple at Kandakuru, Cuddapah[4] One year later he granted Holalkere as an *amara magani* to the great Kamagetti Kasturi Medakeri Nayaka[5] In another similar inscription of the same place, the donee is called Maha nayakacharya and it is further stated that he made over the village to his brother in law Gulliyapa Nayaka, as an *umballi*[6] In the same year he made two grants to the temple of Vishnu at Khairuwale[7] Then the fort villages granted to Jvarakandesvara "the lord of Vellore" at the request of Chinna Bomma Nayaka, were the gift of Tirumala alone[8] Occasionlly however some grants of Sadasiva are found among the inscriptions of those days one, for instance of the year 1567 comes from Ahobilam Karnul[9] Sometimes both the sovereign and the Regent are mentioned in the inscriptions, showing the subordinate office of Tirumala. for example, during the reign of Sadasiva, Tirumala, under his orders, made a charitable grant to the barbers of Battepadu, Udayagiri and exempted them from taxes[10] the Krishnapuram plates of which we shall speak a little further on, are another instance of the same. But we know two inscriptions in which Sadasiva and Tirumala are placed on the same level. The one states that

1 Cf. H. Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* l.c., p. 187

2. 163 of 1905

3. 240 of 1897

4. Sewell, I, p. 132.

5 *Ep Carn* XI Hk, 7

6. Ibid., 6.

7 Sewell, I p. 93

8. Cf. Ch. VIII No. 12.

9 Sewell, I, p. 101.

10. Butterworth I pp. 217-8.

during the reign of Sadasiva, by his command and by order of Tirumala Rajaya, a private person gives a grant to a god for cars and festivals[1], the other is a Telugu copper plate of Komarunipalli, Cuddapah, which records that in the reign of Sadasiva and Gutti Tirumalayya, the fourteen villagers of Utukuru district gave to Lakkanayadu lands and fees at three *panams* for a marriage in these villages[2] In 1569 one Chinnapanayaningaru declares himself subject to Tirumala, while no mention of Sadasiva is made[3] Nevertheless, it seems that the Regent never took imperial titles until after Sadasiva's death[4]

12 But Tirumala's stay at Vijayanagara did not last very long Anquetil du Perron states that "not long after he transferred his court to Panegorde" (Penukonda)[5], and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* records that "after a short time he changed his capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda"[6] But Frederick gives the date of this important event "In the year of our Lord God 1567, for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde" (Penukonda)[7] We must say here that the transfer of the capital to Penukonda could not have taken place in the beginning of this year 1567, because this traveller went to Vijayanagara in the same year[8], and spent six months in that city[9], without witnessing the departure of Tirumala, of which he was made aware later on Now if we suppose that

1 *Ep Carn*, X, Gd 52

2 Rangacharya, I, pp 580, 58

3 166 of 1905

4 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 180

5 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166

6 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 302

7 Purchas, X, p 97 Not in Saka 1493, immediately after his usurpation of the throne, as H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, p 181, says, the inscriptions and grants are not the only sources of information

8 Purchas, X, p 92

9. Ibid, p 94

his return to the city after the departure of the Muhammadans occurred at the end of 1565 or the beginning of 1566 (since the enemy had left either in July or August) we must admit that Tirumala spent about two years at Vijayanagara.

What was the motive of his final departure? Frederick seems to attribute it to another war with the Muhammadans[1] and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says clearly that he changed his capital on account of the constant attacks of the Muhammadans"[2] which naturally baffled all attempts on the part of the Regent to repopulate the city

Now we know from Ferishta that about that time, Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur led his army against the Hindus of Vijayanagara and Anegundi. The Hindu chief then applied for relief to Khunzah Humayun the Regent of Ahmadnagar who herself marched at the head of an army accompanied by her son against the dominions of Bijapur Ali Adil Shah was compelled by this sudden attack to retreat from Anegundi to defend his own country[3] The Muhammadan writer does not mention any action between the two armies But we feel sure that some fighting ensued and it was probably in the course of this war that Tirumala's minister Chennappa Nayadu, defeated the Muslim general Rambikesaru Khanu (Kishwar Khan?) as is recorded in an inscription at Penukonda[4]

Nevertheless this war showed the Hindus that life in the capital was insecure on account of the proximity of the Muhammadan possessions the few inhabitants who had come back to repopulate the city retired to a more secure place; and Tirumala was obliged to abandon the old capital for good. This however betrayed a certain faintness of heart on the part of the Regent of the Empire. He had returned to Vijayanagara, after the retreat of the Muhammadans as an enterprising hero and worthy successor of Krishna Deva Raya and of his brother Rama Raya but now giving up possession of the old capital in favour of Penukonda was equivalent to retiring

1 Cf. Gubernatis, *Storia* p. 390.

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 302.

3 Ferishta III, pp 131-2 and 251.

4 341 of 1901.

from the front line to the second post of the Empire, and at the same time to abandoning all hope of victory over his enemies Vijayanagara was giving up its offensive lines, and retreating to a position of defence

13 The new capital of the Empire of Vijayanagara deserves some notice here Penukonda was a hill fort, three thousand feet high, in the South of the present Anantapur District, "eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger (Vijayanagar)", in the words of Frederick The town is situated at the foot of a hill which gives its name to the place Penukonda means 'big hill'

Kriyasakti Wadeyar, an ancestor of the Rajas of Bellur, is said to be the founder of the fort of Penukonda [1], but its main fortifications were built or enlarged during the reign of Bukka I According to an inscription of 1354 on the eastern side of the northern gate of the fort, Bukka entrusted the province of Penukonda to his son Vira Virupana Udaiyar, by his wife Janema Devi, and during the rule of this Virupana over Penukonda, the fort was enlarged and fortified by his minister Anantarasa Odeyaru [2] Subsequently, when Narasa Nayaka deposed the last representative of the Saluva dynasty, Immadi Narasimha, the unfortunate young prince was first confined and then, according to Nuniz, murdered in Penukonda by the usurper [3] This was one of the favourite towns of Krishna Deva Raya, who, according to tradition, made it his residence for some time [4] We read in an ancient inscription that Penukonda is a god-built city and that no man could possibly boast of taking its surrounding fortifications [5]

1 *Kriyasakti Wadeyar*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 345

2 339 of 1901

3 Sewell, p 308

4 Cf Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p 191 In an inscription of 1543, Rama Raya is said to be ruling the Empire of the world in Penukonda *Ep Carn*, IV, Kr, 79 This is probably a spurious inscription, since it represents Rama Raya with imperial titles, "seated on the jewelled throne," which was unusual in the first days of Sadasiva's reign

5 341 of 1901

Such was the place selected by Tirumala for the capital of the Empire. The Muhammadans were not likely to shake again the throne of the Telugu Empire as long as it was lodged within such a fortress, especially after the Regent himself had repaired its fortifications under the direction of Chennappa Nayadu[1] Penukonda was to be, according to him a worthy successor of the old capital, the second *City of Victory* And it seems probable that it was called at this time *Vijayanagara-Penukonda,* because the *History of the Karnataka Governors* begins as follows Vizianagaram Penu Kondaipatnam was for many years the capital of the Rayer" [2]

14. The transfer of the capital to Penukonda was the cause of the abandonment and destruction of Vijayanagara. Two inscriptions of Tirumala, of the following year 1568 describe the city as destroyed and in ruins [3] We cannot believe that the buildings of the city were in a ruinous state only a year after the departure of the court the above mentioned inscriptions refer no doubt, to the moral body of the citizens, to the *Civitas* not to its buildings. Anquetil du Perron expressly says that "the town of Bisnagar being abandoned, became the dwelling of wild beasts [4] And Frederick in his memoirs wrote 'The Citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie and there is dwelling in them nothing as is reported but Tygres and other wild beasts [5] Orme records that at the end of the 16th century the city of Bisnagar was part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore (Bijapur)" [6] Accordingly when Filippo Sassetti passed through Vijayanagara in 1584 5 he found a Muhammadan Governor there, as a letter of his dated Goa, November 9th, 1585, relates [7] But at the close of the century

1. 336 of 1901
2. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II p. 3
3. *Ep. Carn.* XI Hk, 6 and 7
4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c p. 166.
5. Purchas, X, p. 97
6. Orme *Historical Fragments* p. 61.
7. Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori* p. 202.

15 Nevertheless the ancient populous capital of the Empire had become a small village showing only in its temples and palaces the past grandeur which was crumbling away little by little. Its decay was the first death blow to Portuguese commerce in India "From that time onwards says Couto, the inhabitants of Goa have been on the decline" [1] And Filippo Sassetti in the above quoted letter says also that the traffic between the two cities had completely perished and gives the following instance to illustrate the great loss that this entailed to Portuguese commerce "The revenue of the tax on the horses that came from Persia for Vijayanagara was from a hundred and twenty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand ducats and the present revenue does not reach even six thousand" [2]

For the King of Portugal, this news was naturally most disappointing for precisely on February 27th 1568, a few months after the departure of Tirumula from Vijayanagara he wrote from Lisboa to Dom Luiz de Taide (d Ataide) as follows "If the merchandise that comes from Cananor Cochin and other places to be sold in Narsinga (Vijayanagara) passes through Goa, the revenue derived from the tariff duties on them will be a great service to me [3] The Portuguese sovereign was never to see the finances of his "*state of India*" increased by the commerce with Vijayanagara the Portuguese trade in that city had perished for ever

16. The departure of the Court from Vijayanagara to Penukonda naturally encouraged the secular covetousness of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda that confession of the weakness of the Hindu government was a tacit invitation to them to seize the territories North of the Empire. Accordingly Ali Adil Shah, in the year 1568 captured the fortress of Adoni which "was fortified with eleven walls one within another so that it appeared impossible to reduce it by force [4] It was

1. Couto, VIII, pp. 93-4.
2. Gubernatis, o. c p. 202. See Ap. B No. VI.
3 *Archivo Portugues Oriental* III p. 14.
4. Ferishta, III pp. 134-5

17 What was the interior state of the Empire in the meanwhile? Both Couto and Faria y Sousa relate that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the whole territory of Vijayanagara was divided among the sons and nephews of Rama Raya [1] and several modern authors have blindly followed their statements [2] But we know from epigraphical records that there was at that time no such break up of the empire the members of the Aravidu family remained as united as ever That explains why the anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier who wrote his book a little later writes to this effect after narrating the battle of Raksas Tagdi "Nevertheless the king of this country was not so much knocked down for he is still very rich and powerful and he possesses a large state, and has quite a good number of elephants and great cavalry and infantry [3]

In particular Ferishta supposes that Venkatadri had rebelled against his brother and taken over the reigns of government [4] but this is inconsistent with the fact that he is highly praised in the Krishnapuram grant in language which would never have been used in speaking of a rebel. His stay at Chandragiri, which we think very probable, would by no means mean a break in the allegiance between the two brothers [5] The Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, who was already at that time king at Penukonda states expressly that he was respected by his younger brothers" [6]

Nor can the following extract of the same writer be understood in a general sense "The country has been seized by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district" [7] Of which Sewell's opinion is

1. Couto VIII, p. 93 Faria y Sousa II, p. 433

2. "Different members of the family settled in Penukonda, Chandragiri, Vellore, and some returned to Anegundi" Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 269 "Two members of the Vijayanagara family established themselves, the one at Penukonda and the other at Vijayanagar" Gribble, *Cuddapah Manual* p. 88

3. *M H S J., Mon Xav.*, I, p. 62.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

5 Cf. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II, p. 142.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257 vv 44-62.

7 Ferishta, III p 131

nothing else but a replica "The nobles", says he, "began to throw off their allegiance, and one after another to proclaim their independence The country was in a state of anarchy"[1] Ferishta spoke probably of the feudatory chiefs of the North of the Empire, adjoining the Muhammadan possessions, but his statement cannot refer to the states of the South, which we know from the Krishnapuram plates to have been on friendly terms with the imperial power

It seems, indeed, that several petty chiefs and governors of the North of the Empire, either through fear of the Muhammadans, or on account of their own ambition, proclaimed themselves independent in their cities or fortresses We know of several of these defections in the North from the same Ferishta The governor of the fortress of Adoni, one of the main officers of the late Rama Raya, was one of them[2], Velappa Raya, another of Rama Raya's attendants, likewise assumed independence at Bankapur, Dharwar, and even compelled the Rajas of Jerreh, Chundraguti and Karur to become his tributaries[3], Trukal too was soon lost to the Empire it had fallen into the hands of Venkutti Yesu Ray (Venkatayasu Raya) an officer of the Bijapur government, who retained it for himself, throwing off his allegiance with the Sultan[4]

Perhaps the only one who withdrew his allegiance in the South was the chief of Kalasa-Karkala, South Kanara, although it appears probable that he already enjoyed some sort of independence, ever since the time of the overthrow of the Saluva family[5]

18 Precisely in the year 1568, the Emperor Sadasiva made a tour through the South of his Empire and received the

1 Sewell, p 209

2 Ferishta, III, p 134

3 Ibid, p 136

4 Ibid, p 135

5 H Krishna Sastri, *Karkala Inscription of Bhairava II, Ind Ant*, VIII, p 127 Burgess, *Chronology*, p 21, says that in 1565 Vira Chama Raya Wodeyar, of Mysore, set up as an independent Sovereign No trace of such rebellion may be found in the original sources We hope to show further on that the independence of Mysore commenced several years later

homage of many feudatory chiefs, and of Krishnappa Nayaka, the ruler of Madura among them. The reason for this journey might have been to make an imperialistic propaganda by showing to his subjects the person of the Emperor imprisoned so many years ago The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva show him to us on the banks of the sacred river Kaveri in the presence of the god Ranganatha"[1] Here Tirumala, at the request of Krishnapapati (Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura) himself respectfully begged Sadasiva Raya to make a gift of the village of Krishnapuram and nine other neighbouring villages to the god Venkatesa. Sadasiva, who is called here 'the respected of the learned man surrounded by his staunch friends, the priests the followers of the imperial retinue, all kinds of learned men and finally the ambassadors of his feudatory chiefs who had come to acknowledge him on behalf of their respective lords, joyously granted the aforesaid village with gold and pouring of water[2]

The information afforded by this grant is of more than passing interest. To see Sadasiva Raya three years after the battle of Raksas Tagdi surrounded by the ambassadors of his subordinate chiefs of the South, acknowledged by the powerful Nayak of Madura requested to do a favour by the very Regent Tirumala, is a scene very different from the dark pictures drawn by some authors. The Empire was not yet split up[3]

19 This was however one of the latest grants of Sadasiva. There is another of his inscriptions belonging to the same year in Tinnevelly district[4] and another of the following year 1569, in Coimbatore[5] and besides two other inscriptions of the year 1570, one in Madura[6] and another

1. *Ep Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv 44-45

2. Ibid., p. 341 vv 70-96 and 102-4.

3. Mr T A. Gopinatha Rao and Rao Sahib T Raghaviah seem to suppose that Sadasivaraya ended his days in Srirangam" Ibid. p 330 There is no reasonable ground for such an opinion.

4. 64 of 1908.

5 15 of 1910

6 403 of 19*2

in Nellore[1], recording facts which occurred during the reign of Sadasiva But at this time the unfortunate Sovereign had already met his end, as we shall see in the following chapter the news of his death, however, had not reached the distant corners of the Empire.

What sort of death did Sadasiva meet with after his twenty-eight years' rule? "Tirumala", says Mr Sewell, "murdered his Sovereign Sadasiva and seized the throne for himself"[2] Messrs Venkayya and H Krishna Sastri seem to admit the culpability of Tirumala in Sadasiva's death[3]

It seems, indeed, beyond doubt that Tirumala is more or less responsible for this murder, but whether he committed it himself is not so clear According to Frederick, "the sonne of this Temiragio had put to death the lawful King which he had in prison"[4] But Anquetil du Perron states that "His (Tirumala's) son murdered the son of the ancient King of Bisnagar, who had been imprisoned as well as his father"[5]

From these two extracts it seems quite evident that the one who committed that murder was not Tirumala, but one of his sons, there is no contemporary authority that attributes such a crime to Tirumala Nevertheless, the common juridical test '*cui bono*' points to him at least an accomplice and abettor Whether the murdered man was the king himself or his son is not so evident As a matter of fact it seems that Sadasiva had a son named Vitthala Raya, who made a grant to a temple as recorded in a copperplate of Tirukarangudi, Tinnevelly[6] The fact is that the two above-mentioned authorities have not the same value Frederick was probably still in India, when this abominable crime was perpetrated, while Anquetil du Perron travelled through the country one century

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1 Butterworth, II, p 868-70

2 Sewell, p 212

3 Venkayya, *Ancient History of the Nellore District, Ind Ant*, XXXVIII, p 94, H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 179

4 Purchas, X, p 97

5 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166

6 Sewell, I, p 315.

later Frederick's authority seems therefore more reliable Hence we may venture on the assertion that Sadasiva Raya was murdered by one of the sons of Tirumala [1]

It is not an easy task to decide precisely which of the sons of Tirumala was the author of this regicide. Of his four sons we know that the eldest Raghunatha, preceded his father to the grave; and since we hear nothing further of him after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi in which he was dangerously wounded it is reasonable to suppose him dead at this time. The other three, Ranga, Rama and Venkata were still living If Sadasiva was kept prisoner in the fortress of Chandragiri, Venkata being his jailor we must conclude that the future Venkatapati raya II the most glorious monarch of the Aravidu Dynasty was responsible for the death of the *last* representative of the Tuluva family Anquetil du Perron seems to confirm our supposition since he, speaking of Venkata II says that "he caused Sadasiva's son to be murdered" [2] and "had dethroned the lawful king of Bisnagar [3]

20. The Mamidipundi grant of Sadasiva says that he was the best of the Kings" [4] and in an inscription in the Madavaswami temple at Vijayanagara he is called "the fortunate, the great king of kings Paramesvara, happy famous and heroic [5] We cannot but smile at such brazen flattery after having so carefully surveyed the whole of his reign Though we must really admit that we do not sufficiently know Sadasiva as a king, because he had always

1. What was the fate of Sadasiva's son is not known. *Perhaps, he died before his father's assassination,* perhaps he was imprisoned for life perhaps he was only a natural son, since we hear no word at all of the Queen of Sadasiva. According to the *Satsampradayamuktavali* Sadasiva had a daughter who having become possessed, was exorcised by the trustee of the Ahobala temple and agent of Rama Raya, Parankusa Van-Sathagopa-Jiyamgaru. Cf. Rangacharia, II p. 971, 579

2. Anquetil du Perron l. c., p. 166

3 Ibid. cf. Ch. XV No 5.

4. Butterworth, I, p. 104, v 70.

5. Ravenshaw *Translation of Various Inscriptions*, l. c., p. 35

been merely one in name, still a nominal king is by no means entitled to the appellation of "the best of kings" As far as we can judge, he was not born to be a king at all, though Correa says he was "a sensible man and a great warrior"[1] A real king, a heroic sovereign, he would even in his youth have found countless opportunities to break the bars of his prison and escape from his unlawful jailors Sadasiva was unable to do so, and history can pass no better judgment on him that he happened to be a king of the type of those who closed the Merovingian dynasty of France

1 Correa, p 282

CHAPTER XI

THE SHORT REIGN OF TIRUMALA

SUMMARY —1 Accession of Tirumala to the throne of Vijayanagara.—2 Dynastic propaganda through the Empire, revised through contemporary inscriptions and grants.—3. Rebellions of feudatory chiefs and Rajas against the Emperor —4. Erection of the three Viceroyalties of the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries.—5 Muhammadan conquests in the North.—6. Action of Tirumala against the invaders.—7 Sriranga appointed Yuvaraja. Death of the Emperor —8. Tirumala's piety and wisdom.—9 Final criticism of the first Sovereign of the Aravidu Dynasty

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Apocryphal prophecy of the Mackenzie Collection.—3 Ferishta.—4. *Anonymous life of St Francis Xavier* —5 Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.—6 *Ramarajiyamu Vasucharitramu Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*

THE assassination of Sadasiva Raya naturally led to the accession of the Regent as Emperor of Vijyanagara. When this event took place, Tirumala was a venerable old man his eldest brother Rama Raya was ninety six at the time of his death, 1565. Now if we allow only a ten years difference between them, Tirumala must have been close on ninety when the last representative of the Tuluva family was murdered four years later

According to an apocryphal prophecy contained in one of the MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection Tirumala's coronation took place in Penukonda [1] "At the coronation of this moon among kings we read in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, foremost among the famous, this earth, being sprinkled with floods of water poured out at donations, occupied the place of queen" [2] while in two grants of Venkata II and in one of the same Tirumala 1571 it is said that at his anointing the earth was also so anointed as to appear as his crowned

1. Taylor, *O H MSS.*, II p. 98.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, III p. 252 v 16.



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X Tirumala Raya Upper Tirupati

By kind permission of the Director General of Archaeology)

Queen" [1], and in a grant of Ranga III, 1645, it is recorded that "the streams poured forth with gifts made by this most famous of kings at the time of his anointing to the throne, caused the earth to appear as if she also was so anointed" [2]

It appears certain from these extracts that the Queen was not present at the ceremony of coronation, being probably still in the palace of Tremil, as a place safer from the Muhammadan incursions Both the Tumkur and Budihala copperplates say that Tirumala's Queen was named Channadevi or Channamadevi [3], but many other grants give the name of Vengalamba or Vengalambika, as the one belonging to the wife of Tirumala [4] Probably Vengalambika had been Tirumala's first wife, since she is declared to be the mother of his four sons [5], but it is not improbable that he should have lost her by his ninetieth year, on that supposition, Channamadevi was the second wife who sat beside him on the throne of Vijaya-

1 Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep Carn* XII, Ck, 39, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 30, v 20, Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1

2 *Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60, For this ceremony the old jewelled throne of Vijayanagara was no doubt used It had been carried to the palace of Tremil, and from there, probably on this occasion, was brought over to Penukonda to be used at the enthronement of the first king of the Aravidu dynasty When later on the court was transferred to the Tamil country by Venkata II, the jewelled throne was probably transferred again to the East, anyhow it went back to Penukonda after more than half a century, because all the successors of Ranga III, so far known, were at Ghanagiri (Penukonda), as the inscriptions often record

3 Tumkur copper-plates, *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1, Budihala copper-plates, Cf H Krishna Sastri, *A S I*, *Report, 1911-12*, p 180, note 8

4 Maredapalli grant of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XI, p 328 Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 19, Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, v 23, Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, IV, p 270, vv 20-2, Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep Carn* VII, Sh, 83, Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39, Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep Carn*, III, Nj, 198, *Ramarajiyamu*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 213 Cf Gopinatha Rao, *Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Kamakoti Pitha*, p 82,

5 *Ramarajiyamu*, Ibid, p 213 *Vasucharitramu*, Ibid, p 216.

nagara. A Telugu poem of Bhattu Murti, a poet at his court speaks of Tirumala and his Queen sitting together and compares them to the god Siva, and Tirumala himself to Sukracharya the preceptor of the Asuras. The propriety of this comparison lies in the fact that "Siva is described in one of his forms as half man and half woman, and as having three eyes, the ordinary two and the eye of wisdom When Tirumala and his wife sat side by side they had only three eyes between them (Tirumala having lost one in the battle of Raksas Tagdi) Sukracharya the preceptor of the demons, is said to have only one eye, the other having been blinded by the god Vishnu when he took the form of a dwarf. Both Siva and Sukracharya are considered by Sanskrit writers to be omniscient, and are termed Sarvagna (all knowing) [1] The flattery of the poet is as delicate as it is acute.

Now when did the coronation of Tirumala take place? We have said in the preceding chapter that the inscriptions belonging to the year 1570 but recording facts that occurred in Sadasiva s time were carved in the reign of Tirumala because the year 1569 must be assigned as the year of Tirumala s accession and of the foundation of the new dynasty There is in Udayagiri an inscription of 1569, "while Tirumala seated on the diamond throne was ruling the kingdom of Vijayanagara" [2] The above mentioned apocryphal prophecy which was probably written in 1630, also places the beginning of Tirumala's reign in 1569 but it must have been very near the end of the year since the same document gives Tirumala only eleven months rule and lays down the commencement of his son s reign in 1572 [3]

2. From this time onwards the inscriptions of Tirumala show him with imperial titles, as successor of the old Emperors of Vijayanagara. In 1571 he is stated to be "ruling the earth" with the title of Maharajadhiraja [4] In 1571 he is called Virapratapa Tirumalayadeva Maharaya [5] In the same

1 Ibid., p. 231-2.
2 Butterworth III, p. 1328-9
3 Taylor *O.H MSS.*, II, p. 98.
4 *Ep. Carn.*, XII Mi 10.
5 497 of 1905

year a stone inscription from the Shimoga district calls him "the glorious king of kings, the great lord of kings, ruling the whole kingdom from his throne at Pehugundi (Penukonda) which belongs to Hampi-Hastinavati (Vijayanagara)"[1]. The Tumkur plates of the same date give him imperial titles as used by the old Emperors of Vijayanagara[2] Finally in his Penuguluru grant, made in the same year, he is described "seated on his throne ruling the whole kingdom extending from the Sethu (Rameswaram) to the Sumeru, and from the hill of sunrise in the East to the end of the western mountain, eclipsing in fame and righteousness even Nriga, Nala, Nahusha and such others on earth"[3]

His being anointed 'to the peerless and matchless sovereignty' is often mentioned as being that of the lawful founder of the dynasty, not only in his grants[4], but even in those of his successors Ranga I[5], Venkata II[6], Venkata III[7], and Ranga III[8]

Accordingly, the pedigree of the Aravidu family and its connection with some of the ancient and most famous dynasties of India, whether true or forged, were propagated in those days throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, with a view to establishing the new Aravidu family firmly on the throne Thus in the Madanagopalasvamin temple at Madura, Tirumala's pedigree is found engraved on thirteen stones[9] Then in an inscription of Gurzala, Krishna District, he is called 'the most excellent in the family of Satyasraya and the gem of

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1 *Ep Carn* VIII, Sb, 55

2 Ibid, XII, Tm, 1

3 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 256, v 43

4 Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1

5 Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 16

6 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, v 20, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth I, p 30, v 19, Venkata II's grants, 1587 and 1589, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83 and XII, Ck, 39

7 Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 15, Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep Carn*, III, Nj, 198

8 Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60

9 510 of 1907

the Chalukyas [1] And in the above mentioned *Penuguluru* grant he is said to be the foremost of the Chola family [2]

3 This propaganda in favour of his family's rights to the imperial throne would appear to suggest that his authority was in danger and we find indeed that a good number of his subjects did not acknowledge him in the beginning of his rule —not on account of his ancestors, who had been several times *connected with the previous dynasties, but because of the murder* of Sadasiva.

The author of the anonymous life of St. Xavier quoted above, who finished his work during the reign of Tirumala [3] writes to this effect There were several wars over the question of the succession to the throne for there was no more issue of the royal family and various nobles and leading chiefs *of the kingdom did not acknowledge the one who is ruling* at present" [4] This fact is also recorded in a letter of Tirumala [5] to Velappa Raya of Bankapur kept by Ferishta. The King complains that most of the dependents of the house of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara) had become rebels from their duty" [6] But Frederick, who was travelling through the Empire at the time, gives us more details. While describing the place where they get Diamants sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger (Vijayanagara) he states that "it is many yeeres agone since they got any there, for the troubles that have been in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temaragio had put to death the lawful king, *for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that* kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their king, and by this meanes there are many kings and great division

1. Sewell, I, p 58.

2. *Ep Ind* XVI, p 257 vv 44-62.

3 Cf. *M H S J Mon Xav.*, I p XXIII XXIV

4. Ibid., p. 62.

5. Ferishta says Venkatadri but this is an evident mistake. The one who was at Penukonda at this time was Tirumala. Anyhow the letter we are going to quote here would prove the same if written by Venkatadri

6. Ferishta, III p. 136

in that kingdom"[1] Again, Anquetil du Perron, after the account of the regicide, adds "Many troubles sprang from these revolutions the nobles refused to acknowledge the new king"[2]

This was certainly a very difficult position for the new sovereign in his ninetieth year On the one hand there was the Muhammadan menace on the northern frontier, on the other he suddenly saw many of the feudatory chiefs of the Empire rebelling against his authority We do not know who these rebels were, but we may assume that the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore did not make any movement, because their first rebellion is mentioned as having taken place during the reign of Venkata II It seems quite certain that the King set out without delay to subdue these disloyal chiefs, and actually received the homage of several of them One of his grants of 1571 records that "he subdued and made his own the eighty-four durgas, he curbed the pride of Avahalu Raja, and showed his skill in conquering the Utkala king (Orissa), the chief gem in the garland, Araviti-pura, the Suratrapa of Urigola (Warangal)"[3]

These were probably some of the rebel chiefs reduced by Tirumala to his obedience, but they were not all, for according to the apocryphal prophecy of the Mackenzie Collection, from the year 1569 onwards, 'the country will be in great confusion then for five years'[4] From this we conclude that the rebellion lasted until the first years of the reign of Ranga I, and was perhaps one of the causes of Tirumala's abdication

4 One of its immediate results was beyond doubt the inauguration of a new system of government, which proved efficient for some years Such was the division of the whole Empire into three viceroyalties to be distributed among the sons of the sovereign

The Arivilimangalam plates[5] and the Maredapalli grant[6]

1 Purchas, X, p 97
2 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166
3 *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1
4 Taylor, l c
5 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 19
6 Ibid, XI, p 328

mention only one son of Tirumala, Ranga the Vellangudi [1] and the Dalavay Agraharam plates [2] and the Vilapaka grant [3] give two names Ranga and Venkata, as corresponding to two sons of Tirumala three are to be found in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* [4] but the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III [5] and a grant of Ranga III 1645 [6] along with the *Vasucharitramu* [7] and the *Ramarajiyamu* [8] mention four Raghunatha, Ranga, Rama and Venkata. The eldest died probably after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi and this is the reason why no reference to him is made in many of the preceding documents while Rama was also over looked in several of them because he never ascended the masnad. Ranga and Venkata were the future Ranga I and Venkata II.

At this time Raghunatha was already dead. Hence the whole Empire was divided into three viceroyalties and each of them placed under one of the three surviving brothers. The divi sion was made on a racial basis, and followed the different peoples that occupied the territory of the Empire the Telugu viceroyalty in the North, the Kanarese viceroyalty in the West and the Tamil viceroyalty in the East and South [9]

"Sri Ranga Raya was the Viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his capital at Penukonda says the *Chikkadevaraya*

1. Ibid., XVI p. 300
2. Ibid., XII p. 186, vv 23 and 27
3. Ibid IV p 270, vv 20-22
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 302.
5. *Ep Ind.*, III p. 252, v 18.
6. *Ep Carn.*, X, Mb 60
7. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o c p. 216.
8. Ibid., p. 213
9. None of the contemporary sources say that Tirumala appoint ed his four sons to the several governorships of the kingdom, as it has often been asserted. Raghunatha is not mentioned at this time, from which we conclude he was dead. Even in Richards, *Salem Gazetteer* p 67 we read that "the Empire about this time, was divided into six viceroyalties 1. Andhra 2 Karnata 3. Madura 4. Chandra giri 5 Jinji 6. Tanjore" Here the three great Nayakships of Madura Tanjore and Jinji have been mixed up with the three ceroyalties created by Tirumala.

Vamsavali[1] The establishment of his capital at Penukonda took place later, when he was appointed Yuvaraja, but the capital of his viceroyalty seems to have been Udayagiri, in the heart of the Telugu country "Making Udayagiri his residence," we read in the Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, "he conquered Kondavidu, Vinikondapura and other forts, and began to rule at Penukonda"[2] The same is recorded in the Maredapalli grant of Ranga I[3], in the Vellangudi plates[4] and the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II[5], and another grant of the same monarch of the year 1589[6] Another of the same Ranga, of 1576, says that when he was at Udayagiri he conquered the inaccessible fortress of Kondavidu, Vinukonda, etc , and that he was, at the time of the inscription, residing with all the insignia of royalty at Penukonda[7] It is quite evident from these grants that Ranga's rule at Udayagiri was previous to his rule at Penukonda At this time and after the conquest of Kondavidu, he is also called governor of this place, when in that capacity he granted a village to a local temple[8]

"The next brother, Rama", says the *Vasucharitramu*, "was governing in peace the whole country from the Kaveri to the Sea (Arabian Sea), with his capital at the island town of Seringapatam"[9] The country under Rama is specified in greater detail in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* "His brother Rama Raya ruled the whole Kanarese country from his capital Seringapatam"[10] During the reign of Sadasiva, immediately

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 302

2 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, v 23-26

3 *Ep Ind*, XI, p 328, v 31

4 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 28-30

5 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, vv 24-25

6 *Ep Carn*, XII, Cf 39 Ck, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83

7 23 of 1911 One year previous to this grant, in 1576, Kondavidu had been granted by the same Ranga to a Brahman *Catalogue of the Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 53

8 Sewell, II, p 188

9 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 217.

10. Ibid, p 302

before the battle of Raksas Tagdi Rama Raya seems to have been governor of the fortress of Penukonda [1] and about that time he made a gift of the village of Kolagala to a certain Rama raja Nayaka [2] He is said to have previously defeated the Nizam Shah [3] but his rule at Seringapatam has been noted as weak [4] The times however were not favourable to the Kanarese Viceroy I feel sure that many of the petty chieftains of the Kanarese country were in revolt against Tirumala and the new dynasty several rebellions occurred there, too after the accession of Sadasiva [5] Rama s task was not at all easy and his life was not to last long During the time of his viceroyal ty he constructed the math of Satyabhodarayalasvami at Penukonda, as recorded in a Kanarese inscription in the same place [6] By his wife Narasingama [7] he had two sons Tirumala and Sri Ranga [8] whose great influence in the history of the Aravidu family will be traced in due course.

The Tamil country was under the third brother Venkata "The last of the four brothers Venkatapati" says the *Vasucharitramu* "was governing as Viceroy the kingdom of Chandragiri having under his authority many feudatory princes [9] Who several of these princes were is mentioned in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* 'Venkatapati the third brother was the Viceroy of the Tundira (Jinji) Chola (Tanjore) and Pandya (Madura) countries with his capital at Chandragiri [10] We have no special information about his rule as Viceroy his authority was above that of the three powerful Nayaks of Madura Tanjore and Jinji and was similar to that of Prince

1. Cf. H Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* l. c p. 183
2. 16 of 1910.
3 *Ramarajiyamu* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o c p. 213
4. Cf. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer* p. 67
5 Cf. Ch. IV No 2.
6. Sewell, I p. 120
7 *Ramarajiyamu* l c.
8. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind.* III, p. 253, v 21 Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep Carn.*, X, Mb, 60; *Ramarajiyamu* l. c.
9 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 217
10. Ibid., p. 302.

Vitthala, the cousin of Rama Raya, during the time of his viceroyalty in the South

This new administrative arrangement, inaugurated by Tirumala, was intended to meet the then urgent necessities of the Empire The monarch, leaving the affairs of government in the hands of his sons, could devote himself to checking the advance of the Muhammadans on the northern frontier The division being naturally made according to the three great different races of the Empire, a greater administrative success in each part could reasonably be expected, and the Viceroys being of the royal blood, and in this case sons of the Sovereign himself, the fear of rebellion was reduced, since they were bound to be very loyal to the Emperor their father The only fear was that these viceroyalties being hereditary, the future viceroys, though related to the Emperor, would not feel that love which is natural between close relations, and the consequences would prove fatal to the Empire But this apprehension was never realised, since the viceroyalties ceased to exist after half a century

5 The Muhammadans, indeed, continued seriously to menace the northern territories After the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, Tirumala had delivered the territory from an invasion of Ali Adil Shah, by soliciting the aid of the Queen Mother of Ahmadnagar, Bibi Khunzah Humayun, who by marching an army into the Bijapur dominions had forced Ali Adil Shah to retreat from Vijayanagara [1] But in the year 1569, the same Ali Adil Shah and Murtaza Nizam Shah met on the borders of their kingdoms, and came to a mutual agreement to extend their conquests in such different directions as not to interfere with each other the Sultan of Ahmadnagar should be allowed to occupy Berar, and the sovereign of Bijapur should be permitted "to conquer as much of the dependencies of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara) as he thought proper, without any interference on the part of Murtaza-Nizam Shah" [2]

This agreement was fatal to the Hindu Empire Ali Adil Shah set out at once to invest the fortress of Turkal, then in

1 Cf Ch X, No 12

2 Ferishta, III, p 135

possession of Venkatayasu Raya who surrendered after seven months of strenuous defence. Then the Sultan proceeded to reduce Dharwar "one of the strongest of the forts in the Karnatik and at that time in possession of one of the officers of the late Ramraj who, though he paid annually a small tribute to Yeltumraj (Tirumala) had now acquired great power" The fortress, however took six months to subdue. Then Ali Adil Shah turned his arms to Bankapur Its Raja, Velappa Raya, who rebelled against Vijayanagara after the Raksas Tagdi disaster[1] "shut himself up in the fort, and detached his son with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot to occupy the woods and passes in order to harass the enemy as opportunity offered, and to endeavour to cut off his resources At the same time he sent a message to Tirumala asking for help. But the Emperor's answer carried unutterable despair to his heart for Tirumala replied that "by his wickedness and evil example most of the dependents on his house had become rebels, and departed from their duty so that it was with difficulty he could support himself at Penukonda and Chandragiri, the only places which the kings of Islam had left him. He advised him therefore, if money or jewels could purchase terms from the Muhammadans, to procure them on any conditions but if he should find this impossible, he recommended him by all means to induce the neighbouring Rajas to espouse his cause, and to prevail on them to join his son with their followers, in order to harass the Mussulmans by cutting off their supplies and making frequent night attacks. He promised, moreover to issue orders to all his vassals to assist him, though he could not rely on their obedience" Accordingly Velappa Raya prevailed on some chiefs to join his son and they acted with such vigour "that grain became scarce in the king's camp" says Ferishta, "which was molested every night by bands of robbers and assassins who did much execution They entered the tents at night, and without mercy stabbed the soldiers while sleeping. Every night numbers were killed by them in this treacherous manner and so great a dread and discontent prevailed among the troops that they were near

1. Cf. Ch. X, No. 17

forcing the king to raise the siege", but the tactics of Mustafa Khan freed the camp of these night marauders, and then confidence was restored among the Muslim soldiers The siege, however, lingered on for one year and three months Velappa Raya surrendered at last after the demise of his son, on condition of being allowed to depart with his family and effects [1] When this fort fell, Ranga I was already Emperor

6 What was the action of Tirumala against the invaders of his Empire? We have read somewhere that territorially he left it at the time of his death just as it was before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, but we have not anywhere discovered any source of information so optimistic about his reign His great military prowess is extolled in many of the grants of his succesors [2], he is called 'the king of the powerful arm' [3] who 'defeated his enemies' [4], 'conquered' or 'subdued hostile kings in battle' [5] and 'scorched hostile kings with the fire of his valour' [6]

The *Vasucharitramu* relates that Tirumala destroyed the forces of the Muhammadans sent against him under the command of a certain Khana (Khan) Incidentally the poem says that Tirumala "verily bestowed upon the hills of Penagonda (Penukonda) the *girisabhava* (the state of being the best of hills), by spreading thereon the skins of mad elephants and the skulls (of slaughtered soldiers)" [7] This was probably the

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1 Ferishta, III, p 135-9 This campaign against Bankapur is also mentioned by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ibid, p 432

2 Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 256, vv 44-62, Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 16, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 30, v 19, Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p, 252, v 15

3 Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 257, vv 44-62

4 Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 16, Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, v 20

5 Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p 254, v 15, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 30 v 19

6 Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 257, vv 44-62

7 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c p 181

occasion when Tirumala's minister Chennappa Nayadu, distinguished himself by defeating the Muhammadans near Penukonda, as is recorded in a local inscription [1]

7 It is generally asserted that Tirumala retired from the Karnata throne in favour of his son Ranga. But I cannot support this statement with any contemporary authority. The *Vasuchartiramu* only says that 'Sri Ranga was nominated Yuvaraja by Tirumala Raya and was looking after the affairs of the whole Empire' [2] His appointment as heir apparent does not imply his father's renunciation of the throne; nor is this implied by the second fact, which was probably contemporary with the first *viz* that he was looking after the affairs of the whole Empire. Tirumala no doubt felt that he was too old to rule so turbulent a country and therefore appointed his eldest living son his heir apparent and associated him in the government it was then that Ranga began to rule at Penukonda [3]

This occurred probably at the end of 1571 but in the beginning of 1572 Tirumala who was then ninety two, passed away according to the apocryphal prophecy in the Mackenzie Collection [4]

8. The grants of his successors extol the virtues of the excellent Tirumala, as he is called in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III [5] The Penuguluru grant pronounces him an ocean of praiseworthy qualities the prosperous abode of unrestrained charities" [6] "illustrious distinguished for his prudence the gifts from whose hands excelled even those of the tree of Indra, and who was a fountain of good qualities" [7] He is said "to rule the whole earth with great glory and unequalled renown like Hari (Vishnu) among the

1. 341 of 1901.

2. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 217

3 Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind* XII, p. 186, vv 23-26.

4. Taylor l. c.

5. *Ep Ind.*, III, p 252, v 73

6. Ibid. XVI, p. 257 vv 44-52.

7 Ibid vv 177 178.

Trimurti" [1], or "to protect the earth like Vishnu among the Trimurti" [2]

Two qualities among the rest are selected for special praise his piety and his wisdom As to the first, the Penuguluru grant says that he is 'a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Vishnu)' [3] "This king," the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II inform us, "performed frequently all the *danas* mentioned in the *agamas*, such as the *kanaka-tuba-purusha* and the *upadanas* in the temple of Kanchi, Sriranga, etc, and at the sacred *tirthas*" [4] He built temples and bathing-places for pilgrims at Kanchi, Srirangam, Seshachala, Kanakshaba, Ahobaladri and other places [5] In 1569, while 'seated on the diamond throne' and 'ruling the Kingdom of Vijayanagara, he made a grant to the god Anjaneya' at Udayagiri [6] In the following year another was made "with pleasure and libations of gold and water, as a *sarva-manya*, to Brahmans, of several *sakkas*, names, *gotras* and *sutras*, of the rich village named Penuguluru, with the two other villages, Yalanimapadu-Chennapalli and Konduru-Chennapalli, beautiful with gardens" [7]

His wisdom is likewise acknowledged and highly praised by his successors he is called 'wise' [8] and 'learned' [9], and even in a Sadasiva's grant of 1558 he is said to be as

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1 Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357 v 16, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth I, p 30, v 19, Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 15

2 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 317, v 20

3 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 245

4 Ibid, p 319, v 27

5 Tirumala's grant *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1, Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83, Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39

6 Butterworth, III, p 1328

7 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 257, vv 44-52

8 Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga, I, *Ep Ind* XII, p 357, v 16, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 30 v 19, Kuniynr plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 15

9 Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60

learned as Bhoja Raja [1] He was highly esteemed by wise kings [2] He sedulously patronised wise people and endeavoured to propagate wisdom among his subjects. In order to commemorate the first death anniversary of his father he granted the village of Jillellamuduku to a wise man called Srinivasacharya [3] Then when he made the Penuguluru grant to Brahmans the entire village was divided into 128 *vrittis* and given to Brahmans who were highly learned in the sastras and were masters in the Vedanta one of the *vrittis* was granted for the study of the Rig Veda and another for that of the Yajur Veda [4] At the end of this volume we shall mention his literary exploits we shall here only quote some words of the Penuguluru grant mentioned already which gives a beautiful description of the pious and wise Tirumala, "being surrounded by pious and loving priests and attendants, and by various wise men who follow the ways laid down in the Vedas and are highly educated" [5] Such was the company with which Tirumala loved to surround himself the great warrior never lost sight of the claims of piety and the value of high education.

9 We cannot doubt that Tirumala had the most excellent qualities which must adorn a ruler since he proved it when a minister during the reign of Sadasiva, and specially after the usurpation of his brother when he was in charge of all state matters. He marvellously co-operated with Rama Raya for the welfare of the Empire, and the success they attained was due to the efficiency of both the glory of the Empire of Krishna D va Raya still illuminated the combined rule of Rama Raya and Tirumala. But after the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi and specially during his short rule as Emperor he was too old to maintain the Empire in its *pristine glory* The Muhammadan attacks on the northern frontier and the rebellions of the

1. *Ep Carn.*, IX, Cp 186

2. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep Ind.*, XVI p. 257 vv 43-62

3 Rangacharaya I, p. 639 678

4 *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 245.

5 Ibid., p. 257 vv 44-62.

feudatory chiefs throughout the whole of the Empire were too much for the old Sovereign He then thought of dividing his task among his sons, by creating the three Viceroyalties of Udayagiri, Seringapatam and Chandragiri, and as even that was not enough, he associated his eldest son in the government to share with him the conduct of state affairs The weakness he showed in translating the court and capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda became clearer and clearer every year The Muhammadans were continuously advancing and even reached the walls of Penukonda Nor were the domestic revolts yet brought under at the time of his demise Tirumala was not at all a successful monarch

His usurpation of the throne may be easily justified A pageant king like Sadasiva was a grave danger to the Empire at such a turbulent time, and if any relics of imperial power were to be saved, the removal of Sadasiva was a political necessity Neverthless political necessity never justified a murder, if Tirumala is responsible for the assassination of Sadasiva Raya, the first monarch of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara will always be blamed for having sprinkled the steps of his throne with the blood of his predecessor

CHAPTER XII

THE EMPIRE UNDER SRI RANGA I

SUMMARY —1. Enthronement of Ranga I. Retains his capital at Penukonda.—2. His officers. Subdues the rebellious chiefs.—3 Muhammadan invasion of Kanara —4. First attack of Bijapur against Penukonda. Alliance between Vijayanagara and Golkonda —5 Second attack on Penukonda. Ranga imprisoned by his enemies.—6. Third attack. Jagadeva Raya.—7 The Sultan of Golkonda invades Ahobilam.—8 The province of Udayagiri captured by the Golkonda troops.—9 Further Muhammadan inroads.—10 Ranga I's religious conduct —11. His death. A criticism.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2 Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—3 *Ramarajiyamu Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali Annals of Hande Anantapuram Charuchandrodayam Yayatichartramu Lakshmivilasam.*

SRIMAD Rajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Rangarayadeva Maharayalu[1] naturally succeeded his father Tirumala at the beginning of 1572 Ranga was installed in the kingdom of Penukonda we read in the Utsur grant of Ranga III[2] and in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III we find that he was crowned to the kingdom of Penugonda[3] As to the actual ceremonies of his coronation a grant of Venkata II 1587 informs us that he was anointed by his chief Brahmans[4] but the Mangalampad grant of the same records that he was installed according to the rules by the best of the Brahmans[5] Both grants mention the sovereign's munificence on this occasion and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II even state that by the gifts made by this King at

1. Such is the full imperial title given him in the inscriptions. Cf. Rangacharya, II, p. 1098, 374.

2. Butterworth, I, p. 46, v 23

3 *Ep Ind.*, III, p. 252, v 19

4. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83

5 Butterworth, I p. 30 v 22

the time of his coronation poverty was completely wiped out for good men"[1] His queens were Tirumala Devi and Krishnamba[2]

The statement has been made that Ranga transferred the capital of the Empire to Chandragiri[3] This is not founded on any contemporary source The Vellangudi plates of Venkata II say that 'he made Penugonda his capital'[4], and the Kondyata grant of Venkata III calls him the 'king of Penagonda'[5] Moreover, we know of inscriptions of all the years of his reign, excepting two They clearly state that he was ruling over the Empire from the hilly town of Anantapur In 1572 certain inhabitants of Mannur, Cuddapah, gave away their annual fee from the village to the god Chennakesava, in the reign of Srirangaraya of Penukonda[6], an inscription of 1573 says that that he 'was ruling at Penukonda'[7], his Maredapalli grant was made in 1574 'in the presence of the god Ramachandra (in Penukonda)'[8], and it states that he was residing at Penukonda[9], again, another inscription of 1574 records that he was 'ruling at Penukonda'[10], three inscriptions of 1575 speak of him as still 'seated in Penukonda'[11], another of 1576 again commemorates the fact of his 'ruling at Penukonda'[12], in 1577-8 he makes the

1 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 28-30

2 Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39 Tirumala Devi is called Timmamba in the *Ramarajiyamu*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p 213, and Sewell, II, p 252, calls the second wife Katamba

3 Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p 37, Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p 21

4. *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 28-30

5 *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 126

6 Rangacharya, I, p 643, 783

7 *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39

8 *Ep Ind*, XI p 328

9 Ibid, v 31

10 70 of 1915

11 Butterworth, III, p 1259-61, Rangacharya, II, p 1143, 688, *Catalogue of the Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 53

12 23 of 1911

Arivilimangalam grant in the presence of the god Ramachandra of Perunkondapura (Penukonda)[1] again he is said to be ruling over Penukonda in 1578[2] and in 1579 he is ruling the kingdom of the earth at Penukonda[3] this is also said of 1579-80[4] in 1582 he is seated on the diamond throne at the city of Penugonda[5] in 1582-3 he is said still to be ruling at Penukonda[6] and finally he is called Sri Ranga of Penukonda and ruling at Penukonda *both in 1584*[7] *and in 1585*[8] *the last year of his reign*

No inscription has hitherto been discovered stating that Ranga ruled at Chandragiri. What is more puzzling is an inscription of Podili Nellore District that records a grant of a village by a private person while Ranga was ruling at Vijaya nagara in 1575-6[9] We feel sure that the capital of the Empire was never removed again to the imperial city on the Tungabhadra. Two inscriptions of these same years mentioned above record his *domicile* at Penukonda. He may have visited the ancient capital of his predecessors in the course of one of his expeditions against the Muhammadans but this would not imply his ruling at Vijayanagara probably the traditional capital was here mentioned out of the regard which the kings still cherished for that city

2. Penukonda was therefore the town where Ranga I ruled in splendour with all insignia of royalty to quote the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II[10] Pemmasani Pedda Timma raja seems to have been his minister[11] or at least one of his

1. *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 341.
2. Sewell, I, p. 100
3. Butterworth, II, p. 657-9 Rangacharya II p, 1098 374 *M A D Report 1923*, p 44.
4. Butterworth II, p. 657-9
5. Rangacharya II, p. 1115, 491.
6. Butterworth II, p. 892-4.
7. Rangacharya I, p. 153 193 70 of 1915
8. Ibid., p. 622, 534.
9. Butterworth, III, p. 1185-6
10. *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 319 vv 28-30
11. Cf H Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* l. c., p. 185

ministers, because in an inscription of 1581 Ranga mentions Megoti Timma Nayadu as his agent and minister[1] Another who seems to have been in charge of the matters of government is Timmaya Mantri, for the author of the *Charuchandrodayam*, his cousin, says that he "was the right hand of the Emperor Sri Ranga Raya and was presented by him with elephants, horses, palanquins and umbrellas"[2] His dalavay, or commander-in-chief, was one Obala in 1572[3], but nine years later, in 1581, Venkatappa Nayadu occupied this post[4] Rayasam Venkatapati was also one of his officers in his poem *Lakshmivilasam* he informs us that he got the name of Rayasam after his office in the court, which was despatch-writer, and he was the manager of the Secretariat of the Empire He was much loved by the Emperor, who presented him with a village and gold jewels[5]

Mr H Krishna Sastri suspects that the whole of the West coast and its petty rulers had asserted their independence in the beginning of Ranga's reign[6] He is probably right, because it is certain, in view of the above-quoted apocryphal prophecy in the Mackenzie collection, that the great disturbances and rebellions following the murder of Sadasiva lasted five years, *viz* one year of Tirumala's reign and the first four years of the reign of Ranga This was a trying task for the new sovereign to cope with, but it seems, he finally subdued the rebels It is probably in this connection that his Maredapalli grant and Arivilimangalam plates inform us that he 'destroyed or reduced the Chaurasi-durga (the eighty-four hill forts)'[7], the Arivilimangalam plates say moreover that he 'put to shame Avahaluraya'[8], while the Maredapalli grant extols him 'as the vanquisher of Avahaluraya and the king of Utkala'[9]

1 178 of 1913
2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 241
3 Rangacharya, II, p 979, 630
4 178 of 1913
5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 230
6 Cf H Krishna Sastri, l c and note 3
7 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 20, XI, p 328, v 35
8 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, vv 21-26
9 *Ep Ind*, XI, p 328, vv 37-38

Moreover the rebellions were not all confined to the West Trouble also arose in the South of the peninsula. The country of Marava and its neighbours the Kallar tribes, had broken allegiance with the Empire; but Ranga, according to an inscription of Tindivanam subdued the insolent Kallar and Maravar (tribes) inhabiting Kongu and Malai nadu and their treasures he distributed (among the poor)[1]

3 In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had not yet ceased attacking the northern frontier In the year 1575, to safeguard his new possessions Ali Adil Shah rebuilt the ancient fortress of Chandragutti Shimoga District, which was built upon a lofty hill[2] While here, he was invited by Shankar Nayak, probably one of those petty chiefs of Kanara who had rebelled against the new dynasty of Vijayanagara, to make a tour through his own country Ali Adil Shah" says Ferishta, accepting the offer left his army at Chandarguti and with Mustafa Khan and four or five thousand men proceeded to the fortress of Karur (Kadur) This place is situated in a mountainous country full of forests, and so difficult of access that most of the passes allow only one horseman to enter at a time. The king, disliking the appearance of the country returned to Chandargutі leaving all his possessions to the Nayak; but Mustafa Khan tried to make a virtue of his master's necessity by telling the Nayak that it was with difficulty he had dissuaded him from reducing it therefore, if he consulted his own safety he would submit and pay tribute and induce the surrounding rayas to do the same. Shankar Nayak, by these representations prevailed on Siva Nayak of Jerreh, the Rani of Barcelor (Basrur) and several other chiefs to pay their respects to the Sultan to whom they presented offerings of considerable value, and agreed to pay annual tribute. On the day on which these chiefs received their state robes from the Sultan women s robes were prepared for Har Devi Bhar Devi, the Rani of Barcelor and another Rani. But these they declined accepting saying that though women in sex they held their dominions by the power of masculine minds upon which the Sultan presented them with men s robes

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri l. c., p. 183-4.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 139

and applauded their high spirit After this the Sultan of Bijapur appointed a Brahman to superintend the revenue of the newly-acquired country, answering more or less to the modern districts of Shimoga and Kadur [1]

4 Ranga could not render assistance to his rebel chiefs of the Kanara country against the Muhammadans As a matter of fact, it seems that just at this time he was proceeding towards Chandragiri 'in the course of a royal tour' [2] Ali Adil Shah, after his short campaign in the Kanara country, again joined the troops of Mustafa Khan and advanced towards Penukonda [3] When Sri Ranga learnt this he rapidly returned to his capital [4], but found himself unequal to the forces of Bijapur, so, perhaps even before he reached Penukonda, he despatched an envoy with magnificent presents to Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda, demanding his aid against Adil Shah The Golkonda Sultan "readily agreed to the overtures of Sri Ranga Raya," says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, "promising him to oppose Ali Adil Shah, and to prevent him from making further aggression Accordingly he detached his general, Shah Muhammad Anju, with a light force, to skirmish and plunder the borders of Adil Shah's dominions, while he prepared to move to the South in support of Sri Ranga Raya On the Bijanagar frontier he was joined by Shah Muhammad Anju, after he had sacked the towns and laid waste the enemy's country, agreeably to his instructions He was shortly afterwards met by Sri Ranga Raya, and their junction induced Ali Adil Shah to raise the siege of Bijanagar (*viz* its capital Penukonda) [5] and to return to Bijapur" [6]

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1 Ibid, p 140-1

2 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 231

3 Ferishta, III, p 141 Ferishta's following account of the attack of Penukonda is evidently out of place I shall prove in due course that facts narrated here by the Muhammadan writer could not have taken place except during the reign of Venkata II

4 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l c

5 The removal of the capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda seems to be completely ignored by the anonymous chronicler

6 Ferishta, III, p 435

Such is the account of the retreat of Ali Adil Shah as given by the Mussulman writer but the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* provide us with some other details. Ranga had also summoned Hande Malakappa Nayadu, the governor of Bukkasamudram and with the assistance of his troops fought with the Muhammadan invaders and routed them [1] This seems to imply that a battle was fought between the two armies, and it was probably then that Ranga's war-drums were heard in the town of Vijapura (Bijapur) as we read in the *Narapali vijayamu* [2]

After this combined action the relations beween Golkonda and Vijayanagara apparently became still more friendly It was perhaps then that Fak l Khan went with a large army as an envoy of the Sultan of Golkonda to the court of Ranga and took the latter to his sovereign's capital, where a treaty of alliance was concluded between the two monarchs [3]

5 But not long after probably in the following year 1576, the Sultan of Bijapur reappeared in the territories of Vijayanagara with a large army Ranga set out from Penukonda to check this expedition When the two armies met, a great battle ensued, in the course of which the Emperor Ranga unfortunately fell a prisoner into the hands of Ali Adil Shah this mishap turned the tide against the Hindu army which was beaten and routed by the enemy The immediate result of this victory was the possession of the territories to the North of Penukonda, which never went back into the hands of the Vijayanagara Emperors "On hearing about this defeat of Sri Ranga," continues the author of the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, "Hande Malakappa Nayadu, thinking that the Muhammadan fortunes were destined to rise and his master's to wane, transferred his allegiance to them and behaved obediently in their service. So they showed great favour to him, and bestowed upon him the lands formerly granted to him by the Vijayanagara sovereigns Bukkapatnam in the Elamanchi country

1. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* l. c. Cf. Brown, *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 6.

2. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c., p. 183, note 3

3. *Yayaticharitram* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 236.

and Anantasagaram along with the hamlets under them, with the title of Padishah Vazir" [1] This misfortune of Ranga justified a strange title given him two years before in a grant of 1574, this sovereign is called 'Establisher of the kingdom of the Mussulmans' [2]

More fortunate still was another chief who also fought in this battle against the Muhammadans Sal Nayaka had, after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, become the leader of a band of freebooters, and succeeded in capturing Kandikere and Shettikere Incidentally, he joined Ranga at Penukonda with a force, on condition of his conquests being confirmed After the defeat of the Hindu army and the capture of their Emperor, he escaped to his own country with such plunder as he could secure, including, it is said, twelve elephants Chiknayakanhalli was founded a while after, made the seat of his government and named after his brother, then Honnavalli, Turuvekere and Nonavinkere were added to his possessions Such was the origin of the Hagalvadi chiefs, whose territory was finally annexed to Mysore by Chikkadeva Raya [3]

6 Ranga I, probably, soon won his liberty by a heavy ransom, because the inscriptions of the following year 1577 show him 'ruling at Penukonda' [4] But the attack on Penukonda was renewed that very year, unquestionably Ali Adil Shah was bent on destroying the new capital of the Empire, as he had helped in the destruction of the old We are not aware whether Adil Shah was present at the siege of the fortress, the *Satyaparinayam* mentions only four generals of his army Jagadeva Raya, the Sudra chief of Baramahal, was at the moment in charge of the defence of the city, he was closely related to the

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 231-2 Cf Brown *The Wars of the Rajas*, p 6

2 Sewell, II, p 185

3 Rice, *Mysore*, II, p 165

4 Cf above No 1 Nevertheless there is an inscription of this year in the Nellore district, in which Ranga appears as 'ruling at Chandragiri' Butterworth, I, p 399, note Was his capture perhaps concealed by saying that he was ruling at Chandragiri, where his brother Venkata was perhaps governing the Empire on his behalf?

Emperor by his marriage with one of the latter's daughters [1] The attack was more than once valiantly repulsed by this hero One general, Sujata Khan was slain in one of the actions, another Chitta Khan was captured and the other two Murtija Khan and Naru Khan being successively defeated the Bijapur army was forced to raise the siege [2]

The Emperor rewarded Jagadeva Raya s services liberally He gave him a large district which extended from Baramahal in the East to the western Ghats in the West He fixed his capital at Channapatna, which his descendants held till 1630 when it was captured after a long siege by the Raja of Mysore [3] Perhaps Koneru Raya also distinguished himself on this occasion because an inscription of 1579 records the fact that the Emperor Ranga gave two villages to him for services rendered in a bloody battle, and exempted them from all taxes [4]

7 In the meanwhile the Sultan of Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, had broken the alliance made lately with Ranga and having joined the Hande chief Malakappa Nayadu, who as we have already noted, had been a traitor to the Empire invaded and occupied the Ahobalam district. A local inscription dated 1584 5 from which we get this information, adds that the religious teacher Sri Van Sathagopa Swami then went to the Emperor Ranga and reporting to him the sad condition of the temple of Ahobalam and the surrounding country requested him to recover the district from the Muhammadans and to restore the temples to their ancient glory Thereupon the Emperor Sri Ranga Raya himself prepared to lead an army into the district in person and to drive out the enemy But the High Priest said that he need not lead the expedition in person

1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* p. 164, says that Jagadeva s daughter was married to Ranga but he himself in his further work, *Mysore* I, p. 356 and 357 affirms that he was the king s son in law Sewell, I, p. 194 and II, p. 251 agrees.

2. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 229

3. Rice, *Mysore* I, p. 22, This author as well as Sewell II, p. 251, assigned the year 1577 as corresponding to the date of this third siege of Penukonda

4. *M A D., Report 1923* p. 44.

but might entrust it to his subordinates, Kondaraju Venkataraju and Kondaraju Tirumalaraju who were designated by the god of Ahobalam in a dream, as the fittest persons to lead the attack and to restore the temples The Emperor was struck with this, and having presented the chiefs with jewels and titles, ordered them to march against the enemy Then the chiefs started with their army along with the priest, and having defeated the Hande chiefs and the other allies of Ibrahim, made vast additions to the temples and bestowed on the temples more than their former prosperity "[1] This action is probably the one referred to in the *Lakshmivilasam*, which states that Ranga I "defeated the large armies of Qutb Shah and captured his royal insignia"[2]. And again the *Narapati-vijayamu* says that 'his sword split the bodies of the Golkonda warriors'[3]

8 Soon, at the end of 1579 or beginning of 1580, the Golkonda troops entered the province of Udayagiri situated at the North-East of the Empire[4] After crossing the Krishna they easily captured the forts of Inaconda, Cacherlacota and Cammum (Cumbum), but the fortress of Kandbir was not so easily taken "Here Haidar-ul-Mulk", says the anonymous chronicler, "was informed that Kandi Timana, Mudna Chinna and Kasturi Ranga had collected a force of thirty thousand men, and were on the point of marching to attack him He therefore deferred the siege of Kandbir and moved to meet them The Hindu infantry poured in upon the king's troops on all sides from the woods, but they only rushed on to their own destruction The Muhammadans gained a complete victory, and pursued the enemy to the fort of Guram, which surrendered" The fort of Belamkonda and all the minor forts of the neighbourhood fell also into the hands of the Muhammadans, and thereafter Haidar-ul-Mulk proceeded to Kandbir "A long time was expended in

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 233-4 Cf 70 of 1915

2 Ibid, p 230

3 *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p 356 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 183, note

4 Sewell, I, p 137, has an inscription of a local chief of this province acknowledging Ranga I as his sovereign in the year 1579

attempting to reduce this strong fortress without effect and Haidar ul Mulk found it necessary to apply for reinforcements to Golkonda on which Ibrahim Qutb Shah appointed Syad Shah Tacki known by the appellation of Amir Shah Mir with a considerable detachment of Mughals and Persians, to proceed and to take the command from Haidar ul Mulk of all the forces South of the Krishna. On his arrival at Kandbir Shah Mir made many attempts to carry the place by escalade but invariably failed, till at length he resolved, whatever might be the loss sustained, to drag his guns up the hill to within a moderate distance of the walls. By this means part of one face was battered down and an attack made one morning both at the breach and on the South gateway The Hindus were prepared to receive the storming parties and fought desperately but they were driven back, though not without heavy loss on the part of the assailants. The fort was eventually taken through the exertions of the elephants who forced open one side of the gate. The Muhammadans then rushing in took the place and Kapury Timraj son in law of the celebrated Ramraj of Bija nagar fell into the hands of the victors "[1]

The Aminabad inscription of Amin Mulk gives further information concerning this campaign. Besides the successive capture of the fortresses of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Tangeda and Kondavidu, it specifies the taking of the fort of Udayagiri which was defended by Venkata Raju—probably the brother of Ranga and his successor to be—who was driven back to the South [2] It seems that one of the leaders of this expedition was a Maratha Brahman called Raya Rao, who was in the service of the Qutb Shah monarch he was the one who attacked Kondavidu, the governor of which place was assailed with bribes and surrendered in 1580 [3]

It was probably at this time that Vemala Nayadu, second Raja of Udiripikonda, was defeated and sent away to Golkonda to serve the Sultan [4]

1. Ferishta, III, p. 436-8.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 230-40.
3. Sewell, II, p., 188, who gives his information as taken from Telugu chronicles on Kondavidu.
4. Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer* p. 165. Information gleaned from the Mackenzie MSS.

Thus one of the provinces of the Empire that constituted the greatest part of the Telugu country, fell into the possession of the Golkonda Sultan, and was lost for ever to Vijayanagara Nevertheless, even under the domination of the Muhammadans, inscriptions were carved, specially in the southern taluks, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara Emperors Naturally the Telugu folk preferred the rule of the Telugu sovereigns to the blood-thirsty sway of the followers of Islam [1]

9 These were the last conquests of Ibrahim Qutb Shah In the year 1580 Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur was assassinated [2], and in the same year Ibrahim Qutb Shah passed away and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah This monarch attempted to conquer the fortress of Naldrug, but without any success He was even deserted by one of his generals, Ali Khan Lur, who with his army and with the assistance of Mikai Tima, the son-in-law of Ranga Raya, wished to recover some of the fortresses of the province of Udayagiri for the Emperor of Vijayanagara But his campaign was a most dismal failure The anonymous chronicler says that Ranga I 'refused them his countenance or support' [3]

The new Sultan of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, being a mere child, was under the regency of the Dowager Queen, the famous Chand Bibi, but she was soon confined by the minister Dilawar Khan, and this intriguer assumed the reins of government "The first act of his power", says Ferishta, "after he found himself secure, was to detach Balil Khan with an army to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar (Kanara) Balil Khan, after being joined by Arsappa Naik, Ray of Jerreh, marched against the fort of Shankar Naik, Ray of Carur, who refused to pay the tribute One night during the siege, while visiting the batteries, Balil Khan had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by a body of the enemy, and was carried into the fort, where he was confined in heavy chains His troops, missing their chief, raised the siege and dispersed to various quarters Balil Khan, after

1 Cf Butterworth, II, p 892

2 Ferishta, III, p 142 Cf *Ind Ant*, XVII, p 221

3 Ibid, III, p 447-9

some time, by promises of great rewards, prevailed on his keepers and a seller of grass to assist in his escape and he was carried out by the latter upon his shoulders, concealed in a bundle of forage. When he had gained a convenient spot he contrived to strike off his chains and hastened with all expedition towards the Bijapur frontiers. Arriving in safety he procured a horse and proceeded to Bankapur from whence he informed Dilawar Khan of his escape and requested to be supplied with another army to take revenge on Shankar Naik. But the Regent declined for the present to make any further attempts in that quarter [1]

This was the last attack of the Muhammadans on the possessions of Vijayanagara during the reign of Sri Ranga I. The result was not very satisfactory to him Most of the petty Rajas of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara)" says the anonymous chronicler had now bent their necks to the Muhammadan yoke" Of course, the Muhammadan writer speaks only of the Rajas of the North of the Empire, who were near the frontier of the Deccani states.

10. These military operations did not in any way interfere with the piety of the Emperor for he was a staunch devotee of Vishnu, as we shall see in one of the following chapters. An inscription of 1572, just a little before he ascended the throne, in the Gopinatha temple of Srirangarayapuram Guntur records a gift of land to Gangadeva Rameswara for worship by Prince Sri Ranga, son of Tirumala [2] We know besides several other religious grants made by Ranga during his reign in 1575-6 [4] 1578 [5] and 1585 [6] In 1573 his agent in Nellore made arrangements for a religious festival [7] in 1581 the Dalavay Venkatappa Nayadu, under orders of Negoti Timma Nayadu, the minister of the king

1. Ibid., p 157-8.
2. Ibid., III, p. 453.
3 Rangacharya, I, p. 762, 130—B.
4. Butterworth, III, p. 1185-6 and 1259-61.
5. Ep. Carn., IV Ch, 23
6. Sewell, I p. 92.
7 Butterworth, III, p. 822-33

remitted several taxes due on the land owned at Bukkasagaram and Anantapuram by the temple of Chavudesvari [1]

The inscriptions also record that some new temples and shrines were consecrated during Ranga's reign In 1577 the image of Chennakesavaraya was set up in the village of Mogalluru, and a gift of land was made to the temple [2] In 1580 the temple of Kesavasvami of Penukonda was solemnly dedicated [3] Finally, a record from Tindivanam fixes the voluntary contributions to be paid by the principal inhabitants, "by the merchants whose business extended over the fifty-six countries and the eighteen districts", and by others who gathered together on each Wednesday-market held at Gidangil These contributions were supposed to be needed to carry out repairs in the Tindisuramudaiya-Nayinar temple at Tindivanam [4]

11 Ranga's latest inscription corresponds to the year 1584-5 [5] In Ahobilam, Karnul, there is an inscription by a local chief in the reign of Sri Ranga of Vijayanagara at Penukonda, dated 1584 [6] Another inscription by the same chief, of the following year 1585, mentions the name of Venkatapati of Vijayanagara as ruling in Penukonda [7] Hence the inscription of Srimushnam, of the year 1586, stating that Ranga was still ruling in Penukonda, must be an evident mistake [8] Ranga must have died in about the first half of the year 1585, and, as the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* informs us, 'without issue' [9], *viz* without male offspring, for the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda mentions a son-in-law of his, named Mikar Tima [10], and Jagadeva Raya of Chennapatna probably married another daughter of the King [11]

1 178 of 1913
2 Rangacharya, II, p 1143, 688
3 Sewell, II, p 120
4 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 184
5 237 of 1903
6 Sewell, I, p 101
7 Ibid
8 262 of 1916
9 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 302
10 Ferishta, III, p 448
11 Cf above No 6

Ranga I, who, according to the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III was renowned in the eight regions and had crossed the milk-ocean of policy [1] seems to have been the kindest and most obliging sovereign that had ever sat on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara. He was a *parijata* to dependants says the Utsur grant of Ranga III [2] this is more clear in the Manga lampad grant of Venkata II, which states that he was the bestower of wealth on dependants [3] According to an inscription at Nagalapuram, Ranga granted several privileges to the five artisan communities [4]

The public aspect of his life, as defender of the interests of the Empire, is not as bright as his private one It is striking, indeed, to read in the *Ramarajiyamu* that Ranga "resuscitated the glory of the Karnata Empire which had waned" [5] This poetical flattery is nothing but an echo of the laudatory expressions which we find applied to him in certain inscriptions. In one at Elvanasur he is called the conqueror of all countries [6] and in another at Tindivanam he is said to have received tribute from all countries and from Ilam (Ceylon) [7] In his own grants we also read some characteristically empty boasts, as the two following in the Arivilimangalam plates he says that he has been praised by the kings of the Kamboja, Bhoja, Kalinga and Karahata countries [8] and in the Maredapalli grant he calls himself the suzerain of the Rattas and Magadhas [9] And even several years later the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III

1. *Ep Ind.*, III p. 253 v 19

2. Butterworth I, p. 46, v 22. Parijata is a mythical tree of the Hindu Paradise.

3 Ibid., p. 50. v 28.

4. 620 of 1904. These five classes of artificers are also mentioned in another inscription of the year 1573 that records the remission of the taxes payable by them by the chief of the Budihal country Sripati Raja Vallabha Rajayya Deva Maharasu. *Ep Carn.*, XII Ck, 8.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 213.

6. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* l. c., p. 183

7 Ibid.

8. *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 343.

9 *Ep Ind.*, XI p. 328.

states that he was 'honoured by the kings of the Bhojas and Magadhas'[1] More inexplicable still is an inscription of Kanchivaram, dated 1574, which gives him the titles of 'establisher of the kingdom of the Mussulmans and destroyer of the Gajapatis'[2] We cannot fathom the real meaning of this most original piece of flattery

Now, if we consider dispassionately the reign of Sri Ranga I, we cannot but say that it is one of the most fatal periods in the history of Vijayanagara The Mussulmans were not checked at all in their conquests within the boundaries of the Empire, in their depredatory expeditions they thrice reached the walls of Penukonda, and on one of these occasions even Ranga himself fell a prisoner into their hands The territory to the North of Penukonda was already in the possession of Bijapur, and the Sultan of Golkonda had likewise taken possession of the province of Udayagiri, the only territory that was recovered by Vijayanagara was the country round Ahobilam in the Karnul district We do not deny Ranga's good qualities and military prowess, we even admit that he perhaps deserved the appellation of 'long-armed brave king', found in a grant of Venkata III[3], and borne out by the very fact of his imprisonment But ill-luck dogged his footsteps In managing his home affairs he was, it seems, more fortunate, but even here the subjugation of the rebel chiefs was only apparent, as the desertions to the Muhammadans prove Even some of the rebellions that broke out during the reign of Venkata II were nothing but later manifestations of the same antipathy towards the new dynasty which had been created by the bloody event that had opened to its members the door to the throne

1 *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 153

2 Sewell, I, p 185

3 Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep Carn*, III, Nj, 198

CHAPTER XIII

THE TAMIL VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY —1. Venkata the brother of Ranga II, Viceroy of the Tamil country —2. Death of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura. An estimate of his life.—3 Accession of Virappa Nayaka Rebellion of the Palaiyakaran of Mavalipuram—4. His relations with the Pandyas and with Ranga I First war between Madura and Vijayanagara —5 Behaviour of Sevvappa Nayaka of Tanjore towards the Empire.—6 Beginning of the reign of Achyutappa Nayaka.—7 Some information about Jinji —8. Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore and Ranga I.—9 Other chiefs.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2 *History of the Karnataka Governors Mrtyunjaya MSS.*—3 *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra Sahityaratnakara, Rukmini-parinaya, Bhavanapurushottama.*

BEFORE commencing the history of the successor of Sri Ranga I we shall give, in this and in the following chapter an account of the two viceroyalties into which the whole Empire was divided after the death of Tirumala. We do not know whether after Ranga was raised to the throne he still kept the government of the Telugu viceroyalty or whether a new viceroy was appointed. But we are rather inclined to believe that that territory was attached to the Tamil viceroyalty both being under the governorship of Venkata, the youngest brother of Ranga. The above-mentioned Aminabad inscription relates that when the troops of Golkonda took possession of the fortress of Udayagiri, Venkata Raju was driven from the place [1] If this Venkata is the brother of Ranga, as seems probable, his being found at Udayagiri would confirm our opinion.

Anyhow Venkata continued to rule over the Tamil country his capital being Chandragiri An inscription in the ancient temple of Triplicane tells us that during the reign of Ranga, Tirumala Nayaningaru, the general of Venkata of Chandragiri made a gift of the villages of Sembiyam

1 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 239-40

and Nidambaram and a garden to the aforesaid temple[1] Gobburi Tirumalal Nayakkar was no doubt another general of his army In the year 1579 he gave a piece of land at Kunrattur to the temple of Talasayana Perumal at Kadalmallai in return for the services of the King's brother Venkatapatideva Maharaya[2] It seems that during the time of his viceroyalty Venkata led a military expedition to Ceylon Ranga I claims to have levied tribute from Ceylon[3] But we are sure that he was too busy with the Muhammadans to spare the time to force the Ceylon sovereign to pay the tribute due to him Now Venkata also boasts of having conquered Ceylon[5], and since we do not know of any Ceylon campaign during the time of his reign, we may reasonably conclude that any such conquest took place only during his brother's lifetime.

2 The most important state subordinate to the viceroyalty of Venkata was Madura Only a few months after the demise of Tirumala, the King of Madura, Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka also died The date given for this event by the *Mrtyunjaya MSS* corresponds to December 3rd, 1572[6] He had been a capable ruler and a worthy successor of his father His successful campaigns against Tumbichchi and the Raja of Kandi proved him also a valiant and resolute warrior He thus checked for the rest of his reign the evil ambitions of the other Palaiyakarans The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva speak very highly of his qualities as well as of his deeds Krishnappa Nayaka, according to them, was a King "of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kasyapa who was always studying the art of protecting others, who was a wise man, whose mind was purified with truthfulness, who shone by his desire to do good actions, who possessed great wealth, who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man, whose policy was like that of

1 237 of 1903

2 255 of 1909

3 *M E R 1904-5*, para 35

4 Ibid., *1905-6*, para 49

5 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 119 Cf Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 76.

6 ,, 36

Manu on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Visvanatha who was pleased with his devotion" The *Kuniyur plates* of Venkata III eulogize him more than half a century after stating that he was a ruler "who was renowned in the world who seized the diadems of hostile kings in conformity with his name (*viz* who was a worthy namesake of the ancient Krishna) who governed the inhabitants of the earth with justice, whose disposition resembled that of Kubera, the lord of wealth" [1]

Krishnappa Nayaka had founded two towns one to the West of Tinnevelly named Kadaiyam-Krishnapuram and another to the East of Palamcotta called Krishnapuram after his own name. To this he seems to have devoted greater attention for he built there a Saiva temple, a Vaishnava temple and many agraharas he dug out a teppakulam and furnished the town with all customary appurtenances [3] The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva give some more details by his care was built a temple at Krishnapura" they say which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and surmounted a broad and lofty tower It has a large *ranga mandapa* raised on a series of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple for the propitiation of the god Vishnu set up there [4] Then in 1563 he made a gift of six villages and some lands to the same temple of Vishnu (venerated there under the name of Tiruvengalanatha) for the merit of his father [5] Two years earlier he had presented a piece of land to the Nelliyappar temple at Tinnevelly [6]

He seems to have continued his father's policy towards the Pandyas, as the title *Pandyakulasthapanacharya,* given him in

1 *Ep Ind.,* IX, p. 341, vv 46-57

2 Ibid., III p. 254, v 50.

3 *History of the Karnataka Governors* Taylor *O H MSS.* II p. 23.

4 *Ep Ind.,* IX, l. c

5 17 of 1912; *M E R 1912* p. 76.

6 121 of 1891.

the Krishnapuram plates[1], shows His relations with the Emperor Sadasiva were those of loyalty, as the aforesaid plates prove in them he is said 'to know the truth about duty'[2], and his influence at the court of Vijayanagara is seen in every verse of their text Then a damaged record of Sadasiva, belonging to the year 1568, also mentions Krishnappa Nayaka[3], and another inscription by the same King, of the year 1571, records a gift for the merit of the son of Visvanatha and others[4]

3 Krishnappa was succeeded by his two sons Visvanatha and Virappa, according to the *Pandyan Chronicle*[5] But the former is never mentioned either in the inscriptions or in the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, from which we suspect that he died shortly after and that Virappa Nayaka remained the sole ruler[6] He is called Vira-Bhupati in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II[7] His queen was Tirumalambika[8] An inscription at Goripalaiyam, Madura, on a pillar set up within the Muhammadan Masjid, declares that a considerable quantity of land was presented to the Mussulmans by Kuna Pandya, and that the grant was confirmed by Virappa Nayaka in 1573[9] This is probably the earliest lithic mention of this King

It was probably not long after his accession that Virappa had the opportunity of giving a proof of his resolute

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1 *Ep Ind*, IX, l c

2 Ibid

3 64 of 1908

4 403 of 1912

5 Taylor, *O H MSS*, I, p 38 The succession of both brothers is also confirmed by the statues of the Nayaks in the Tirumala's choultry at Madura The third statue is that of Periya Krishnappa Nayaka, another name of Virappa, it seems Cf Nelson, p 105 The inscription of the fourth statue, as much damaged, cannot be read I suppose this statue represents Visvanatha Cf Heras, *The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura*, *Q J M S*, XV, p 212

6 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 320, Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, Ibid, p 297, vv 62-64

7 Ibid

8 Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, vv 65-66, Vellangudi plates of the same, Ibid, p 320

9 77 of 1905, Sewell, I, p 292

character "The king of Mavalipuram," says the *History of the Karnataka Governors* came with hostile intent placed a fortified camp before Manamathurai and Kalaiyarcovil, and conquered some places in the Pandya country This king of Mavalipuram was one of the Palaiyakarans belonging to the family of Mavali Vanadarayar of whose ancestors at the beginning of the sixteenth century we know several inscriptions[1] The action of the Nayaka was swift and decisive: he at once set out from his capital defeated the chief conquered his kingdom and annexed it to his own possessions[2] That was a good lesson for the rest of his subordinates.

His rule over Madura was also distinguished by the buildings he constructed, some of which still proclaim his munificence. The southern walls of the Trichinopoly fort as well as the fortress of Aruppakkottai Ramnad, were built by him[3] But his chief work was the *mandapa*, erected in front of the shrine of Sundaresvara, the presiding deity of the famous temple at Madura, which is supported on beautiful pillars of rare workmanship[4] It was completed in 1583[5]

1. 109 113 and 121 of 1903 585 and 187 of 1902. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II, p. 143-4, is inclined to believe that the chief of Mavalipuram was the king of Mahavalipuram or Seven Pagodas.

2. *History of the Karnataka Governors* Taylor *O H MSS.*, II p. 25. One of the Palaiyakarans of Madura at this time was Kumara Ettappa Nayacker who had founded the city of Ettayapuram about 1567 shortly after the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi In one of the wars of the Nayaks of Madura, Kumara Ettappa helped the Madura Nayak; but he was treacherously killed during the war The Nayak, who was probably Virappa Nayak out of regard for the deceased chief conferred Kalugumalai on his family and granted the title of Aiyan to his successor Ketchila Ettappa Nayacker Aiyan, Kumara Ettappa s successor was a great warrior and an intrepid rider He defeated the Setupati of Ramnad and captured from him some insignia of royalty and two state horses. Madhava Rao *The Ruling Chiefs* I p. 597

3. Ibid. Cf. Rangachary *The History of the Naik Kingdom Ind., Ant.*, XLV p. 91, note 30

4. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II *Ep Ind.*, XVI p. 320; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 187 vv 67 79 Padmaneri grant of Venkata II. *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 288.

5. Rangacharya, o. c., *Ind Ant.*, XLV p 91.

This was not the only act of devotion towards that temple. He also presented the goddess Minakshi with a *kavacha* or mantle 'made of gold and set with rare gems.' He also made the sixteen *Mahadanas*, beginning with *hemasva* [1]

4 His relations with the Pandyas continued on the same good terms as during his father's life The copper-plates of Sri vallabha and Varatungarama Pandya record the gift of the village of Pudukkottai by a certain Tirumala Nayaka, with the approval of Virappa [2]

His subjection to the Vijayanagara overlords is clearly shown in the epigraphical records in the first years of his reign In 1577, 'during the reign of Sri Ranga Raya,' Virappa Nayaka made a gift of land for the merit of his father Krishnappa Nayaka to a temple of Krishnapuram, as stated in a local inscription [3] In the following year Virappa Nayaka, who calls himself 'an agent to the King,' made a gift of land to a temple in Sermadevi for conducting certain festivals [4] And in the year 1579, a record of Ranga in the Appar temple of Sermadevi, Tinnevelly, mentions Visvanatha Krishnappa Virappa Nayaka as his feudatory [5]

But somewhat before 1583 a war broke out between the Nayak and Venkata of Chandragiri, the Viceroy of Vijayanagara What was the cause of this rupture of relations? The success of Virappa against the Mavalipuram chief perhaps excited his ambition, and he consequently refused to pay his tribute to the Emperor This was invariably the cause of all the following wars between Madura and Vijayanagara Nor do we groundlessly attribute the same cause to the first of these wars [6] We are made aware of it by the Pudukkottai plates

1 Ibid, and Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, vv 62-64 About his acts of devotion, see *Ep Ind*, XIII, p 161

2 *T A S*, I, p 61-88

3 16 of 1912, Sewell, I, p 310

4 663 of 1915

5 187 of 1895

6 The tribute paid by Madura to Vijayanagara was, according to Barradas, 600,000 pagodas, Sewell, p 230 Fr A Vico writing to Fr A Laerzio from Madura, August 30, 1611, states that the annual tribute was of six to ten million *francs*, Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, II, p 124. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p 308, says "O Naique de Madura le paga sinco centos pr ano"

of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya. They speak only of the final battle between the two armies Venkataraja himself was at the head of his huge army' one of his officers being Basavaraja a Telugu chieftain who had also been present at the battle of Raksas Tagdi [1] Achyutaraya the Tanjore Nayak, had also joined Venkata against Virappa The army of Madura was commanded by Tirmularaja, who in the same plates, is called the right hand of Virappa. He employed in his wars against his enemies iron guns which he charged with leaden shots" This Pandya document states that Tirumularaja killed Basavaraja in the battle of Vallaprakara, and defeated Venkata's army "The armies of Viraraja" it says were destroyed, but that of Achyutaraja fled away Tirumalalraja collected all the horses from the battlefield" [2] We may admit the first fact, but the defeat of Venkata's troops is a figment of imagination How can we explain the fact that Virappa Nayaka himself acknowledges the authority of the Vijayanagara Emperor in the beginning of the reign of the same Venkata, a few years later? These plates are all a panegyric of Tirumalairaja, at whose request the Pandya sovereigns made the grant of Pudukkottai. We are sure that Venkata obtained a victory over his enemies on this occasion This implies also the payment of the tribute due.

5 Passing from Madura to Tanjore, we find again in the old Chola capital the venerable person of Sevvappa still ruling over his kingdom, and making extensive grants to many temples during the considerable period of his peaceful rule [3]

Sevvappa Nayaka's attitude towards the Empire seems to have been that of a faithful vassal. There is an inscription in

1 Cf. Ch IX, No. 3

2. *T A. S.*, I, p. 84 vv 61-67 and 161 164. If the date of these plates is correct, and there is no ground hitherto for reasonable doubt, we must place this battle during the time of Venkata's viceroyalty in Chandragiri. It is very strange that Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar o. c., does not mention this rebellion of Virappa Nayaka at all.

3. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 323

the Vallalgopuram in the Arunachalesvara temple at Tiruvannamalai, in which the names of both the Emperor and the Nayak's son are to be seen together It deals with the remission of certain taxes in the villages belonging to the temple This was done by order of Achyutappa Nayaka, Sadasiva still reigning [1] Again, in the year 1566, one year after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, and during the reign of his father, Achyutappa Nayaka made a gift of the village of Tiruveshkalam to several shrines of the Tirumalasthanam, for the merit of Tirumala Raya, then the Regent of the Empire [2] Finally one year later, an inscription of Sadasiva at Tiruvannamalai records the remission of taxes in the villages belonging to the temple by order of Achyutappa Nayaka [3] This policy of Sevvappa continued unchanged during the reign of Ranga In 1574, at the request of Sevvapoa Nayaka, Ranga I granted the village of Arivilimangalam to the Madhva guru, Vijayindra Tirtha The grant had been made by Prince Achyuta, but now the formal sanction from the Vijayanagara Emperor was obtained [4]

6 Further, these inscriptions show that during the last years of Sevvappa's rule, his son Achyuta took a prominent part in the government of the state He was actually made Yuvaraya some time before the death of his father [5], most probably before 1577 , because there is an inscription of this year in which Achyuta appears as actually ruling over the whole kingdom Sevvappa's last inscription is of the year 1572-73 , it refers to the son of Timmappa Nayakkar of the chaturtha gotra [6] Achyutappa's first inscription is dated 1577 , it is found in the southern outer wall of the second gopura of the temple of Brahathesavaraswami in Tanjore, and records that Achyutappa Nayaka gave some land on perpetual free tenure to goldsmiths [7]

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1 567 of 1902
2 259 of 1913
3 567 of 1902
4 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, vv 27-44 Cf *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras*, p 53-4
5 *Sahityaratnakara*, canto III, v 14
6 497 of 1907
7. 22 of 1897 Cf Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p 5

His Queen was named Murtyamba [1] and his minister and general was the famous Govinda Dikshita [2] a very learned Kannada Brahman of whom we shall speak at length when dealing with the literature of this period The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* says that Achyutappa ruled the kingdom in peace and prosperity for a considerable period [3] During his time, the *anicut* across the Kaveri was repaired and flights of steps at various places along its course were put up as for example at Mayavaram, Kumbhakonam Tiruvidaimarudur etc. [4] We shall speak again of Achyutappa when we come to the reign of Venkata II.

7 Going northwards Jinji offers us no better information at this period than during the reign of Sadasiva. According to the drama *Bhavanapurushottama* Surappa Nayaka was still ruling at Jinji during the reign of Ranga. He seems to have helped the Emperor of Vijayanagara, either Tirumala or Ranga I, to repulse one of the Muhammadan invasions for which he is given the title of the firm establisher of the throne of Karnata He founded the villages of Surasamudra, Peta samudra and Vengalambapura, calling them after himself his father and his mother respectively [5] Such is the slight information we get about Jinji at this time.

8. During the time of Ranga, the chief of Vellore was still Chinna Bomma Nayaka, of whom we have previously spoken [6] We find him mentioned several times by the Emperor himself one of the latter's inscriptions records the gift of the village of Perumai, North Arcot, by Krishnappa Nayaka, his feudatory at the request of Chinna Bomma Nayaka to the Jvarakandesvara shrine at Vellore [7] Two other inscriptions mention the donation of the villages of

1. *Raghunathabhyudayam* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 285
2. Ibid., p. 323.
3. Ibid.
4. *Rukmini parinaya.* Cf. *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 343.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 272 note.
6. Cf. Ch. VIII, No 12.
7. 43 of 1887

Sattuvachcheri and Sampanginallur under the same terms[1] Chinna Bomma Nayaka is again mentioned in a Tamil inscription of Ranga I of 1578 at Devikapuram, North Arcot[2] In 1582 he was still living, since an inscription of his at Adaipalam records that Appaiya Dikshita constructed the temple of Kalakanthesvara[3]

Some other members of this family are occasionally mentioned in the lithic records of those years An inscription of Ranga, of 1578, at Devikapuram registers a gift made to the temple for the merit of Agastyappa Nayaka of Vellore[4] Another of the same, of the year 1583, at Tindivanam, South Arcot, records that Virappa Nayaka, son of Pappau Nayaka of Vellore, who was apparently the governor of Padaividurajya, ordered that toll should be levied according to a fixed scale on all the articles brought into the market at Gidangil on Wednesdays, and that the proceeds should be spent on the repairs of the Tintrinisvara temple[5]

9 Some other chiefs of the Tamil country are occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of those years first one Vaiyappa Krishnappa Kondama Nayaka, who built the wall round the Srimushnam temple[6], then one Achyutappa Nayaka, son of Bayyappa Nayaka, who established a shrine for the goddess in the temple of Adivarsha Perumal of Srimushnam, besides making several other gifts to the same temple[7], finally one Kanchi Paparaju, who gave some land to the Reddis at Kottapalli in 1585 in the reign of Sri Ranga Raya of Penukonda[8]

1 41 and 42 of 1887
2 399 of 1912
3 395 of 1911
4 399 of 1912
5 30 of 1905
6 *M E R*, *1916*, para 73
7 Ibid
8 Rangacharya, I, p 622, 534

CHAPTER XIV

THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY —1. Government of Rama Viceroy of Seringapatam. Rama is succeeded by his sons Tirumala and Ranga.—2. The Nayaks of Ikeri.—3 Chamraj Wodeyar and Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.—4. Dealings between the Queen of Gersoppa and the Portuguese as to the possession of Honavar —5. War between the King of Tolar and the Portuguese. Capture of Basrur.—6 The Portuguese defeat the Nayak of Sanguleer —7 Dom Luis d Ataide settles some differences between the Queen of Ullal and the King of Bangher —8. The Nayaks of Bellur —9 Other chiefs.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Faria y Sousa.—3. *Ramarajiyamu Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali Keladi Arasu Vamsavali Sivatattvaratnakara.*

WHEN Ranga I ascended the throne, the Kanarese viceroyalty was under Rama, the third son of Tirumala. It has been said that his rule at Seringapatam was weak, and that on account of this the local chieftains rebelled [1] Now we have previously spoken of the rebellion of several chiefs of the Kanara country who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Aravidu family the head of which did not spare bloodshed in order to ascend the throne. This not the weak rule of the Viceroy was the origin of the rebellion. Nevertheless if his government was really weak (though of this we have no established proofs) we may naturally suppose that this was the ultimate cause of the rebellion The *Ramarajiyamu* only tells us that Rama defeated the troops of the Nizam Shah [2] Whether this victory was obtained during his viceroyalty or previously to that time, we are not in a position to ascertain The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III praising Rama s generosity state that his deeds put to shame the celestial trees [3]

One of his agents was named Dantikanti Lingappana, who in the year 1577 repaired the *bund* across the stream

1. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer* p. 67
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 213
3 *Ep Ind.*, III p. 253 v 21.

Bhogavati, on the West side of the Mallikarjuna temple on the top of a hill near Srisailam, Karnul [1] We know from this inscription that Rama was still living in the year 1577, but his death must have occurred shortly after, because the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* states that 'Rama Raya died after a short time' and soon after Tirumala's death [2]

Rama had married Narasingama and had by her two sons, Tirumala and Sri Ranga, who must have been quite young at the time of their father's death, for when the throne was vacant some years later after the demise of their uncle Ranga I, they were still considered too young to rule the Empire, as we shall see later on On this occasion both brothers jointly succeeded their father in the viceroyalty, but probably on account of their tender age, its administration was left in the hands of their Dalavay, Remati Venkatayya [3]

2 No reliable information is extant concerning the Nayaks of Ikeri during this period Sewell says that the reign of the second son of Sadasiva Nayaka, Chikka Sankana Nayaka, lasted till 1603, in which year he retired from government [4], and it seems that the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* of the Mackenzie collection agrees with this statement [5] He is mentioned in an inscription of Ranga, of 1570 [6] According to the *Sivatattvaratnakara,* he once defeated and routed the Bijapur general, Majjhula Khan, who had attacked him with a number of horses and elephants He likewise vanquished Bhaira Devi, Queen of Gerasappi (Gersoppa) and other chiefs in its neighbourhood, getting much wealth from them [7] No more information is hitherto available about the Keladi Nayaks before the accession of Venkatapati, of whom we shall

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1 43 of 1915

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 202

3 *Ramarajiyamu,* Ibid, p 213, Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind* III, p 253, v 21, Vilapaka grant of Venkata III, *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 126 Cf Ap C, No 5

4 *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali,* Ibid, p 202

5 Sewell, II, p 177

6 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection,* p 333

7. 170 of 1901

speak when dealing with the reign of his namesake the Emperor

3 As to the neighbouring state of Mysore, nothing worthy of mention occurred until 1571 In this year Heri Chamraj succeeded to the government of the state. He was probably one of those princes of Kanara who did not pay homage to the new dynasty on account of the murder of Sadasiva. It is stated that he evaded payment of his tribute to the Viceroy of Seringapatam and obtained permission to erect works ostensibly for the purpose of keeping away wild hogs from destroying crops but no sooner were the works erected, than they were converted into barriers against the collectors of the royal tribute, who were ignominiously expelled from Mysore. These measures rendered him obnoxious to Rama at Seringapatam, and led to an attempt to seize his person while performing his devotion in the temple of Ranga, at the very court of the Viceroy but as the Raja was previously warned, the attempt failed. Emboldened by his successful resistance, he continued with impunity to withhold all payment of tribute

Heri Chamraj Wodeyar died childless in 1576 after a reign of five years, and was succeeded by a cousin of the elder branch of the family named Bettad Wodeyar son of Dodda Chama Raja Wodeyar[1] The new Mysore Raja had no capacity for government. He was brave, but wild, thoughtless and imprudent. Accordingly in the short space of two years he had thrown the finance into such disorder that the elders of the family thought it necessary to depose him and to install his younger brother Raja Wodeyar[2] but the latter declined the appointment on the ground that the financial state of the country was in too hopeless a state for him to try to mend it The treasury was empty the total arrears of tribute due to the viceroy of Seringapatam amounted to 5,000 pagodas But his way was smoothed by a contribution from the members of the royal family and thus he started his rule in 1578[3]

1 *Ep Carn.*, III Sr 157 and TN 116

2 He is supposed by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ancient India*, p. 280 and p. 286 to be his cousin.

3. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o. c., p. 279

Raja Wodeyar, who may be taken to be the real founder of the dynasty of Mysore, began gradually to subdue all the lesser chiefs in his neighbourhood Once the chief of Carugalli, a relation of the family, attempted to seize Mysore by surprise, and accordingly appeared suddenly before it, but he was thoroughly defeated by the action of Bettad Wodeyar, and his estate subsequently annexed to Mysore Shortly after, in passing to the court of Seringapatam accompanied by his usual retinue and band, he met the petty chief of Kambala going to court, also attended by music The Mysore chief inquired whose retinue it was, and on ascertaining it, ordered his own music to stop On his arrival at Seringapatam he was asked why he had not come to the court with his usual state And it is said that he answered —

"Music is no distinction, if my inferiors are also allowed to use it"

On hearing this insinuation, the Raja of Kambala, incensed with fury, made some outrageous remarks

"Let us meet", replied Raja Wodeyar, "and determine the superiority, and with it the right to the music"

In vain did the viceroy try to appease them The next day Raja Wodeyar marched against Kambala, defeated its chief and captured the place

These annexations formed from the first a part of the policy of the dynasty of Mysore, and continued to the time of Chikka-deva Raya We shall see the same Raja Wodeyar, during the reign of Venkata II, taking possession of the very capital of the viceroyalty, Seringapatam The aim of Raja Wodeyar was obvious to became the supreme lord of the Kanara country [1]

4 The Portuguese chronicles supply us with abundant information about several petty chiefs of the Kanara coast, some of whose sea-ports were gradually taken by the successors of Albuquerque Several of these petty rulers had, as we have seen during the reign of Sadasiva, been compelled to consent, against their will, to pay an annual tribute to the viceroy of Goa One of these was the Queen of Guarcopa (Gersoppa), named Bhaira Devi [2], who a little after, by the instigation of

1 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p 35-8

2 *Sivatattvaratnakara*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 339

some of the rulers of Malabar refused to pay the promised tribute [1] In order to chastise such contumacious conduct the Viceroy Dom Luiz de Ataide, sailed thither in November 1569, with a fleet of more than 130 ships and about three thousand Portuguese and Indians Having entered the river Onor which flowed through the possessions of the sovereign of Gersoppa, he succeeded in landing 2,300 men but not without opposition on the part of the enemy The city of Onor (Honavar) was by nature very strong for it was built on the top of a rocky hill near the sea-shore, and was well fortified. The Queen was there herself with five hundred soldiers and several pieces of ordnance and ammunition. The Portuguese, notwithstanding commenced to ascend the hill in the face of a shower of bullets and as soon as they reached the summit the enemy along with their Queen deserted the city and retired inland. Onor which contained much wealth and many fine buildings, was first plundered and afterwards reduced to ashes The fort was then attacked, and after four days bombardment the garrison surrendered upon condition of being allowed to march out without arms. The Portuguese then occupied the fort, and Mass was said there on St. Catherine's day November 25th. Jorge de Moura with 400 men was left in command

At the end of the same year the Queen of Gersoppa manifested her desire to come to terms with the Viceroy [3] but in the meanwhile she was secretly making preparations to carry on war against the invader of her possessions. On receiving this information Captain Luiz de Mello burnt many of her towns and laid waste the country around [4] Nevertheless the Viceroy was not without anxiety about Honavar as the enemy had endeavoured to annihilate the Portuguese, and to effect by treachery what they had failed to do by force. The Queen or her generals bribed some Kanarese, who were there in the service of the Portuguese, to poison them with the fruit of the Stramonium, which has the effect" says Faria y Sousa, when eaten of making men forget all things and of rendering

1. Faria y Sousa, II p. 472.
2. Ibid., p. 474-5
3. Ibid., p. 480
4. Ibid., p. 481.

them insensible even to their wounds" The treachery was discovered, and the conspirators hanged over the walls as a warning to those who had bribed them That was the cause of open hostility, but at about the same time a galley and three other small vessels with some picked troops entered the port of Honavar to relieve the fortress [1]

It happened after a while, in the beginning of March, 1570, that Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur prevailed upon the Queen of Gersoppa to declare war against Honavar He was then attacking Goa in alliance with the Zamorin of Calicut, and thus wanted to weaken the Viceroy's forces by division [2] She collected an army of 3,000 men which, in conjunction with 2,000 soldiers of the Bijapur Sultan, invested Honavar News of this further attack reached the Viceroy in July, 1570 He immediately despatched Antonio Fernandes de Chale with command of two galleys and eight other vessels, and such troops as the vessels could accommodate In five days Antonio Fernandes reached Honavar, and having joined the commander of the place, Jorge de Moura, fell upon the besiegers, driving them back with great loss The latter fled in panic, and nearly all their cannon fell into the hands of the Portuguese [3] As subsequent to this action no other mention of this Queen is made in the Portuguese chronicles, we must take it to imply her subjection to them [4]

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1 Ibid, p 181-2

2 Ibid, p 500

3. Ibid, p 511-2

4 In the narrative of Archbishop Menezes' travels there is an account of an idol-procession annually celebrated in this city of Gersoppa "Faz se hua grande procissam, & acode a ella muita gente de todas as partes do Canara na qual uay hum Pagode (idol) metido em certas charolas ricamente lauradas, o qual se poem em hu carro muyto concertado, em q uao seruindo algus Bramenes, & offerecendolhe offertas Diante do carro uao muitas bailadeiras cantando, as quaes todas sao molheres publicas, q ganhao em suas deshonestidades pera o Pagode (idol), and das rendas delle se sostentao, viuendo em casas ao redor delle, como en casa publica, & destas andao sempre acopanhados os Pagodes (idols) grandes da India q tem rendas, & sao como seruidoras suas O carro te huas pontas agudas que cortao como naualhas, e em quanto a procissam uay andando acodem muitos que ve offerecer suas vidas ao Pagode (idol), & depois de se asentarem de joelhos, & fazerem sua reuerencia muy profunda se lancao no chao de fronte do carro, & assim uay passando por cima delles, & os vay espedacando, aos quaes elles te por sanctos, como nos aos martyres" Gouvea, *Iornada do Arcebispo de Goa,* p 126, back.

5 For a similar refusal to pay the tribute Dom Luiz de Ataide, after attacking Honavar at the end of 1569, despatched a fleet of thirteen sail under the command of Pero da Silva e Menezes to wage war against the chief of Tolar The Viceroy was anxious, it seems, to seize the fort of Barcelor (Basrur) which belonged to that King. Accordingly the first place to be attacked was this fortress. Basrur rivalled Honavar in natural strength and position but the Viceroy had made arrangements with the commander whereby he was to betray it to him Accordingly the commander of Basrur delivered up the fort to Pero da Silva at night and the Portuguese rushing into the town slaughtered and captured more than 200 of its inhabitants. But the *ruler of Tolar informed of this treacherous surrender* advanced the same night accompanied by the neighbouring King of Cambolim (Gangolly) They were easily repulsed since their joint force consisted only of 1 500 men but they reappeared on the following night reinforced by 5 000 more soldiers. After a hot engagement in which both parties suffered heavy losses the Portuguese came to the conclusion that the fortress was untenable; so they quitted it with the honours of war taking with them twenty cannon and a great quantity of ammunition and arms [1]

But the Viceroy wanted the fortress at all costs and after some months proceeded himself to take possession of it. The landing was very difficult indeed as the Portuguese were opposed by a force of 11 000 men but after some hard fighting the Portuguese captured some of the outworks This so dismayed the defenders that those in the fort abandoned it into the hands of the invaders. The two rulers of Tolar and Gangolly mentioned above, joined forces again and made another attack by a very dark night But the commander of the fort, Pero Lopes Rebello with 400 men was ready to receive them Within a short time the Hindu army lost 300 men and the two rulers, despairing of success concluded a treaty of peace by which they bound themselves to pay a greater tribute than before The Viceroy held, before leaving, an interview with those rulers as well as with the Queen of Gangolly after which

1. Faria y Sousa II, p. 469 0

they parted on terms of great friendship Then the Portuguese constructed a new fortress in a more convenient place between the city and the mouth of the river, which was finished within two months Antonio Botelho was appointed its commander [1]

The building of this fortress roused the inhabitants of the neighbourhood against the Portuguese In 1571 an army of six thousand Hindus appeared suddenly before its walls. Ruy Goncalves da Camara, the commander, having sent to the Viceroy for assistance, made preparations for a regular defence Five ships came immediately to his relief, and then twelve others followed under the command of Dom Jorge de Menezes, who on arriving at Basrur found all was safe, thanks to the timely arrival of the first five ships [2]

Nothing worth relating about Basrur is found in the years that followed But we shall return to Basrur and Gangolly in the next volume

6 In the neighbourhood of Honavar stood the fortress of Sanguicer, which had belonged to the Queen of Gersoppa But one of her captains had seized the fortress for himself and styled himself the Nayak of Sanguicer He fortified the place and defied the power of the Portuguese, protecting the pirates who infested the coast, and doing great damage to the Portuguese trade To put an end to his insolence, Dom Giles Yanez Mascarenhas was sent there in the year 1584, with orders to destroy the fort Dom Giles carried with him a fleet of fourteen sail and 300 men from Goa, but his own vessel ran aground between the reeks and would not float again He was immediately attacked by the enemy from the shore The rest of his force could not send him assistance He was unable to retreat and was massacred there with all his men The expedition thereupon retreated [3]

But Dom Duarte de Menezes, who had been recently appointed Viceroy, at once decided to avenge the death of Dom Giles, and having in the meantime received an ambassador from Adil Khan, entered into negotiations with him for that purpose He also wanted to put down the piracy that existed along

1 Ibid, p 476-7, Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p 293
2 Faria y Sousa, II, p 564-5
3 Ibid, III, p 8

the coast of Kanara. It was agreed that Rosti Khan the Governor of Ponda, should assist with 40,000 men by land, whilst Dom Jeronimo de Mascarenhas should attack the Nayak by sea. The attack was so well combined and carried out that the Nayak's forces were entirely routed. The Nayak fled to the woods for safety Thence he sent an envoy to implore mercy and promised to submit to any conditions provided he were restored to his power and his territories spared. Arrangements to this effect were accordingly concluded, and the invading armies then retired [1]

7 Things were not yet settled at Mangalore. The Portuguese fortress stood between the possessions of the Queen of Ullal on the South and those of the ruler of Bangher on the North Between these two there existed an ancient discord which was very prejudicial to Portuguese trade. Dom Luiz de Ataide went himself to Mangalore in 1569 to settle these disputes his reception was better than he had anticipated. After an interview with these two rulers their differences appeared completely settled Very likely it was then that in order to establish peace more firmly between the two states, the Queen of Ullal married the King of Bangher more for honour's sake than anything else says the traveller Pietro della Valle, who personally knew the Queen Bukka Devi Chautar [3] Of this capricious union which was the cause of many a romantic adventure we shall speak later on

8. In Bellur Krishnappa Nayaka was still the head of the Balam family in the beginning of Ranga's reign. In an inscription of 1578 he acknowledges king Ranga as ruling sovereign [4] But not long afterwards he was succeeded by his son A Bellur Kanarese inscription of Sri Ranga I, of July of the same year records a grant by Krishnappa Nayaka's son Venkatadri Nayaka [5] This Venkatadri or Venkatappa, in an inscription of 1576 is called the champion of adulterers, [6]

1. Ibid., III, p. 22-3
2. Ibid., II p. 479
3. Della Valle, II, p. 313.
4. Rice *Mysore Inscriptions* p. 220
5 Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 90 536.
6. *Ep Carn.*, IV Yd, 59

9 The inscriptions mention several others of the minor chiefs of the Kanarese country In the village of Hattiyangudi, South Kanara, four grants by an Udaiyar chief, between 1570 and 1576 are recorded [1] In 1573 the chief of the Budihal country, Sripati Raja Vallabha Rajayya Deva Maharasu, who acknowledged Ranga I, remitted taxes payable to the five classes of artificers [2] Finally a grant of a Nandyal chief in the reign of Sri Ranga Raya of Penukonda is recorded in the year 1584 [3]

1 Rangacharya, II, p 851, 42-45

2 *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 8

3 Sewell, I, p 102

CHAPTER XV

VENKATAPATIDEVA RAYA II

SUMMARY —1. Election and coronation of Venkata II.—2. Transfer of the seat of Government to Penukonda.—3 A note on Venkata's Guru Tatacharya.—4. Officers of Government. Administration of the Empire —5 Renewal of rebellion among the feudatory chiefs. —6. Re transfer of the capital to Chandragiri Previous history of this place.—7 Venkata II at Chandragiri.—8 The nobles of Venkata's court.—9 Account of Tirupati —10 Devotion of Venkata to this temple.—11. Rebellion of Lingama Nayaka of Vellore. Venkata takes possession of this city —12. Triumphal return to Chandragiri.—13 Transfer of the capital from Chandragiri to Vellore.—14. Feudatory chiefs.—15 Donations to the temples.—16. Irrigation works.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2 Jesuit letters.—3 Du Jarric Guerreiro—4. Anquetil du Perron.—5 Ferishta.—6 *Ramarajiyamu Prapannamrtam, Raghunathabyudayam, Bahulasvacharitram, Charuchandrodayam Valagoti varu Vamsavali Venkatesvara Mahatmya Venkata Giri Mahatmyam Venkatesvara Prabandha Saila Mahima, Chandrabhanu Charitram.*

"AFTER Sri Ranga Raya had reached the region of Vishnu his brother Venkatapatideva Raya, born of the same mother ascended the throne and ruled the earth with justice Thus the Vellangudi plates [1] announce the inauguration of the reign of Tirumala's fourth son Srimat

1. *Ep Ind.*, XVI., p 319 vv 31-35 Cf. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 302. Nevertheless there is ground for doubting that this succession was immediate. An inscription of the Mallikarjuna temple at Srisailam, Karnul, records a fact in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virapratapa Ramarajayyadeva Maharaya, son of Vira Tirumalayyadeva Maharaya 43 of 1915 This was no doubt the third son of Tirumala, who had been Viceroy of Seringapatam Moreover a Kumbakonam grant of Venkata II 1590, mentions one of his brothers, Tirumala Deva Raya or Srideva Raya (a wrong name) and states that he reigned for a short time' Sewell, II, p. 3. *Was this brother the same* Rama? Then the Jesuit letter which we shall quote latter on, says the following :—"After the demise of this Prince's father viz. Rama the kingdom was given, by the unanimous vote of all the classes, to the brother of the deceased, that is to the one who is ruling at

Rajadhiraja Paramesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Vira Venkatapatideva Maharaja This, his full imperial title, is given in an inscription at Atmakur, Nellore [1]

It would appear that Venkata's nephews, the Princes Tirumala and Ranga, who were governing Seringapatam, had a better established right to succeed their uncle Ranga I, being the sons of the third brother, the late Viceroy Rama, but a Jesuit letter of the year 1602, speaking of the Viceroy Tirumala of Seringapatam, says —"After the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given by the unanimous vote of all the classes to the brother of the deceased, that is, the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a kingdom" [2] According to this testimony the election of Venkata was made by the consensus of the Brahmans, nobles and warriors of the Empire, as implied by the expression 'the unanimous vote of all the classes'

Venkata was then "anointed, according to the prescribed rules, by the spiritual preceptor of his gotra, the famous Tatacharya, who was the ornament of the wise, just as Rama was anointed by Vasishtha" [3] On this occasion, the new king "poured forth gold from his hand like rain from a cloud" [4]

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present", etc According to this testimony the election of Venkata followed, not the death of Ranga I, but that of Rama Finally, according to the information supplied to Mr Sewell by the then Raja of Anegundi, the brother whose rule was placed between Ranga and Venkata, (called also by him Tirumaladeva or Srideva), 'reigned for a short time' Cf Sewell, II, p 252, note 4 We hope new discoveries will throw light on this point

1 Butterworth, I, p 264

2 *Litterae Annuae* of Goa, written by Fr N Pimenta, Goa December 21, 1602 See Ap C, No V

3 Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, vv 27-39

4 Venkta's II grant, 1587, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83, Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39 The following grants also describe Venkata's coronation Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 31, v 24, Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 31-35, Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, Ibid, p 297 v 29, Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 127

"When thus" continue the Dalavay Agraharam plates, Venkatapatideva Raya assumed the sovereignty Adisesha and other supporters of the earth were relieved of their burden and consequently they having assumed the shape of Vrishasaila (viz. the Tirumala hills at Tirupati) are ever praying Venkata chalapati to grant a long reign to him" [1] This transparent flattery of one of his grants shows that Venkata II was to be a worthy successor of Krishna Deva Raya and Rama Raya. He is called in another inscription "the fruition of the religious merit of previous births of Sri Vengalamba" [2] Fr N Pimenta, in one of his letters, mentions the pompous and incredible titles which were conferred upon him by his subjects "The Husband of Subvast (that is) of good Fortune, God of great Provinces King of the greatest Kings, and God of Kings, Lord of all Horse forces, Master of those which know not how to Speake Emperour of three Emperours, Conquerour of all which he seeth and Keeper of all which he hath overcome Dreadfull to the eight Coasts of the World the Vanquisher of Mahumet an Armies, Ruler of all Provinces which he hath taken Taker of the Spoiles and Riches of Ceilan which farre exceedeth the most valiant men which cut off the head of the Invincible Viravalalan Lord of the East, South North, West, and of the sea Hunter of Elephants which liveth and glorieth in virtue Militarie. Which titles of Honour" adds Fr Pimenta, "enjoyeth the most Warlike Vencatapadin Ragiv Devamagan Ragel, which now reigneth and governeth this World" [3]

Two of this grants lay special stress on his extreme beauty "His cheeks they say "resembled the moon he rivalled or eclipsed the god of love in beauty" [4] Fr Du Jarric seems to agree when he writes. "The King is quite handsome, although a little dark his eyes are big he is of a medium size, but his limbs are in good proportion he dresses quite nicely and shows

1. *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 186 vv 27-39

2. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I p. 31 v 23

3 Purchas, X, p. 209 10 Cf. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 653

4. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 187 vv 27-39; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 33 v 36



XI Venkatapati Deva Raya II Upper Tirupati

(By kind permission of the Director General of Archæology)

always a special regard for royal majesty mingled with a charming plainness of manner" [1] Venkata's statue at Tirupati confirms both descriptions his big round eyes are specially remarkable

2 Venkata was at Chandragiri when his election took place So naturally the ceremony of his coronation was performed there This point is quite evident from the study of contemperory sources Du Jarric says —" A few years ago he was crowned, according to his predecessors' custom, at Chandegri (Chandragiri)" [2]. Anquetil du Perron states likewise that "he was crowned according to custom at Sehandegri, where he used to have his court (when Viceroy of the Tamil country)" [3]

But not long after he removed his court to Penukonda, the capital of his two predecessors, whence he might rule over the Empire "When the throne of Bijanagar", says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, "devolved on Venkatapati, it appears that that prince removed his seat of Government to the fort of Penukonda" [4] Accordingly his grant of the year 1587 states that he 'established his throne in Suragiri (Penukonda)' [5] This fact must have occurred in 1585, for in two inscriptions of this year Venkata already appears as 'ruling in Penukonda' [6], and in 1589 he is shown 'seated on the throne of the Empire in Suragiri (Penukonda)' [7] How long this period of rule from Penukonda lasted is not yet ascertained, because the cause of Venkata's retreat to Chandragiri is misplaced by Ferishta, hence its date cannot be realized Sewell points to the year 1592 as the date of Venkata's return to the Tamil country [8] As a matter of fact, Venkata appears as 'ruling on the jewelled throne at Penukonda' in several inscriptions of the years

1 Du Jarric, I, p 662
2 Du Jarric, I, p 655
3 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166
4 Ferishta, III, p 454
5 *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83
6 71 of 1915
7 *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39
8. Sewell, I, p 150

1593 [1] 1599 [2] 1603 [3] 1605 [4] 1608 [5] 1609 [6] 1610 [7] and 1612 [8] We know for certain that during several of these years Venkata was actually ruling from Chandragiri this would mean that either his subjects were not aware of the change of the capital or the old capital of Tirumala and Ranga was mentioned out of respect, as Vijayanagara itself is sometimes occasionally mentioned.

3 While speaking of the coronation of Venkata we have seen that the *pattabhisheka* ceremony had been performed by his family guru, Tatacharya or Tatayarya. We shall now give some particulars of this man who exercised so much influence on the rule of Venkata, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak frequently in the course of this volume. He was according to the *Prapannamrtam* a descendant of the maternal uncle of the great reformer Ramanuja and two of his ancestors had been the cause of the conversion of the Emperor Virupaksha to Vaishnavism [9] He was the son of Pancha mata-bhajanam Tatacharya, according to the same poem [10] but a copper plate grant of 1590 in the Government Museum Madras states that he was grand-son of Etur Tatayia and son of Srinaivasa [11] He is styled the ornament of the wise [12] He is mentioned in an inscription of Ranga I along with the temple officer of Tiruppukkuli [13] Again the *Prapannamrtam* informs us that Venkata became a disciple

1. 377 of 1904.
2. Sewell, I, p. 134.
3. 236 of 1903 Sewell, I, p. 101
4. 235 of 1903
5. Rangacharya, I, p 623 535
6. 67 of 1915.
7. 184 of 1913
8. *Ep Carn.*, II, TN 62; XII, 81 84 Butterworth III, p. 1284-6.
9. Cf. Ch. XXVI, No. 6.
10. Cf. *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 162 and p. 347
11. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras* p 54.
12. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II l. c.; Butterworth I p. 31, v 24.
13. 209 Ap. C. of 1916

of the Srivaishnava teacher Lakshmikumara Tatacharya'[1], this being his full name Moreover, in the same poem we read that the King "entrusted the whole kingdom to his preceptor, and he himself led a life of retirement doing service to him, like Kulasekhara of old"[2] The second part of this statement is absolutely false Venkata II was certainly not an idle sovereign, he actually ruled (as we shall see further on) except during the last years of his life, when disabled by age and sickness he made over the cares of Government to one of his wives and her brother Nay, we have further grounds for doubting even the veracity of the first part of the same statement The whole passage sounds merely like a poetical exaggeration of a real fact According to the above-mentioned copper-plate grant in the Madras Museum, Venkata, on December 27th, 1590, made the gift of a village (which he named Venkatapura) to the Srivaishnava teacher Tataya, the village was situated in the Konadu district which formed a subdivision of Uttukkadu Kottam[3] Moreover, an inscription of the year 1600-1 at Tirunirmalai, Chingleput, shows that he was supervising several Vaishnava temples[4], he was also the manager of the temple at Tiruppukkuli[5], and the supervisor of the Vaishnava temples at Kanchivaram[6], we know of an agent of his named Punyakoti-Aiyan[7] According to tradition, Tatacharya was so famous for his virtues and talents that he was believed to have been born from the spirit of Vishnu[8]

But Fr B Coutinho, one of the Jesuits at Venkata's court, who personally knew *Se Tatachare,* as he calls the famous guru, testifies in one of his letters that 'he is unworthy of his post because of his vices' It seems that he was specially

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 251

2 Ibid

3 *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants,* l c

4 565 of 1912 He is again mentioned in the inscription 564 of 1912

5 208, Ap C of 1916

6 *M E R*, *1913*, para 62

7 174, Ap C of 1916

8 Cf Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind Ant*, XXVII, p 327

lacking in continence, as he had many wives at home says Fr Coutinho, "and is one of those who swallow camels and shy at mosquitoes [1] According to Fr Coutinho, Tatacharya was a hypocrite of the Tartuffe type, who duped the people with scrupulous practice of infinite petty unsubstantial ceremonies, and forgot the essentials of the natural law I can not reject the testimony of such an eye witness, who mentions the fact of the guru s many wives and who was not likely to derive any advantage from calumniating the King's preceptor in one of his letters to his Superiors in Europe.

4. Along with Tatacharya, the names of several ministers of Venkata have reached us mainly through the contemporary poems A Sidhout inscription of 1605 states that the chief Matla Ananta was like the right hand of the Emperor of Karnata (Vijayanagara) [2] he was no doubt one of Venkata s chief officers as is shown by this appellation and his achievements which will be narrated further on Tangoppula Mallana in his *Chandrabhanu Charitram* says that his elder brother Tangoppula Datta Mantri "was a minister of the Emperor Venkatapati Raya, son of Tirumala Raya All the members of the Emperor's court used to extol him for his patronage and helpfulness to them on various occasions [3] Another one, Tammaya Mantri who, according to the *Charu chandrodayam* had been the right hand of Sri Ranga, was also the minister of the Emperor Venkatapati Raya [4] From

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore November 11th, 1607 See Ap. O No. XVIII. This passage was published in *Relacam Annal* of the years 1606 and 1607 (Lisbon, 1609) but without mentioning the name of Tatacharya; he is only described as the "high priest at whose feet the same king prostrates himself, and whose yearly revenue surpasses two hundred crusades" (p. 106) Before being acquainted with the original of Coutinho s letter I published a translation of the account of *Relacam Annal* in the *Q J M S.*, XIV p. 134-7 under the title *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*; and in a note I already pointed out that the high priest referred to ought to be Tatacharya.

2. S. Krishnaswmi Aiyangar *Sources* p. 248.

3. Ibid., p 247

4. Ibid., p 241.

literature we gather likewise that Pemmasani Pedda-Timmaraja, who had also been a minister of Ranga I, continued to hold the same office under Venkata II [1] The chief military officer of this Emperor was Gubburi Obarajaya [2], who may perhaps be identified with Obaraja, the brother-in-law of Venkata, as mentioned in Barrada's account [3], or his father-in-law, as stated both in the *Ramarajiyamu* [4] and in the Jesuit records [5]

Now the Empire, although deprived of some of the northern provinces which had fallen into the hands of the Muhammadans, was yet possessed of vast territory Fr Du Jarric describes the Empire of Venkata as follows "The kingdom of Bisnagar," says he, "contains the greatest part of India that lies to the south of river Ganges (sic) For besides the western kingdoms of Malabar, that depend upon it, as formerly the kingdom of Goa, there are several others towards the North, as Onor (Honavar) Battikala, (Bhatkal) and so on, that acknowledge the imperial authority It has on the East two hundred leagues of coast along the gulf of Bengal, *viz* from cape Comorin to the kingdom of Orixa (Orissa), and this length comprises the Coast of Coromandel and Meliapor or San Thome [6]

The viceroy of Seringapatam and the Nayaks and feudatory chiefs were a great help to the Emperor in the administration of such an extensive Empire But the country which was immediately subject to him was, it seems, divided into different administrative units A grant of 1596 of the temple authorities of Kanchivaram gives a clue to this supposition, it states that this city is situated in the Chandragiri portion of the Tondaimandalam province of the country of Soramandalam [7] According to this inscription, the smallest administrative unit was the so-called *portion* or district, which, if we must judge from the distance between Chandragiri and Kanchivaram, was

1 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 185
2 Ibid, p 188-9
3 Sewell, p 223
4. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 243
5 Du Jarric, I, p 654. Cf Ch XXIV, No 3
6. Ibid, p 652
7 Sewell, I, p 179.

not very small the next higher and larger administrative unit was the *province* and the highest, the so-called *country* We venture to say that during the time of the Tamil Viceroyalty two *countries* probably composed it, the Chola and the Pandya *countries*.

Venkata was indeed a very powerful monarch [1] According to Du Jarric "the neighbouring kings call him Emperor and king of kings as he is the most potent of all the kings" [2] Accordingly at the end of his reign he was called by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore Master of the four Oceans [3]

5 Nevertheless from the beginning of his reign the new Emperor had to face great difficulties within his own dominions. There were among the petty chiefs fresh outbreaks of rebellion against Venkata, who was supposed to be the murderor of the late Emperor Sadasiva. 'Before 1595 says Anquetil du Perron, the Naiques of Tanjore, Madurei and Gingi (Jinji) gave up all allegiance, as they did not want to acknowledge as their sovereign one who had dethroned the legitimate King of Bisnagar" [4] We shall speak later of the rebellion of these three powerful Nayaks but we feel sure that, encouraged by their example, and even perhaps before them many petty chiefs rebelled against Venkata. This is more than a mere supposition, because in the contemporary sources we find abundant evidence of the internal troubles during those years. Venkata is called in the Mangalampad grant the crusher of the pride of Avahaluraya [5] and the hero who punished kings who break their word [6] The Dalavay Agraharam plates, after speaking of his campaigns against the Muhammadans style him the only excellent conqueror of the Chaurasidurga, (who) terrified the hearts of the hostile kings in the eight quarters, (who) was a destroyer of his enemies (who) was broad armed like Adisesha (who) was a bear to the earth, *viz.* the provincial chiefs, a

1. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 169
2. Du Jarric, I, p. 653
3. *Ep Carn.*, III, TN 116.
4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p 166
5 Butterworth, I, p. 32, 27
6 Ibid., p. 33, v 38.

Ramabadra in battle" [1] These general remarks are a clear reference to the action of Venkata against the provincial chiefs of his Empire who 'broke their word' of faithfulness and allegiance to the imperial power But there are also other and more pronounced testimonies

Venkata is said in the *Ramarajiyamu* to have 'defeated some enemies at Nandela' [2] Those enemies must have been the army of the chief Krishnama of Nandyal, into whose mind the faithful Matla Ananta 'instilled fear', according to the expression of the Sidhout inscription [3] This means that this Anantaraja, one of Venkata's ministers, defeated on behalf of the Emperor, or even in conjuction with him, the Nandyla chief who had revolted against his sovereign Matla Ananta's campaigns are likewise a recapitulation of these provincial revolts "he killed on the battlefield the chief Ravelia Velikonda Venkatadri," we read in the same inscription, "he was the conqueror in the batte of Jambulamandaka (Jammalamadugu) and reduced the fort of Cuttack He defeated the chief Kondaraju Venkatadri and captured from him the town of Chennur" [4]

Along with the Emperor and Matla Ananta his right hand, the minister Tammaya Mantri, 'compelled recalcitrant chiefs to go to him (the Emperor) and accept his suzerainty', as it is stated in the *Charuchandrodayam* [5] The Mahanayakacharya Harwati, son of Immadi Rangappa Nayaka, is also called a "subduer of chiefs who break their word' [6] He must have aided his sovereign in subduing these rebellions The same was done by Velugoti Yachama Nayadu and his relative Singama Nayadu, who in the year 1601 defeated Maharaja and Devalpupa Nayadu at Utramaltur, according to the *Valugutivaru Vamsavali* [7] Velugoti's campaigns are also

1 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, vv 27-39
2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 243
3 Ibid, p 248
4 Ibid, Cf *M E R*, *1915-16*, para 19, *1916*, para 75
5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 241
6 *Ep Carn*, XII, Si, 84
7 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 274 Cf. Carr, *Papers Relating to the Seven Pagodas*, p 115, note c

narrated in the *Bahulasvacharitram*. After defeating the Chief Davalu Papa at Uttaramalluru, he marched as far as Tirumala (*Tirupati*), *defeated* the mountain chiefs there and captured Chengalpat (Chingleput) Outside the fort of Palembukota (Palembkota, South Arcot), he fought the chief Yatiraju and defeated him [1] Finally Ragunatha, the heir apparent of Tanjore, who *had helped* Venkata against the Muhammadans at Penukonda [2] also lent his aid to the Emperor for the supression of these rebellions. The *Ragunathabhyudayam* says that he waged war with the Murasas, a people in the North of North Arcot and the adjacent portions of the neighbouring districts. "Having defeated all these enemies" says the poem, "he brought all the territory and the fortresses of Karnata once more under the Emperor Venkatadeva Raya. After this victory the Emperor Venkatadeva Raya in public court acknowledged the great assistance of Raghunatha and said that he was able to destroy his enemies only with the assistance of Raghunatha. He also honoured him with presents of horses and jewellery" [3]

It appears that the rebellion spread all over the Empire and lasted several years. But the stout hearted sovereign at last put it down and was acknowledged by all his feudatories. This is the reason why he is said in some of his grants to have conquered the throne of Karnata by the strength of his arm [4] *viz.* though he was rightly crowned and anointed, his throne was hardly his as long as the revolts all over the Empire lasted. It was by the strength of his arm that he established it as firmly as he did. We read in Anquetil du Perron that Venkata "experinced how wrong was his elevation to the throne, but at last *the Naiques were bound to submit to the tribute* [5]

6. In or about 1592, on the occasion of the attack of Penukonda by the Sultan of Bijapur which will be narrated in the next chapter Venkata went back to Chandragiri and

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 305

2. Cf. Ch. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2

3 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o. c., p 285-6.

4. Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 270; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, Ibid., XII, p. 187 vv 27-39

5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166

established there the capital of the Empire [1] This action betrayed the weaker side of Venkata's character He had hitherto strenuously fought against the hereditary enemies of the Empire, but now he felt perhaps the first signs of premature old age Nevertheless we suppose that the main reason for this change was not the Muhammadan incursions, but a sort of home-sickness for the city where he had ruled many years as governor and viceroy of the Tamil country Chandragiri was like a second birthplace to him, and thither he retired, when a premature old age began to weigh upon him, and rest became necessary

Chandragiri had in ancient times been the stronghold of the Yadavas One of its rulers, Toya-Yadava, entertained Ramanuja when fleeing from the Chola country [2] According to a palm-leaf book, once in the possession of one of the village officers, the founder of the town was the Yadava King Immadi Narasimha, who lived about A D 1000 [3] According to local tradition, the Chandragiri fort had been built or at least enlarged by the Vijayanagara Emperor Narasimha Saluva, who made it the store-house of his treasures [4] As a matter of fact the Portuguese used often to call it Narsinga, after the name of this sovereign Since Krishna Deva Raya is occasionally called 'Raja of Chandragiri', it is likely that he either conquered or improved this fort, or even that he lived in it at times [5] In that case the great Mahal, still standing at the foot of rocky hill crowned by the fortress, may have been built by that great Emperor, while to his brother and successor, Achyuta Raya, is attributed the smaller Ladies' Mahal [6] The same Achyuta makes mention, in the copper-

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1 Cf *M E R*, *1916*, para 75, S Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 185

2 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 85

3 Sewell, I, p 150

4 Cf Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p 3, Caldwell, *History of Tinnevelly*, p 48

5 Sewell, I, p 139

6 Ibid, p 150 For a description of these buildings see Chisholm, *The Old Palace of Chandragiri*, *Ind Ant*, XII, p 295-6

plates of July 13th, 1532, of the kingdom of Chandragiri [1] and in another inscription of 1540 at Pushpagiri mention is likewise made of the general Timmarasayya son of Somarasayya of Chandragiri [2]

7 This was the palace which was for so many years the residence of Venkata, when Viceroy of the Tamil country It was now to be the royal palace of the Emperor of Vijayanagara. A modern memorial stone over its central entrance, inscribed by a hand who had no knowledge of the more extensive sovereignty of Venkatapati Raya, records that the building was the Palace of the Rajas of Chandragiri [3]

The earliest reference to Venkata as ruling from Chandragiri is dated 1602 [4] but Fr N Pimenta, in the account of his tour through the South of India, made in 1597 says in speaking of Venkata that Hee now resideth in Chandragiri [5] and Fr Du Jarric, in the course of his account of the arrival of the Jesuits in 1601 says that Chandegiri is the residence of the King [6] the same fact is recorded in two inscriptions of 1603 [7] one of 1625 [8] and another of 1608 [9]

Now there is an inscription of 1587 in which Venkata appears in the residence of Hampe-Hastinavathi (Vijaya nagara) ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom [10] then another of 1602 3, which shows him seated on the diamond

1. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras*, p. 51-2.

2. 302 of 1903

3 Orme, *Historical Fragments* p. 227 says It still remains to know whether the king of Chandergherri to whom the Jesuits went in 1599 was a descendant of Timiraglo or of the rightful king of Bisnagar murdered by Timiraglo s son but we believe of Timiraglo."

4. Brakenbury *Cuddapah Gazetteer* p. 37

5. Fr Pimenta s letter Purchas, X, p 210.

6. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.

7 Rangacharya I p. 576, 16.

8. Siddhout inscription, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 248.

9 Rangacharya I, p. 653 863

10. *Ep Carn.*, VI, Cm 79

throne at Vijayanagara ruling the kingdom of the earth'[1], and even two more, of 1613[2] and 1614[3], in which he is simply said to be 'ruling at Vijayanagara' It is obvious to us that Chandragiri received also at this time the appellation of Vijayanagara, as Penukonda was likewise formerly called[4]. In the map of India by Sr Sanson d' Abbeville, published in the year 1652, Chandragiri is marked as 'Bisnagar or Chandragiri'[5] Moreover a traveller from Holstein named Mandelslo, who visited the Coromandel coast in 1639, says that the king 'resides sometimes at Bisnagar, sometimes at Narasinga'[6] This must be respectively understood of Vellore, which was then the capital of the Empire, and of Chandragiri, which was also called Narsinga, as already stated This information is of great importance to us, because it seems to prove that the capital of the Empire was always called Vijayanagara, whether it was Hampi-Anegundi, or Penukonda, or Chandragiri, as at this time, or as some years after, Vellore.

8 At Chandragiri not a small coterie of nobles had naturally gathered round the Emperor Fr A Laerzio, Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Malabar, who visited Venkata's court in 1603, writing to Fr J Alvarez at Rome in the following year, says "Those nobles are very rich and powerful, some have a revenue of five hundred thousand *cruzados*, some of six hundred thousand, and some of four hundred thousand"[7] Fr Du Jarric gives interesting information about one of the social institutions of the nobility at Chandragiri, corresponding more or less to our modern gymnasium "The house fitted for this", he says, "has a yard in the centre, the pavement of which is covered with a layer of lime so smooth that it looks like a mirror, there is a walk around it, spread over with red sand, on which they rest as on a soft bed One who would wrestle

1 Butterworth, I, p 269-71

2 452 of 1916

3 *Ep Carn*, III, Sr, 157

4 Cf Ch X, No 13

5 See plate XII

6 Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, p 94

7 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap C, No X

strips himself Then several strong and brawny youths called *geitas* who are ready beforehand, rub the nobleman then they box, jump fence and take other kinds of exercise with him in order to strengthen him and this they do until perspiration flows freely Then the *geitas* cover the whole of the nobleman s body with sand and massage him and move his arms and legs in every direction as if they would disjoint his bones. Finally the nobleman is brushed, annointed and washed with warm water and when dry dresses himself. Noblemen take this kind of exercise almost every day before dinner in order to be fit and healthy thus men as old as seventy years look only thirty "[1] Such is the description of the exercises taken in the gymnasium of Chandragiri into which Fr Simon de Sa, Rector of the College of St. Thome was once admitted as a spectator

9 After this re transfer of Venkata s capital to Chandrgiri, his extraordinary devotion to the god Venkatesa at Tirupati was naturally revived perhaps with greater zeal and ardour The excellence of the rock of Tirupati, which we have several times spoken of is sung in the *Venkatesvara Prabandha Baila Mahima.* The temple is stated to be near the famous mythic mount Meru, where the gods hold their assembly [2] According to the legend, Vishnu himself once became incarnated here [3] If we are to believe the Vaishnava literature, Tirupati, dedicated at its foundation to Vishnu became later on a temple of Siva till the time of Ramanujacharya the reformer who once more converted it into a Vaishnava shrine. To effect this he is said to have agreed with the Saiva priests of the temple to leave in it at night a conch and a discus, which are the insignia of Vishnu, and a trident and a small drum which are those of Siva the temple was then closed and on its being re-opened, it was found that the image had assumed the two first symbols. Accordingly Vishnu s cult was restored [4] The great temple was built by one of the Yadava Princes in or about A. D 1048.

1. Du Jarric, I p. 684-5
2. Wilson, *Catalogue Raisonnee* p. 589
3. *Venkata Giri Mahatmyam* Ibid., p. 588.
4. *Venkatesvara Mahatmyam* Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 254-5.

Vishnu is worshipped there under five forms Sri Venkatachala Pati, Malayapa or Utsavabari, Srinivas, Kolavu Bari and Venkata Toravar [1]

"The city of Tripeti (Tirupati)", says one of the Jesuit letters, " is very large and beautiful, and on account of a temple much venerated and dedicated to their Pirmal (Perumal), is for these heathens what Rome is to us Crowds of people from the whole of the East flock here with gifts and offerings to pay a visit to this temple" [2] The pilgrims, says another letter of Fr Simon de Sa, "purge their sinnes by washing their bodies and shaving their heads and beards The Idoll is in a cold hill compassed with fertile valleys abounding with fruits, none dare touch. There are plenty of Apes, which are so tame that they will take meate out of ones hand The people take them for a Nation of gods which held familiaritie with Perimal They worship Perimal in many figures, of a Man, an Oxe, Horse, Lion Hog, Ducke, Cocke" [3]

10 The vicinity of Chandragiri to Tirupati fostered the special devotion of the Emperor for that holy place Several of his inscriptions and grants of those years are more or less connected with Tirupati and the god Venkatesvara On August 18th, 1598, Venkata, while at Tirupati, made a grant of a village to several Brahmans and re-named it Tirumalambapuram [4] In the same year he made the Padmaneri grant in the presence of the god Venkatesa whom he invokes in the beginning of the grant [5], the same is seen in the Dalavay Agraharam Plates [6] Then a Tamil inscription around the Varadaraja shrine in the first prakara of the Srinivasa temple at Tirupati, dated 1606, records a grant by Venkatapati Raya to provide for offerings of rice to the god [7] Again

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1 Ibid

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap C, No VIII

3 From Fr Simon de Sa, Mylapore, November 20th 1598, Purchas, X, p 219

4 *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 54.

5 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, vv 46-48, and p 296, vv 1-3

6 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 187, vv 41-66, and p 185, vv 1-3

7 *M A D*, *1920*, p 39.

in 1601 2 he made the Vilapaka grant in the presence of the god Venkatesa, at Tirupati [1]

The principal ceremony performed at Tirupati is at the time of the Durga Puja about October Fr Coutinho, who happened to be there at this time, gives the following account of what he had seen At the Feast of Perimals marriage was such concourse of people that that dayes offering amounted to two hundred thousand Ducats, the King Queene and Courtiers being present. The Idoll was carried in a great triumphall Chariot drawne by ten thousand men, about midnight, a mile and a half. The Feast of Kowes was solemnized a moneth before, and all the wayes filled with them for they hold Perimal to have beene the sonne of a Kow" [2] Purchas does not give the full narrative of Coutinho preserved in a letter of Fr N Pimenta The carr was drawn by ten thousand people," says he, the King himself being one of the first. It was begun at the close of the day but at midnight it started to rain and then the king retired but the rest remained hard at their work till the carr was carried back to the place where it was taken from, two hundred and fifty feet in distance" [3]

11 In the year 1603, while Venkata was residing at Chandragiri, the rebellion of the Nayak of Vellore took place. We have frequently spoken of the chiefs of Vellore, who had always remained faithful feudatories to the Vijayanagara Emperors. Chinna Bomma Nayaka was still living in the beginning of Venkata's reign for in a *Sanskrit verse by an* unknown author he is called Viceroy of Velur during the reign of Venkatapati Raya [4] The same authority describes the ceremony of bathing in gold, which Chinna Bomma Nayaka performed in order to do honour to the scholarship of Appaya Dikshita. He is said to have with his own hands poured the gold coins out of the vessel [5] Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that this Nayak was not Chinna Bomma

1. *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 270
2. Purchas, X, p. 223.
3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1602, written by Fr N Pimenta, Goa, December 21st 1602, Ap. C No V
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 251.
5. Ibid.

himself, but his son and successor Lingama This Lingama was the one who in 1601-2 obtained from Venkata II the Vilapaka grant "With a libation of water (poured) over gold, the glorious King Vira Venkatapati Maharaya joyfully granted (the village of Vilapaka), sanctioning the request of the glorious Prince Linga, who was the renowned son of Prince Bomma of Veluru, who was the victorious grandson of prince Virapa Nayaka, who was ever devoted to the shrine of Vira at Sri Nellaturu, who resembled the sun (in conferring prosperity) on the lotus group, the hearts of scholars, who terrified the mind of prince Ballalaraya, who was engaged in establishing Mahadevas (lingas of Siva) and Mahidevas (Brahmans), who was the foremost of those who assert the priority of Siva, whose pride were the works (relating to) Siva, who was full of splendour, who, as the moon from the ocean, (rose) from the renowned Anakula gotra" [1]

Not long after the concession of this grant, Lingama Nayaka rebelled against his Emperer [2], we know not why Was he one of those who refused to acknowledge Venkata on account of the murder of Sadasiva? From the Jesuit letter, which is the best source hitherto known for the history of this event, and from which we shall quote extracts as we go on, it seems clear that Lingama wished to form a small principality independant both of his immediate lord, the Nayak of Jinji, and of the Emperor himself He was bold enough to defy both rulers, trusting no less to his immense wealth than to the strong fortifications which rendered Vellore all but impregnable

Venkata, without any delay, despatched in the month of October, 1603, his Adelaraya (Dalavay) or commander-in-chief to storm the capital of the rebel chief Who was then the Dalavay of his army? In the first part of this Jesuit letter there is no reference whatever to the proper name of this general,

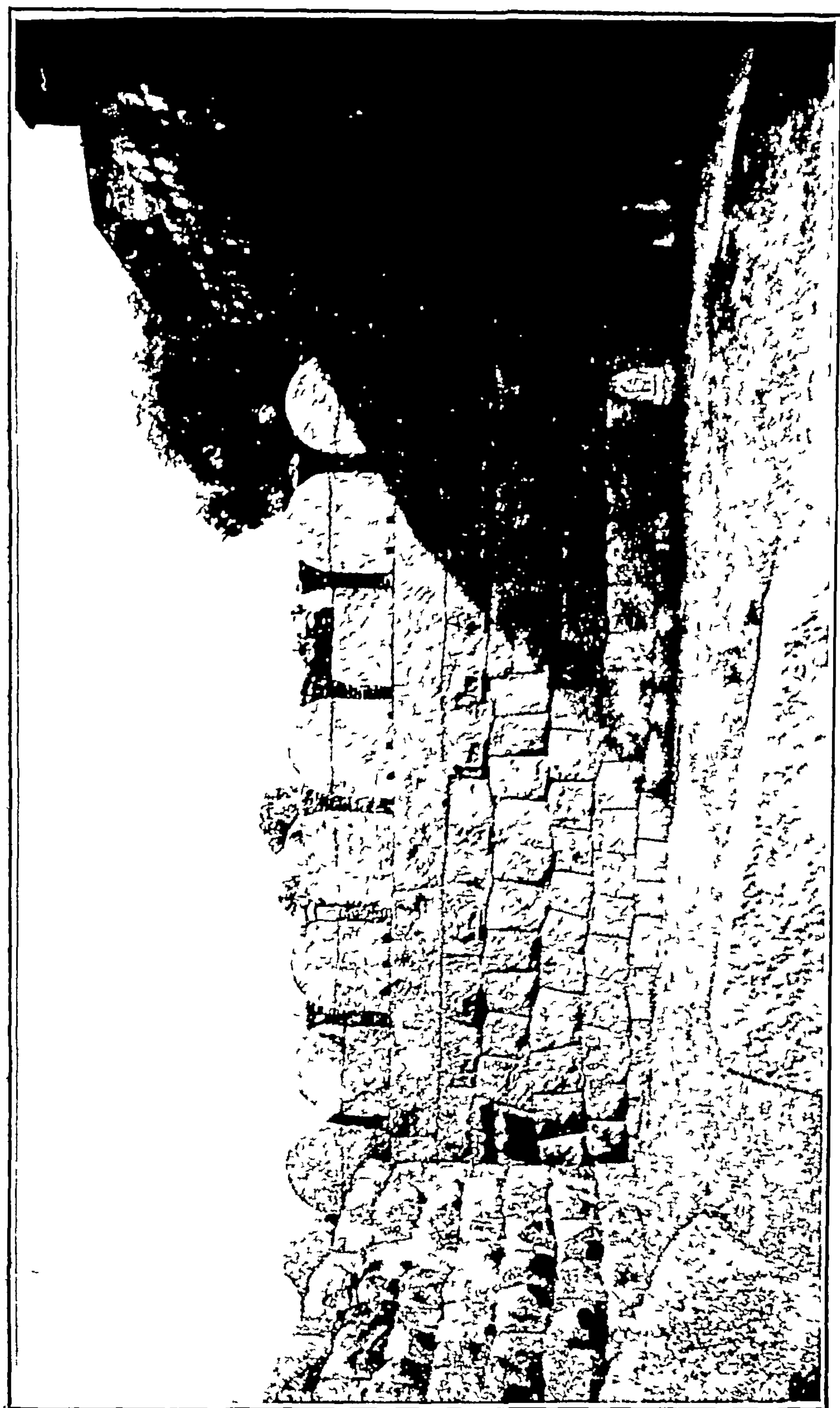
1 *Ep Ind*, IV, p 271 Lingama Nayaka had probably a brother called Nangama Nayaka, one of whose gifts is recorded in an inscription of 1602 in Malayappatu, North Arcot 70 of 1887

2 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 170, assigns the year 1609 as the date of Linga's rebellion and destruction Our sources written in 1606 says that the siege of the fort took place two months before January, 1604

but we are informed by the *Bahulasvacharitramu* that Chenna, of the Kalahasti family defeated Linga of Velur on the plains of Munnali (Minnal ?) and captured the fortress of Vellore with its high fortifications and deep moat [1] We may conclude from this that Chenna Nayaka was the commander in-chief of the army sent against Lingama Nayaka. Once he started on his march there, the Dalavay pretended to have lost his way on the first day with the first object of marching so fast throughout the night as to reach Vellore unexpectedly before dawn. Unfortunately his plan fell through for only his vanguard reached the neighbourhood of Vellore at the desired hour early in the morning but the bulk of his army lagged behind, and did not arrive till later when the garrison of the town was ready to repel the attack. Accordingly showers of bullets were poured on Chenna and his soldiers just as he was preparing to storm the city and he was finally forced to retreat. But with indomitable courage he invested the fortress in spite of the rainy season which had already burst. The siege lasted two months. Then two officers of Chenna s army who were on friendly terms with Lingama Nayaka, and even perhaps his relations (so suggests the Jesuit letter) were admitted into the fort to present their compliments to the chief. On returning to their camp Linga, who seems to have been very kind and polite accompanied his visitors a little way out of the gates of the fort. That was too golden an opportunity for the soldiers of Vijayanagara. Lingama was made prisoner and brought to Chenna s camp

The siege nevertheless dragged on Neither the sons of Lingama nor his generals were willing to surrender the fort, in spite of the imprisonment of their chief while he, on seeing that all chances of escape were cut off offered twenty laks to the Dalavay if he could abandon the siege of Vellore of these twenty laks fifteen would be given in gold coins and the other five in pearls and other precious stones. But the commander in-chief at once wrote to Venkata summoning him to come forthwith to Vellore, saying that now was the time to fill the royal coffers and to extend his sway by the annexation of this most fortified town " The Emperor set out at once on January 9th,

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 305



1614, with an enormous army, besides a train of camp-followers and elephants, and hastened towards Vellore Linga prostrated himself at Venkata's feet as soon as the Emperor reached the camp In the meantime his sons kept up a continuous fire, and tried their atmost to prevent Venkata from entering the town But at last Vellore fell, and Venkata with his Queen took lodging "in the marble palace of Lingama Nayaka, adorned with gold and precious stones"[1]

12 Venkata remained at Vellore till the following month of May Then, "after having extorted from Lingama Naichen a large number of precious stones and pearls," he "took him prisoner to grace his own triumph from the fortress of Velur to Chandegri"[2] Fr B Coutinho, who was himself an eye-witness of this magnificent state procession, wrote an account of it in the aforesaid Jesuit letter which we shall quote here "On May 27", he writes, "four hours after sunrise (*viz* at about ten o'clock in the morning) this procession entered the town The road through the middle of the city by which he had to pass was decorated with a big arch in the centre, and with very many carpets and hangings made of green boughs But what added more dignity to the king was the fact that a large number of attendants in groups of three, dressed in gorgeous uniforms, were stationed at different intervals by the roadside, there were besides military bands with brass instruments and others with the vina and other classical instruments, these were followed by many other insignia, and finally by the royal standard itself, in which a golden lion and a golden fish were painted, thus showing Venkata's soverignity over land and sea This made the opening of the procession Many

1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII The account does not say that one of the Jesuits accompanied Venkata's army on this occasion. Nevertheless this seems likely as the Jesuits were on good terms of friendship with the Emperor, moreover the detailed narrative of this campaign seems to be that of an eye-witness Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p 228-9, also mentions the siege and conquest of Vellore by Venkata Cf Henrion, *Histoire Generale des Missions*, p 187 Fr Pimenta says only that Fr F Ricio went there after a while

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No. XXII.

horsemen came next among whom there was Obraias himself (Oba Raya) the King's father in law and with him many other grandees adorned with gold ornaments and precious stones at the end the King himself accompanied by Connanaiche (Chenna Nayaka) riding a beautiful elephant, the body and the head of which were painted yellow and adorned with feathers and silk drapery[1] the silk pillow on which the King sat was embroidered with gold thread, and he was himself covered with pearls and precious stones Being thus triumphantly carried, he was looking graciously on the crowd below and having finally reached his palace, sat on the golden throne, where he received a present from the Adelaraya, the governor of the city as it is customary Then all the nobles presented their homage and left. We also (says Fr Coutinho) went there, and Fr Francis Ricio offered the King a gilt drinking-cup of glass which he had kept for this occasion[2]

13 It is not on record whether Vellore was once more restored to Linga but from the fact that he is no longer mentioned in the contemporary documents, we may reasonably conclude that Vellore was thereafter retained under the Emperor's immediate authority according to the advice of his Dalavay Moreover *two years later about the middle of 1606* Venkata *established* his court in the old city of Vellore[3] an event recorded also in the *Ramarajiyamu*[4] But he used to reside at times at Chandragiri[5] and that is the reason why both cities are by the Jesuit Missionaries called *royal*'[6]

The fort of Vellore, according to local tradition was built

1. The fact that Chenna rode on this occasion at Venkata's side goes again to bear out the supposition that he was the commander-in-chief of the victorious army

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar quoted above.

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606 Ap. C, No XIII.

4. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 243

5 Cf. above No 7

6. No other change of capital of the Emperors of Vijayanagara is so far known, though some authors state that it was finally established at Chingleput. Cf. Rice *Mysore and Coorg* p 120 Francis *South Arcot Gazetteer* p. 36 etc.

by one Bommi Reddi, or Naidu, a native of Bhadrachalam[1], and converted by Narasimha of Vijayanagara into a place of residence[2]

According to an inscription of Chinna Bomma Nayaka of 1582 at Adaipalam, the Vellore temple was constructed by Appaiya Dikshita[3], but since we know that this temple existed earlier we must understand that Appaiya Dikshita's work was some enlargement of the same The pavement round the building was laid by China Bomma Nayaka himself in 1549, for the merit of Macha Nayaka of Vellore[4] In 1702 Fr Maudit said that 'the fortress of Vellore was one of the strongest throughout the whole of the country[5]' As a matter of fact this fort is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of military architecture in southern India, and fortunately it is still in a very good state of preservation

14 We have already mentioned several feudatory chiefs of the time of Venkata, but to those we must add several other known through different sources An inscription of Venkata of 1592 records the grant of a house for the location of a *matha* to Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram by Periya Errama Nayak of Punnarrur[6] Venkatapati Nayaningaru, the grandson of Velugoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu, and son of Kummara Timma Nayadu, declares himself feudatory of Venkatapati Raya in an inscription of 1612[7], in another of the same year he is said to be 'an Arjuna in war'[8] In another of 1616, Narakampi Nayaningaru, likewise a feudatory

1 Cox, *North Arcot Manual*, II, p 418

2 Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p 3, Caldwell, *History of Tinnevelly* p 48

3 395 of 1911

4. 60 of 1887 At Torudur, Tanjore, there is an inscription recording a gift of land to this temple in 1596 Sewell, I, p 272

5 From Fr Maudit to Fr Le Gobien, Caruvepondi, January 1st, 1702, *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, p 310

6 61 of 1887

7 Rangacharya, II, p 1053, 36

8 Butterworth, I, p 246

of Sadasiva, gave the hereditary privilege of worship in the temple of Kona Vallabharaya to one Kandagada Guruvayya[1] The Venkatagiri Raja Pedda Yachama Nayadu known as Yacha Surudu, got the Permadi country as a gift from Venkata II and proved his loyalty to him in the following civil war[2] Yachama Nayaka, one of the feudatories of Venkata, of whom we have previously spoken was, it seems, amongst the most powerful chiefs of the Empire. the *Bahulasvacharitram* speaks of him as having received presents of elephants and horses from Nizam Shah, Adil Shah and Qutb Shah. He was highly esteemed by the people of the cities of Cuttack, Delhi, Agra, Ahmadnagar Mahur Shiraj Kalamba, Manduva, Makkha Bedandakota (Bidar) Hukumi and Mahishmati[3] Finally the Jesuit records mention another chief named by them Paparagiu (Papa Raya), identified, according to Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar with the chief Davalu Papa who was defeated by Velugoti Yachama Nayadu at Uttaramaluru[4] Fr Simon de Sa, writing from Mylapor on November 20th, 1598, says that this chief "in one house kept three hundred Brachmans and gave hospitalitie to the Pilgrims which went on or came from Tripeti[5] Fr Du Jarric, who calls him a powerful chief mentions the same fact[6] and says moreover that he placed his dwelling on the top of a very high mountain encompassed by shady forests. The town was built all over the slopes of this mountain from the valley to the top[7]"

15 Venkata II appears to have been as generous as his predecessors to the temples and Brahmans for the maintenance of the Hindu cult Being still Viceroy of the Tamil country on June 24th, 1577 he made a gift of four villages

1. Rangachaya II, p. 1049 L
2. Madhava Rao *The Ruling Chiefs* p. 490.
3. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 305-6.
4. Ibid., p. 305 note. Cf. above No. 5
5. Purchas X., p. 219
6. Du Jarric, I p. 657
7. Ibid., p. 675 I cannot verify which city is referred to by Du Jarric It must be between Mylapore and Tirupati

to the temple of Chidambaresvara and Sivakamasundari-Ammai to provide offerings and sacred morning baths for the merit of Kondama Nayaka[1] In 1588 he made a gift of 300 *pon* to provide 20 rice offerings to the god Chidambaresvara at Chidambaram, to be distributed among the begging devotees[2] In 1593, for the merit of the above mentioned Kondama Nayaka, he declared that the four districts and the five villages and all others whose possession had been enjoyed by the temple of Chidambaresvara from early times, were now made tax-free In 1603 he imposed a tax on the weavers of Tindivanam, the proceeds of which were to go to the local temple[4] In 1604 he gave the village of Vengalambapuram to a number of Brahmans coming from several places[5] The year 1607 witnessed a grant of Venkatta to the god Narasinga[6]. Lastly, in 1608 the Emperor regulated the festivals and the daily services in the temple at Alagiyasingar at Narasimhapuram[7]

We also know of several gifts of the feudatory chiefs and other influential persons during Venkata's reign In 1589 Madagani Basavareddi Kumarudu remitted the tax on the lands of the gods Mallikarjuna and Virabhadra at Vipanagandla (Karnul)[8] In 1592 Krishnappa Nayaka granted to the god Ramanujakuta two villages in the Gangaikonda-sima[9] In 1593 Naga Reddi and other jugglers gave away the allowance which they had received for the bamboo play to the god Agastyesvara of Chadipirala[10] In the same year Gangadhara Cholamaharaya granted land to the deities at Palagiri[11] Rayanamantri Bhaskarayya gave the god Chennakesava a fee of one *kasu* for

1 334 of 1913
2 385 of 1913
3 369 of 1913
4 31 of 1905
5 Rangacharya, I, p 461, 1146
6 *Ep Carn*, V, Bl, 145
7 243 of 1910
8 Rangacharya, II, p 961, 500
9 Ibid, I, p 153, 191-B
10. Ibid, p 610, 424
11 Ibid, p 615, 465.

every bullock load of salt, two *kásus* for one of cotton and ½ *kasu* for other goods in the Gandikota district[1] In the same year an iron lamp was set up in the Mallikarjuna temple at Srisailam, Karnul for the merit of Mudiyappa Nayaka, by a certain Chikaiya, son of a carpenter of Henjera[2] In 1605 Chandra Sekhara Vodeyar made a grant to the family god and his dancing girls[3] In 1609 a gift of seven gold-gilt pinnacles for the big gopura of the Vira Narasimha temple at Diguva Tirupati, Karnul, and of two fly whisks and an umbrella of white silk with a gilt *kalasa* over it was made by some merchants of Aravidu, for the merit of 150 headmen of their community[4] In the same year a certain Kala Vaiyyappa built a temple for Agaresva Udaiyar at Polichchalar Madras, endowing it with a piece of land for the merit of the king Venkatapatiraya[5] In 1614 Gangappa Nayaka, the governor of Srigiri-mandala, son of Venkatadri and grandson of Ganga, made a present of four villages in the Dupati-sima, Karnul, to the Chennakesa temple[6] During this reign Matla Tiruvengala, the son of Anantaraja, built the gopura of the Govindaraja Perumal temple at Tirupati[7]

16 Some agricultural improvements were effected during Venkata's reign but none by himself. All are due to the enterprise of chiefs and of private persons. Venkatapati Nayaningaru, his feudatory deserves special mention for his efforts to encourage irrigation[8] In 1612 the grandson of Velogoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu, and son of Kumara Timma Nayadu, sent for Rudrappa, the ruler of Kulluru, Nellore, and asked him to construct the eastern weir of the Kullur tank, which he did[9] It is further recorded that a certain Nayinappa

1 Ibid., p. 620, 512.
2. 32 of 1915.
3 *Ep. Carn.*, IV Ch 23.
4. 67 of 1915
5. 516 of 1913.
6. 286 of 1905
7 *M.E.R.*, *1913* p. 124.
8. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 97
9 Rangacharya, II, p. 1053, 36.

Nayaka, son of Krishnappa Nayaka, improved certain land in South Arcot by constructing a tank near it and digging wells[1] Finally, one Polusani dug a well in the village of Sowadaridinne, Karnul, in 1603[2]

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1 388 of 1912

2 Rangacharya, II, p 918, 111 We know of the existence of a guild of merchants in the city of Aravidu during Venkata's reign The merchants who formed this guild were devotees of Vasavakanyaka, followers of Bhaskaracharya and supposed to be the progeny of the celestial cow, born of its ears 67 of 1915

CHAPTER XVI

WARS WITH THE MUHAMMADANS

SUMMARY —1. Venkata starts an offensive campaign against Golkonda immediately after his coronation.—2. Great victory of Venkata over Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah.—3 Beginning of Venkata s campaign in the Telugu country —4. The jagirdars of the Telugu country rebel against Golkonda.—5 Victory of the Raja of Kasimkota over Amin ul Mulk.—6 Second invasion of Kand bir —7 Result of Venkata s campaign in the Telugu country — 8. Siege of Penukonda by the Sultan of Bijapur —9 Embassy of the Mughal Emperor Akbar to Venkata II.—10 Further projects of Akbar on Vijayanagara —11. Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur sends an embassy to Venkata II.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Ferishta Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—2. Jesuit letters.—3 Du Jarric, Guerreiro.—4. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—5. *Ramarajiyamu Raghunathabhyudayam.*

A GRANT of Emperor Venkata, dated 1589 says explicitly that his campaigns against the Muhammadans were started immediately after his coronation [1] Accordingly the anonymous chronicler says that Venkata in the beginning of his reign made some incursions and invasions into the Golkonda dominions [2] This policy marked the opening of a *new era in the long standing struggle between Vijayanagara* and the Muhammadans. Since the battle of Raksas Tagdi Tirumala, and after him Ranga I, had been satisfied with defending themselves *against the followers of the Prophet*. Ranga had only dared to expel the Muslims from Ahobalam and its surroundings [3] But it seems that Venkata II inaugurated his rule as Emperor of Vijayanagara with an offensive campaign which was successfully carried on some years later

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1. *Ep Carn.* XII, Ck, 39
2. Ferishta III, p. 454.
3. Cf. Ch. XII, No. 7

The Sultan of Golkonda, Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah, nvaded the Vijayanagara territory, with the object of driving Venkata out of his dominions He marched towards Penukonda "where he arrived without opposition," says the aforesaid chronicler, "and immediately commenced the siege" Venkata, who was at Penukonda, shortly afterwards deputed his minister Gobraj Tima (Govinda Raja Timma) and his general Pavia Chitti (Papaya Chetti) as Ambassadors to the Golkonda Sultan, "who, upon their making due submission, agreed to an armistice preparatory to negotiating terms of peace" The shrewd Sovereign decided to take advantage of this so-called armistice to prepare himself for a long defence "The Hindus", the anonymous chronicler continues, "taking advantage of the absence of the Muhammadans from the vicinity of the fort, supplied themselves in three days with provisions for a siege, and on the fourth the famous Jagdew Row (Jagadeva Raya), accompanied by Gulrang Setti, Manupraj and Papia Samywar, at the head of thirty thousand musketeers, threw themselves into the fort"[1] It is most likely that at this juncture Venkata requested Achyuta Nayaka of Tanjore to send the prince Raghunatha to his assistance At his father's behest "Raghunatha started on the expedition followed by hundreds of tributary chiefs", says the *Raghunathabhyudayam* He reached Penukonda in a few days[2] When the King discovered these proceedings", continues the Golkonda chronicler, "he renewed the siege, but his forces made little impression The rains were now approaching, provisions also were scarce in the camp, and aware that the inundation of the Krishna river would cut off all communication with the Golkonda territory, the King deemed it advisable to raise the siege"[3] Thus does the Muhammadan writer conceal the humiliating defeat which was on this occasion inflicted by Venkata upon the army of Golkonda

2 Reference is found to this action in different sources,

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1 Ferishta, l c

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 285

3 Ferishta, l c

and we cannot question their veracity specially when we consider the account of the following victorious campaign of Venkata in the Udayagiri country given by the same Muham madan author The above-mentioned *Raghunathabhyudayam* relating only Raghunatha s exploits, states that "many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penukonda when they learnt of the arrival of Raghunatha with troops (a common poetical topic), while a few mounted horsemen opposed him But they were *easily defeated by the valiant Raghunatha, and were scat* tered as the Rakshasas were by Rama [1] This was only a partial victory obtained by one of the wings of the great army of Venkata. The Sidhout inscription of Ananta Raja also records that this chief displayed his heroism in humiliating the Muhammaddan Pachisa (Padischa) in the battle of Penukonda [2]

After careful consideration of all the sources it seems that the Golkonda army after having been repelled by the garrison of Penukonda, retreated northwards pursued by the Hindus. Venkatapati Raya" says the *Ramarajiyamu*, collected his army and drove the son of Ibharam (Ibrahim Qutb Shah *viz Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah) who had invaded his territory* as far as Golkonda. He chased his army back and defeated it on the banks of the Pennar The water of the river was crimson with the blood of the Muhammadan soldiers killed in the battle [3] This battle was no doubt a remarkable event in the history of the Hindu Empire for almost all the grants of Venkata make mention of it. The Vilapaka grant and the Dalavay Agraharam plates, besides two other grants, state that the Muhammadan ruler was forcibly deprived of troops, of horses and elephants, weapons, white umbrella, parasols, etc., at the head of a battle by the excellent soldiers of the army of this powerful (king)" [4] The Vilapaka grant records moreover

1 Krishnaswami Aiyangar l.c.

2. *M.E.R., 1916*, p. 148, para 78.

3. Ibid., p. 243

4. Vilapaka grant *Ep Ind.* IV p. 270 Dalavay Agraharam plates *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv 37-39 *Grant of 1587 Ep Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83 Grant of 1589 *Ep Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39

that the son of Malikibharama (Malik Ibrahim), Mahamandasahu (Muhammad Shah), reached his house in despair, reduced in lustre,' and 'thus daily,' it ends ironically, 'makes his name significant (or famous)'[1] It appears that there was more than one battle, because the Vellangudi plates say that Mahamandasahu was "defeated repeatedly by the army of this King, and used daily to return dejected from the battlefield after being deprived of his elephants, horses, arms and umbrella"[2] The defeat of the Golkonda Sultan is again mentioned in both the Padmaneri grant[3], and the Mangalampad grant of the Hindu Emperor[4]

3 The anoymous chronicler of Golkonda says that "the Muhammadan troops having been required to join the grand army against Penuconda, had left the district of Kandbir wholly unprotected" This was a magnificent chance for Venkata to recover part of the territory lost in the last war It seems that even before the final defeat of Muhammad Shah, Venkata despatched a force to assist Kowlanada, the Raja of Udgerrydurg (Udayagiri), ordering him to plunder and lay waste all the territory as far as Kandir and the Krishna, and that the Raja sent his son-in-law, Wurias Ray, to carry this project into effect After he had fought with the Muhammadans several times he was finally defeated by Afzul Khan and Ajda Khan, with the loss of three thousand men killed, wounded and taken prisoners, and all his camp-equipage"

In the meantime Venkata mustered an army of one hundred thousand men, the leaders of which were Yeltumraj, Gulang Setti and Manupraj, and set out to recover Gandikota from the hands of Sanjur Khan Here the Hindus were daily harassed by sallies from the garrison, but they persevered in the siege till they heard that Murtaza Khan, with the main army of the Muhammadans, had captured the city of Karpa and destroyed its famous temples Venkata, on being told of this, detached Yeltumraj and Manupraj with ten thousand cavalry to attack

1 Vilapaka grant, l c, grants of 1587 and 1589, ll cc

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319 vv 31-35

3. Ibid, p 297, v 31

4 Butterworth, I, p 31, v 26

Murtaza Khan and probably followed them shortly after with the rest of his army

As soon as the Sultan of Golkonda heard of this course of events, he despatched a force of five thousand horse under the command of Rustom Khan to reinfore Murtaza Khan "Mean while" says the chronicler "Murtaza Khan continued to defend himself for three whole months against the Hindus whose numbers increased to such an extent that the Muhammadans found it impossible to give the battle, but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies Rustom Khan on arriving assumed command of all the troops, according to the Sultan's instructions. "On the day after his arrival" continues the Muhammadan writer "he crossed a river in front of him and imprudently encamped on a black clayey soil where the rain had fallen but did not proceed to attack the Hindus. The enemy having ascertained that a reinforcement had arrived delayed also to engage the Muhammadans At this time, whether to amuse their own soldiers, or for some other reason which is immaterial, the Hindus dressed up a red bullock [2] with gilded horns, and having painted it with many different colours, and fastened bells to its legs and neck drove it towards the Muhammadans. Rustom Khan, who happened to be in front of the army and alone, became alarmed at the strange appearance of the animal. He galloped off to the rear in dismay and caused a panic among his own troops [3] The Hindus observing confusion in the lines of the Muhammadans, took advantage of it to surround them with their musketeers, and galled them on all sides. The Muhammadan cavalry which consituted the strength of their army

1. Here the chronicle we are quoting says that after a severe action the Hindus were defeated and compelled to seek safety in flight. How can this be true when the same writer records immediately after the brilliant siege of the town by the Hindus, the distress of the Muhammadans, who required help from Golkonda and the latter's final defeat?

2. Biggs thinks that the Pola festival is meant here

3. Such cowardice could not be believed of such a general if the case was not narrated by the Muhammadan chronicler Rustom Khan was, according to the chronicler a notorious boaster

unable to charge through the heavy black soil, were shot one by one, and might have been annihilated, but 'for Murtaza Khan, who, collecting a small party, forced his way through the enemy's ranks, and thus covered the retreat of many of the Mahammadans, but all the camp-equipage was taken and a heavy loss sustained" The defeat of the Muhammadans on this occasion seems to have been very severe the chronicler adds at the end of his narrative " Rustom Khan was disgraced on his return to Haidarabad, by being dressed in female attire, after which he was banished from the kingdom" [1]

4 At this time Amin-ul-Mulk, the Minister of the Sultan of Golkonda, sent officers to collect the taxes due to the Government by the different jagirdars But those of the Telugu country were in hopes of throwing off the Muhammadan yoke with the help of the brave and fortunate new sovereign of Vijayanagara Moreover the anonymous chronicler says that ' this demand had been so long deferred, that the jagirdars refused to pay the taxes demanded, and even invited the Vijayanagara sovereign to join them in opposing Muhammad Kuli's forces As a proof of their intentions, they plundered the country belonging to Golkonda in the neighbourhood of Kandbir These jagirdars were not all Hindus both the Golkonda chronicler and the Aminabad inscription mention four out of these chiefs who rebelled against the Sultan, and of them, two were Muhammadans and two Hindus The names given by the chronicler are the following Alam Khan Pathan, Khan Khanan, Sabaji Maratha and Balla Row, which correspond to these given by the inscription Alamakhanundu Khanakhana, Sabaji and Ballerayandu This inscription states that there were other chiefs who joined the revolt

When the dis-affection of these jagirdars was reported to the court by Etibar Khan, Amin-ul-Mulk himself volunteered to lead a force against the rebels, and after a while set out from Haidarabad at the head of ten thousand horse On his arrival near Kandbir he was met by Kowlananda, the Raja of Udayagiri, who on account of his recent intercourse with

1 Ferishta, III, p 455-9

Venkata, was believed to be the instigator of the rebellion Accordingly the Muslim general seized the Hindu chief and ordered him to be hanged. This prompt measure alarmed the insurgents. They had an army of seven thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry and were strongly posted in the fortress of Ardinga but now they shrank from an encounter with the army of Amin-ul Mulk and retreated to join the army of Venkata. The Golkonda general pursued them, but did nothing more than devastate and occupy their estates. Hence the Aminabad inscription states that Amin Malka crossed the river Krishna with a large Golkonda army and drove away the enemies before him as darkness before the rising sun On returning to Kandbir Amin ul Mulk seized a number of Naigwaries who had been the allies of the rebels and ordered about 200 of them to be executed. Nevertheless in spite of this drastic measure the Muslim general was not able to put down the rebellion and after his retreat to Haidarabad no other authority was acknowleged in the Telugu country but that of Venkata, who was still with his army in the South.

5. One instance of this was afforded shortly after by the conduct of Makund Raj the Raja of Kasimkotta. After having received the robe of instalment from the hands of Muhammad Kuli himself in Golkonda, this young prince attempted to seize the person of Birlas Khan the Sultan s representative in the country "Such outrages says the Golkonda chronicler "called for the immediate interference of the King particularly as the Raja, confiding in the valour of his troops and his native woods and mountains for protection had not sent the annual tribute to the court"

Accordingly Muhammad Kuli sent his general Mir Zain ul Abidin with a force to proceed against the Raja. "Upon his arrival near Kasimkotta the general deputed a person to Makund Raj requiring of him to pay the arrears of tribute, and to promise greater punctuality in its future payment but as they were too few to enforce their demand, Mir Zain ul-Abidin wrote

1. Ferishta, III, p. 460-1 Aminabad Inscription of Amin ul-Mulk, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 240.

to court for reinforcements. The King immediately directed the Amir Jumla, Amin-ul-Mulk, to join the former detachment with more troops, and to assume the principal command Amir Jumla was accompained by Shankar Raj, the nephew of the late Bhaybalandar (the father of the young Raja) Makund Raj, alarmed at the serious preparations made to attack him, wrote to the neighbouring Rajas for assistance, as well as to Venkatapati, Raja of Vijayanagar, to induce him to take advantage of the moment and to detach a force to Kandbir, while he with thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry engaged the King's army in the neighbourhood of Rajmundri" After a hard-fought battle, in which Shankar Raj was killed, the Muhammadans were defeated with the loss of several brave officers and men The Raja on reaching Kasimkotta "put to death Birlas Khan and Ghuzunfur Beg, together with several other Muhammadans whom he inveigled into his presence" [1]

6 In the meantime Venkatapati Raja, on the invitation of the Raja of Kasimkotta, again invaded the district of Kandbir The Sultan of Golkonda, who was then defending the city of Ahmadnagar against the army of Prince Murad, Akbar's son, was informed of the intentions of the Vijayanagara Emperor So he directed his army under Adil Khan Bungy or Bangush, accompanied by two hundred elephants and many guns, to oppose him Adil Khan went straight to Kandbir with his cavalry, but was obliged to remain there sometime waiting for his guns Venkata with his army of two hundred thousand horse and infantry and one thousand elephants, was still advan-

1 Ferishta, III, p 464-5 The Muhammadan writer says that the Golkonda forces were 'nearly defeated', that the Muhammadans lost several brave officers and men', and that the Raja on reaching his city 'put to death Birlas Khan', etc Nevertheless, he attributes this victory to the same Muslim army The imposture is evident To save the honour of the Muhammadans after describing their defeat, he proclaims an imaginary great victory obtained by them over the Hindus If the young Raja did not succeed in seizing Birlas Khan, the Sultan's representative, when there was not in the country such a formidable army of Golkonda, it is impossible to suppose that he could put him to death on this occasion in the face of so large an army commanded by the Amir Jumla, especially after his own army had been entirely routed by the army of Golkonda

cing but "finding that the King's troops had arrived and that the army was very formidable, he thought it prudent to send ambassadors with rich presents to the King of Golkonda. The ambassadors had directions to proffer his excuse, by saying that the object for which he had left his capital and come towards Kandbir was merely to see the lake Cammum (Cumbum?) Orders were accordingly issued to Adil Khan Bungy to refrain from invading his territories, but to remain with the army at Kandbir as a corps of observation"[1]

Such is the incredible account given by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, in his anxiety to conceal the defeat of the Golkonda troops. Is it not strange that Venkata, with the whole of his army of two hundred thousand foot and horse and one thousand elephants dared not give battle to the Muslim general, with an army accompanied only by two hundred elephants, and an artillery lagging behind him? As a matter of fact the Muhammadan army that opposed Venkata was not at all formidable. The story of the ambassadors sent by the Vijayanagara Emperor and of his desire to see the lake Cammum is still more obviously the writer's concoction

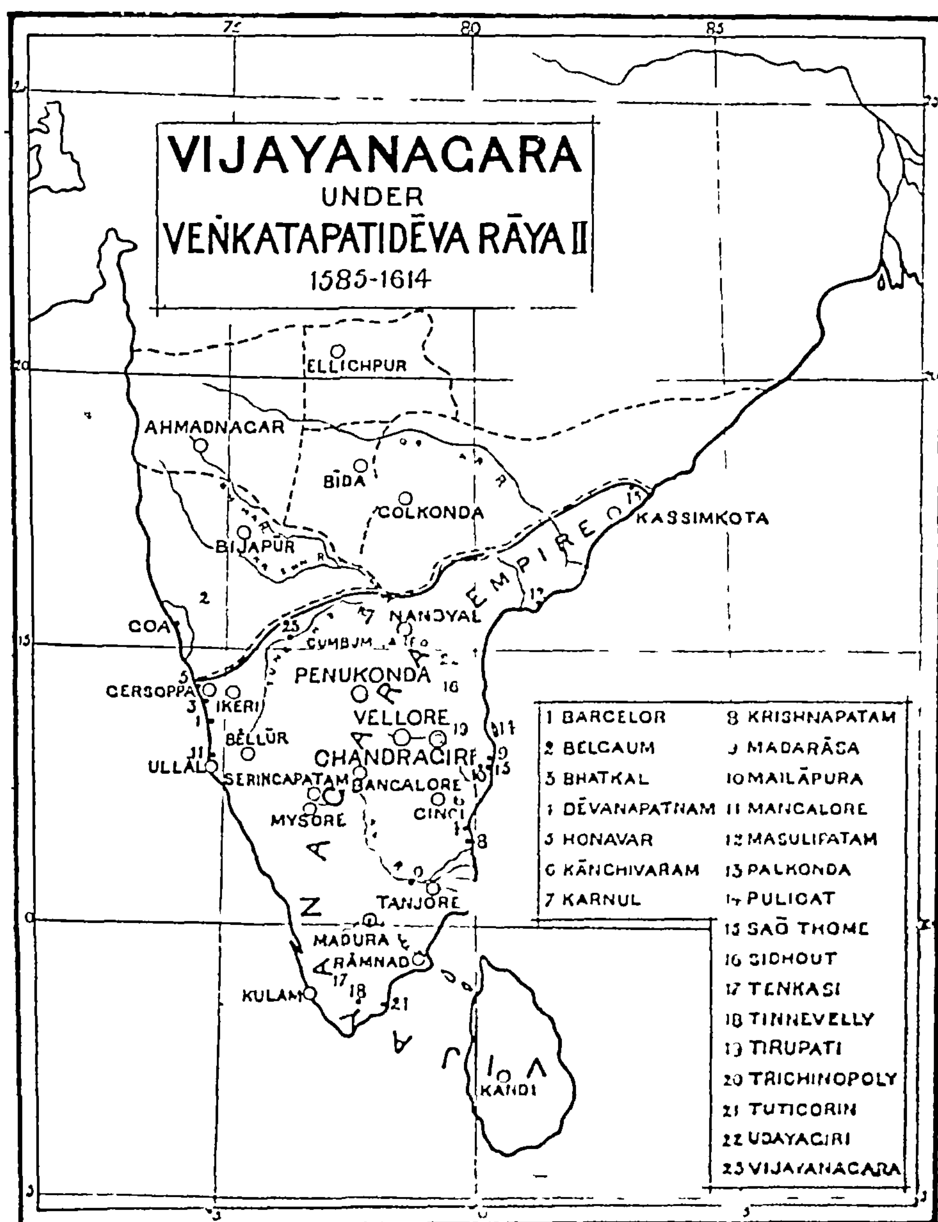
7 This becomes more than evident if we consider the version given in the *Ramarajiyamu* and the further history of the Telugu country during Venkaṭa's reign. Both accounts show clearly the final success of the Hindu sovereign in the North-eastern corner of the ancient Empire. The *Ramarajiyamu*, for instance, shows us the Sultan of Golkonda as a suppliant seeking terms of peace and settling finally with Venkata that the Krishna should thence forward form the boundary between their respective territories[2]

Nothing could have been more pleasing to the Hindu ruler It meant the recovery of all the lost territories and the re-esta blishment of the old limits between Vijayanagara and Gol konda[3] Hence the Vellangudi plates state that just as Rama

1. Ferishta, III, p. 466-8

2. S Krishnaswamy Aiyangar *Sources* p. 243

3 The Vilapaka grant *Ep Ind.*, IV p 270, and the Mangalam pad grant, Butterworth, I, p. 32, v 28, state that Venkata defeated the king of Oddiya or Orissa Probably the Sultan of Golkonda is meant in this passage.



XIV The Empire of Vijayanagara under Venkata II

conquered the Rakshasas, thıs Kıng defeated the Yavanas (Muhammadans)'[1] And the Dalavay Agraharam plates say that 'he was rulıng the earth trıumphantly after destroyıng the demons, the Yavanas'[2] Venkata's vıctorıes over the Muslım forces are agaın mentıoned ın other grants of hıs and those of hıs successors[3]

Accordıngly, numerous ınscrıptıons of the followıng years acknowledge Venkata as the sovereıgn of the Telugu country In 1586-7 whıle the first campaıgn was goıng on, two ınscrıptıons proclaım Venkata the ruler of Udayagırı[4] A sımılar ınscrıptıon dated 1612 ıs found in Rapur, Nellore[5] In 1514, the chıef Marakampı Nayanıngaru, ın Nellore, declares hımself feudatory of Venkata[6] At the end of hıs reıgn, a vıllage ın Udayagırı whıch had been bestowed before by hıs father Tırumala was agaın granted by hım to some one[7], and there are besıdes two ınscrıptıons of 1616, that mentıon Venkata as the rulıng sovereıgn[8]

A certaın Srıman Mahamandalesvara Muddayoadeva Maharaja, son of Kondadeva Maharaja, seems to have been the governor of the Telugu country under Venkata and acknowledged the latter's suzeraınty[9] In 1602 he presented the vıllage of Nandırayı, Nellore, to Srı Chennakesavaraya of Palnaru, for provıdıng lıght, refreshments, ıncense, etc[10] But accordıng to an ınscrıptıon 1613-4 at Kandukur, ıt seems that the Muhammadans retaıned theır sovereıgnty over the northern part of the dıstrıct[11]

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1 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 31-35

2 Ibıd, XII, p 186, vv 27-39

3 Padmanerı grant, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, v 29, [illegible] grant ot Venkata III, *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 127, grant of 1587, [illegible] VII, Sh, 83, grant of 1589, Ibıd, XII, Ok, 39 Orme, *Historical Fragments* p 229 says that one of Venkata's tıtle was [illegible] *norum exercıtuum debellator*

4 Butterworth, III, 1365-7 and 1637-9

5 Ibıd, p 1284-6

6 Rangacharya, II, p 1049

7 Butterworth, III, p 1359-60

8 Rangacharya, II, p 1049, 1 and p 107[illegible]

9 Butterworth, I, p 269-71

10 Rangacharya, II, p 1056, 54.

11 Butterworth, I, p 485.

8. No other wars between *Golkonda and Vijayanagara* are recorded in the Muhammadan histories. But in the mean time the Sultan of Bijapur Ibrahim Adil Shah II had sent several expeditions against the Kanarese country as we shall relate in one of the following chapters. As a consequence of these incursions an alliance was made between Venkata and Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar against Bijapur Then Ibrahim Adil Shah again marched his army towards the South and laid siege to Penukonda [1] According to Du Jarric, Venkata in this war against the Sultan of Bijapur opposed his enemy with an army of seven hundred thousand infantry and forty thousand cavalry besides five hundred elephants [2] Ferishta relates that on the approach of the Sultan Venkata entrusted the command of the place as well as of his army to one of his nobles and retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chandragiri The Muhammadan writer does not tell us who this noble was, but we feel sure that he was no other than Mantla Ananta, called at that time the right hand of the Emperor of Karnata The Sidhout inscription referring to him says that in the battle of Penukonda he destroyed the pride of the Muhammadan Padishah [3] This piece of information very likely refers to this action.

Ibrahim besieged the city investing it closely for three months. He was, it seems determined to remain there, until he could either take it by storm or compel the besieged general to surrender Ferishta relates that at the end of these three *months the garrison were nearly submitting for want of provi*

1. Ferishta III p. 141, evidently misplaces this event, as we have previously pointed out. The ruler of Penukonda Venkatadri giving the command of the place to one of his nobles and retiring to Chandragiri, is a fact which cannot be placed in 1576-7 during the reign of Ranga I, precisely when this sovereign was made prisoner or when his capital was so brilliantly defended by Jagadevaraya Cf. Ch. XII, Nos. 5 and 6 The misplacement of a page of the MS. may explain this incongruence. Mr H. Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* l. c. p. 185 and Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar before us have acknowledged the anomalous occurrence.

2. Du Jarric, I p. 653.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 249

sions' On this point, if we are to rely upon this writer's authority, Venkata "bribed Handiatum Naik, the chief of the Bergies, with twenty-four laks of rupees and five elephants, to desert with his followers from the King and harass his camp" Accordingly, Handiatum deserted the army of the Sultan, who was consequently compelled to retreat to his own kingdom, "leaving Mustafa Khan to protect the frontiers" [1]

9 Towards the beginning of the 17th century Vijayanagara was free from the Muhammadan attacks The Jesuit letters are silent about the wars between Venkata and the Sultans of the Deccan, during the remainder of the former's reign A great danger for those sovereigns was then rising in the North In 1593, after the complete subjugation of the northern provinces, the Mughal Emperor Akbar had despatched an army under the command of Prince Murad and Khan Khanan, to start the conquest of the Deccan They besieged the city of Ahmadnagar, which was bravely defended by the gallant Regent Chand Bibi Ahmadnagar, however, fell into the hands of Sultan Daniyal, Akbar's third son, seven years later in 1600 [2]

At the same time Akbar, while still before the walls of Asirgarh, sent an embassy to the Emperor of Vijayanagara [3] The account of this embassy has never been published hitherto The letter of Fr B Coutinho which gives this informa-

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1 Ferishta, III, p 141 It was probably not long after this event that Abdul Wahab was deputed by the Bijapur Sultan, with a powerful army to take the fort of Karnul He invested the town, which was then governed by the last of its Hindu rulers, Gopala Raja, a grandson of Rama Raya, the Regent of Sadasiva This chief stoutly defended the town, which was strongly fortified He was assisted, it is said, by a force sent by his relation the Emperor Venkata Gopala Raja, however, was eventually forced to yield, and he is said to have fled from the town through the northern gateway of the fort, still known as 'Gopal Darwaza' Gopala's palace, even in its present ruinous state, shows to this day its ancient beauty and richness Cf *M E R, 1915-16*, p 44, para 26

2 Cf Smith, *Akbar*, p 266-72

3 Francois Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, IV, p 214, says that Akbar "captured several cities of the kingdom of Narsinga (called otherwise Bisnagar and Vidjia Nagaar)" I am sure that Valentyn's information was not good on this occasion He also says that Akbar reached Goa and Calicoet (Calicut), which is certainly false

tion is dated Chandragiri August 1600 and seems to have been written during the stay of the ambassador at the court. Fr Coutinho does not give the name of the ambassador but only states that he is a prudent and experienced man. On reaching Chandragiri, since there was no building fitted for receiving such visitors the official who was responsible for the entertainment of the ambassadors and their introduction to the King asked the Jesuit Fathers to lodge him in their own house for two days "We gave him a suitable place," says Fr Coutinho "where he is staying for a month. It is he who informed us of what our Fathers had done at Achebar's (Akbar's) court. The reason why the ambassador of Chandragiri stayed so long was that Venkata did not receive him in audience till he had waited twenty days "as he (Venkata) had been warned by his councilors says the aforesaid Jesuit not to trust Achbar because, if those three Muhammadan kings of Abdenegan or Melique (Ahmadnagar) Dialcan (Bijapur) and Mussalepatan (Golkonda) were to submit to him he would easily also bring the Bisanagara Empire under his sway. On hearing this the King they say replied that his kingdom was in the hands of God, and that if He wishes to deprive me he said, of my Empire, who will be able to stop Him? So much is certain, however I shall never kiss the feet of a Muhammadan should he come over here, war is sure to follow'"

At last Akbar's envoy was received by Venkata. He presented the Emperor with four horses and other gifts on behalf of his sovereign but Venkata returned them to the ambassador the sums of money he had brought as a present were also handed back to him by Venkata's order to defray his expenses. Fr Coutinho says nothing of the political affairs discussed by the Hindu sovereign and the Muhammadan ambassador he only states that the latter was loud in his praises regarding the Jesuits at his Lord's court who held them in great honour[1] "The King in his reply" continues Coutinho, "said that he too was quite pleased with us. More-

1. The Jesuits who were then at Akbar's court were those of the third expedition viz Fr Jerome Xavier Fr Manoel Pinheiro and Bro Bento de Goes.

over, he added that he would give us a church, house and whatsoever we needed" [1]

10 The suspicions aroused among the nobles at the court of Venkata were very well grounded Fr Jerome Xavier who was in Akbar's retinue when he was about to besiege the fort of Asirgarh in the kingdom of Kandesh, writes that "the purpose of this journey was to conquer Goa and the Malabar and the whole kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) after having taken the Deccan kingdoms" [2] And one of the secret purposes of the embassy to the court of Venkata was probably to examine the efficiency of his army and the strength of his fortresses, in order to enable Akbar to plan his intended campaign in the South Fr Xavier informs us that this was Akbar's method of ascertaining the enemy's strength "And for this purpose, (*viz* for conquering Goa), he very often sends some one of his courtiers to Goa with the title of ambassador But it is understood that he is really a spy, sent in order to see either what the Portuguese are doing or what they are able to do, and he does this at the time of the arrival of the ships from Portugal, in order to estimate how much wealth and how many people have come" [3] The same kind of espionage was probably now employed in the court of Venkata Hence Fr Coutinho rightly suspected that the formidable army, headed by excellent generals which Venkata had assembled round him, was for no other purpose than "for driving back the army of Akbar, and *garrisoning the northern cities and fortresses against the Mughal invasion*" [4]

After a while the fortress of Asirgarh too fell into Akbar's hands [5] That event added fresh encouragement to the old

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1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V Cf Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 168

2 Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601*, p 17, Du Jarric, III, p 43

3 Guerrero *(sic)*, o c, p 29-34 Cf Heras, *The Emperor Akbar and the Portuguese Settlements*, *Indo-Portuguese Review*, 1924, p 20

4 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

5 Cf Heras, *The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh*, *Ind Ant*, LIII, p 33-41

Emperor's imperial ambition which would not be satisfied until he had the whole of India under his feet and accordingly four years later another embassy was despatched to Venkata's court, to get fresh information of the Hindu ruler's position The annual letter of the Province of Malabar of the years 1604—1606 informs us that the Jesuit Provincial could only be received by Venkata after some days, because there were at that time at Chandragiri several embassies waiting for the King's audience and one of these legations was that of the Mughal Emperor[1] Death suddenly cut short the warlike projects of Akbar in the following year

11 Another embassy that the Jesuit Provincial found at Chandragiri in 1604 was one from Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur[2] No other information is given about this legation it means however that the two sovereigns, though formerly irreconcilable foes, became friends in face of the common enemy And probably even Bijapur went to the length of inviting Vijayanagara to form a defensive alliance against the ambitious schemes of the Mughal Emperor as she herself had been invited by the Portuguese Viceroy with further instructions, to seek the co-operation of the other Deccani Sultans[3] Such an alliance served no useful purpose forty years later we see both Bijapur and Golkonda taking possession of the territories and fortresses of Vijayanagara and subsequently the great-grand son of Akbar Aurangzeb, also appears on the stage sweeping away the relics of those two Muslim thrones and obliterating the ruins of the Hindu Empire.

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1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606, Ap C, No. XXII.

2. Ibid.

3. Heras, *The Portuguese Alliance with the Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Deccan*, *B B R.A.S.*, I (N.S.) p. 125

CHAPTER XVII

THE NAYAKSHIP OF MADURA

SUMMARY —1 Behaviour of Virappa Nayaka towards Venkata II —2 Virappa's death 3 Short reign of Visvappa Nayaka —4 Accession of Krishnappa Nayaka II Death of Ariyanatha Mudaliyar —5 Krishnappa's piety His war with Travancore and relations with the Pandyas —6 His rebellion against Vijayanagara —7 Death of Krishnappa Nayaka II Short reign of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka —8 Accesion of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka His action in the Fishery Coast —9 Establishment of the Dynasty of the Setupatis at Ramnad —10 The reign of Tirumalai Udaiyan Setupati —11 Friendly relations between Muttu Krishnappa and Venkata II —12 His successor Muttu Virappa Nayaka —13 War between Madura and Vijayanagara —14 War between Madura and Tanjore

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Hindu inscriptions and grants —2 *Pandyan Chronicle*, *Supplementary MSS*, *Mrtyunjaya MSS*, *History of the Karnataka Governors*, *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis* —3 Jesuit letters —4 *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives) —5 Du Jarric —6 Anquetil du Perron —7 *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*

THE southern throne was still in possession of the grandson of Visvanatha, Virappa Nayaka After the defeat sustained by his forces in the battle of Vallaprakara at the hands of Venkata, while Viceroy of the Tamil country [1], Virappa rendered unwilling submission to the Emperor of Vijayanagara, as several inscriptions of the first years of Venkata's reign prove In 1586, Virappa requested and obtained from Venkata the Dalavay Agraharam plates, by which the village Ganga Varappatti with other villages around were given to a number of Brahmans The plates say that Virappa was then 'living gloriously' [2] An inscription of 1588 of Venkata himself at Pirammalai, Tiruppattur, Ramnad, shows that his sovereignty was at that time acknowledged in the Madura

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1 Cf Ch XIII, No 4

2 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 187, vv 41-66 and 67-79

country [1] Another inscription of the same year at Erode, records a grant of Virappa, as Venkata's subordinate [2] In 1590 Venkata, while at Kumbakonam granted some villages in the Tinnevelly district to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of a certain Krishna Das [3] this also shows that his jurisdiction over the Madura country was unquestioned. Then in 1592 the Emperor made another grant to a temple at Tirukkurungudi also in the Tinnevelly district [4] But suddenly such acknowledgements of Venkata's suzerainty over the South are no more found What is the cause of this interruption?

Prof Sathyanatha Aiyar says that there is no doubt about Virappa's loyalty to Venkata [5] But we are sure that on this occasion the former's rebellion recorded in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* took place. Anquetil du Perron says that before the year 1595 the Madura Nayaka refused to pay due homage to the Emperor of Vijayanagara on the ground that the latter had murdered his legitimate sovereign [6] This cannot be understood to refer to Virappa's first rebellion which took place about 1583. For then Venkata was merely Viceroy of the Tamil country moreover both sources the French traveller and the Hindu poem, state that at the time of this rebellion of the Madura Nayak Venkata was already seated on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara

Again Anquetil du Perron informs us that the first manifestation of this rebellion was the refusal to pay the tribute At once Venkatapati Raya declared war against Virappa Nayaka of Madura" says the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* and laid siege to the fort of Madura with a large army" [8] The subseqent details given by this poem are not at all

1 Sewell I, p 297 Rangacharya, II p. 1189 223

2. 13 of 1891.

3 Sewell, II p 3

4. Ibid., I, p 315

5 Sathyanatha Aiyar *History of the Nayaks* p 81.

6 Anquetil du Perron, L c., p 166 This rebellion or the following one of Krishnappa II is mentioned in the *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1606-1607 Ap. C, No XXVI.

7 Ibid.

8. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p 302-3

trustworthy [1] But Anquetil du Perron records the forcible submission of the Nayak before 1595 [2], which means a second defeat of Virappa by the imperial army

2. In the beginning of September of the same year, 1595 Virappa Nayaka died after a reign of 22 years and several months [3] His last known inscription, dated 1594, records the building of the temple of Kadirnaga Perumal and of a tank by his agent [4] During his reign a *mandapa* was constructed in the Sundaresvara temple at Madura in 1582 [5], and he is said to have "levied tribute from every country" [6] His right-hand man in Government affairs, according to the Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya, was Tirumalairaja [7] This chief's grandfather was Rama Nayaka, and his father Timma Nayaka He was the chief of Chintalapalli, and a great devotee of the god Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam, he was brave in war, generous, just and courteous [8] We have

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1 Accorrding to this poem, "Virappa Nayaka managed to bribe the several generals of the Emperor's army Tirumala Raya, the Emperor's nephew, was also one of those who accepted the bribe and, without continuing the siege of Madura, retired to the capital of his own viceroyalty to Seringapatam" Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 19 and p 248, note, and Mr Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p 67, admit this account without further discussion Cf Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 17, p 81, note 17, and p 99, note 9, where Dr Krishnaswami gives a similar account of the course of events This account is quite inconsistent with the information given by Anqutil du Perron, *viz* the submission of the Nayak, confirmed by the inscriptions of his successor Krishnappa II, early in 1595 Neither can we believe that Prince Tirumala was one of the generals of the army, for he would have been too young then for such a task The whole passage seems to be a poet's concoction for justifying Raja Wodeyar's capture of Seringapatam "Hearing of these events", continues the poem, "the Mysore chief Raja Wodeyar resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Raya from his Viceroyalty" l c Now the poet speaks of this capture of Seringapatam as immediately following Tirumala's supposed treason in Madura Fourteen years separate these two events

2 Anquetil du Perron, l c

3 *Mrtyunjaya MSS*, Taylor, *O.H MSS*, II, p 119 Cf Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 83

4 470 of 1907

5 35 of 1908

6 470 of 1907

7 *T A S*, I, p 61-2

8 Ibid, p 84, vv 61-67

seen him opposing Venkata's army at Vallaprakara. His activity in the government of Madura was probably due to the old age of Ariyanatha Mudaliyar

Virappa continued his predecessor's policy with the Pandyas. About 1583, his officer Tirumalairaja obtained from Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya the grant of the village of Pudukkottai for a number of Brahmans[1] The whole text of the grant shows a most intimate friendship between the Madura Nayak and the representatives of the old rulers of the Pandya country

3 Periya Virappa Nayaka "had three sons who were named respecively Visvappa Naicher Kumara Krishnappa Naicher and Kasturi Rangappa Naicher Among these, Visvappa Naicher was crowned"[2] Thus does the *History of the Karnataka Governors* announce the succession to the throne of Madura after the death of Virappa Nayaka. We can no longer entertain any doubt about the existence of this intermediate king between Virappa and Krishnappa II. The *Supplementary MSS* also mention Visiappa or Visvappa as having ruled after the death of his father and as having been succeeded by his younger brother Kumara Krishnappa[3] His statue under the name of Visvama Nayaka may also be seen though misplaced among the statues of the Nayaks in the famous Tirumala's *Pudu Mandapa* at Madura[4] The aforesaid *History* states that his brother Kumara Krishnappa Naicher was second to him in power This does not mean that both brothers were Kings, as Mr Rangachari assumes[5] Only one, Visvappa, is said to have been crowned while Krishnappa was, during the life of his brother only *Chinna Dorai* associated in the government

1. Ibid., p. 84 vv 68-77

2. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II, p. 25

3 Ibid. I, p. 205. In one of *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Ibid., II, p. 180 Visvappa is called the younger brother of Krishnappa II.

4. The inscription over the fourth of these statues is damaged and illegible; but it cannot be other than the name of Visvanatha Periya Krishnappa's brother Cf. Heras *The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura*, Q J M S., XV p. 212.

5. Rangachari *History of the Naik Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant* XLV p. 81

Visvappa Nayaka's reign must have been short The Tamil chronicles mentioned above do not give any date, but since Krishnappa is mentioned in the future inscriptions we may conclude that Visvappa's reign had ended In an inscription of 1696 Kumara Krishnappa appears as ruling over Madura [1], and in a copper-plate grant of 1597 the same Kumara Krishnappa is styled 'the Pandya King' [2]

4 "After this", says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "the crown devolved on Kumara Krishnappa Naicher, and Kasturi Rangappa Naicher was his second in power" [3] Kasturi was then only 'associated in the Government' The most notable event that occurred during the reign of Krishnappa II was the death of his minister, Ariyanatha Mudaliyar While Krishnappa was ruling, Ariyanatha is said, in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS*, to have 'delivered up both seal-rings to his lord and obtained the world of Siva (*i e* died)' [4] The date given by this chronicle corresponds to April 19th, 1588, which is clearly wrong, as the same MSS place his demise in the reign of Kumara Krishnappa II Prof Sathyanatha Aiyar gives the year 1600 as an approximate date for Ariyanatha's end [5]

We read in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS* that Ariyanatha Mudaliyar "held the united offices of minister and generalissimo during four reigns, or thirty-eight years and nine months" [6] I feel sure that the power and efficiency of Ariyanatha in the Government of Madura have been hitherto exaggerated Mr Rangachari describes him as the real sovereign of the southern country [7] Such a mistake comes probably from Ariyanatha's account in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS* That document is a

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1 404 of 1907

2 Sewell, II, p 19

3 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 25 Kumara Krishnappa's statue is placed in Tirumala's choultrie before the one of Visvappa, under the name of Lingama Nayaka, which seems to be another name of Kumara Krishnappa Cf Nelson, p 107

4 Ibid, p 119

5 Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 86

6 Taylor, o c, II, p 119

7 Rangachari, o c, *Ind Ant*, XLV, p 91

panegyric on this minister very far from the truth, as we have already remarked a little above. The story of his appointment as Emperor of Vijayanagara by the dying sovereign Rama Raya on the battlefield of Raksas-Tagdi and of the subsequent undertakings of Ariyanatha, is evidently false. Such a document is not at all trustworthy when praising its hero specially as *there is absolutely no evidence* of his dominating influence. Moreover the silence of the inscriptions about him specially in the reign of Virappa Nayaka (who is described by Mr Ranga chari as a puppet in the minister's hands) is worth considering while writing the history of Madura. I am however far from denying the general influence of Ariyanatha throughout the Pandya country as the prime minister of four successive Nayaks. His architectonic works are still an enduring proof of his efficiency in his post. The *Mrityunjaya MSS.*, say that he constructed thousand-pillared choultries in Madura, Tinnevelly and other places [1] His equestrian statue at the entrance of the thousand pillared *mandapa* of the famous temple at Madura is the most evident proof of Ariyanatha's power under the first Nayak of Madura.

5. Krishnappa Nayaka II is said, in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II to have been a very pious monarch He gave to the god Rangapati a *kavacha* studded with precious stones, a similarly bejewelled *ushnisha*, yellow silk garments, neck-laces, crown earrings, waist zones, and presented him further with villages and gardens and made arrangements for the celebration of car festivals and the daily services. He set up a number of lights in the presence of the god Sundara Nayaka, made arrangements for bathing the image of the god in *milk and for the car festival He performed the ceremony of* weighing himself against gold he founded *agraharas* for Brahmans and protected them he paid the Brahmans enough money to enable them thereby to redeem their lands situated in the countries of other kings, which were mortgaged for the purposes of paying taxes [2]

Fr Pimenta, who knew him personally gives another proof

1. Taylor o.c., II, p. 111.
2. *Ep Ind.*, XVI p. 320.

of his piety "Hee daily sits in judgment," says he, "a Bramene standing by, which ever and anone whinet out the name of the Idoll Aranganassa (Ranganatha), and when one is weary another succeedeth and continueth that exclamation, though hee sits six houres"[1]

In the same Vellangudi plates, and again in the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, he is called 'the conqueror *or* taker of the army of Panchar Tiruvadi'[2] Fr Pimenta, the Jesuit Visitor who, in the year 1596, passed through Travancore, relates that the king of Travancore had "certified to us that the king of Madura was coming against him with seventy thousand armed men and many elephants"[3] Three years later, in 1599, when the Archbishop of Goa, Frey Aleixo de Menezes, was in Malabar, he could not meet the king of Travancore, who "was at the frontier of his kingdom, defending it against the attacks of the Nayque of Madura (the Madura Nayak)"[4] The same account states a little later that this war was made towards the South of the Travancore kingdom[5] We do not know the result of this war, which was probably due to the refusal of the Travancore king to pay the tribute, but we deduce that the Madura Nayak was victorious, from the fact that Fr Barradas, writing from Cochin on December 12th, 1616, says that the king of Travancore is under the Nayak of Madura[6]

The relations between the Pandyas and the ruling family of Madura continued most friendly The Pandya prince Abhirama Ativirarama, had a chief named Ayyakarappa, son of Peddappa and grandson of Nagama Nayaka, who bore the title of Kanchipuradhisa, being probably a nephew of Visvanatha Nayaka At his request the aforesaid Pandya granted two

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1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 219

2 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 320, Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, Ibid, p 227, vv 67-77

3 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 206 Cf Du Jarric, I, p 627

4 Gouvea, *Iornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p 37

5 Ibid, p 95 back

6 Sewell, p 230

villages Muvaraikondram and Sattaleri naming them Peddappanayaksamudram to sixty nine Brahmans on October 2nd, 1593[1] Some years later the same Pandya at the request of Ramakrishnappa Nayaka who was sitting on the lion throne of Vallabha Narendra, granted the village of Nadikkudi under the name of Ativiraramapura, to a number of Brahmans[2] Ativirarama acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata II as an inscription of the year 1595 recording a grant of a piece of land to three private persons proves[3]

6. In the beginning of his reign Krishnappa II appears as faithful feudatory of Venkata II. In 1597 Venkatapati at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka, who is styled King Krishna, the Pandya King issued a grant of the two villages Marudangudi and Karupuram in the Madura district to several

1. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras* p. 33

2. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Ativirarama Pandya, *T A. S.* I p 134 Sewell, II, p. 31.

3. 615 of 1915 The above-mentioned account of the travels of Archbishop Menezes through Malabar gives some interesting details about this Pandya King and his dealings with the Christians. He is called by Fr Gouvea Punhati Perumal but must be identified with Ati virarama the then ruling Pandya, because of the following words of the same author "O qual Rey foy antigamente senhor do Pande (Pandya), mas co guerras que teue com o Naique de Manduree veyo a estas serras, & na falda dellas comprou multas sarras (terras?) ao Rey de Tecacutes (?) aonde agora mora, posto que inda lhe obedecem algus pouos no Pande It happened at this time that a tribe called of the *Malleas* who were under his dominion, wished to become Christians. They requested an *olla* from the Pandya King securing them from molestation on account of their conversion. The *olla* was duly obtained through the influence of an old Christian who was the chairman of his council This *olla* caused great excitement among the courtiers and Brahmans of the Pandya sovereign They told him that the neighbouring kings were ready to wage war with him if the *olla* were not cancelled and the king of Turuguro (a palaiyakaran) would also cause damage to the Pandya King's territory by diverting the course of a river that was the source of much fertility to it. The mother of the Pandya sovereign was the first to try this *olla* revoked, but the King always replied that he would never revoke

Vaishnava Brahmans [1]. In 1598 Krishnappa obtained from Venkata, who is acknowledged the paramount sovereign and original donor, the village of Padmaneri, surnamed Tirumalambapuram, for a number of Brahmans, most of whom were well versed in the Vedas [2] In this grant of Venkata, Kumara Krishnappa is called 'Lord of the southern Ocean' [3] In the same year the Emperor, again at the request of Krishnappa, granted as an agrahara to a large number of Brahmans and Brahman ladies, the village of Vellangudi with five others around it [4] But in the year 1599 Krishnappa II again withheld the payment of tribute, and Venkata himself had to march against him "Hee (Venkata)", says Fr Pimenta, "was now embroiled in warre with the Naichus of Madure" [5]

Fr Du Jarric gives some more information about this war From his narrative, it is certain that Venkata himself took the supreme command of his army against the Nayak of Madura Probably one of his generals was Matta Ananta, who is said in the Sidhout inscription of 1605 to have 'led the campaign against the king of Madura' [6] Krishnappa, seeing himself unable to fight against the imperial army, agreed to an un-

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what he had once promised to Archbishop Menezes' As a matter of fact, some subjects of the Pandya King, called *Mouros* (Muhammadans) by Gouvea, proceeded to the court of the king of the Tecankutes (sic), and finally succeeded in inducing this chief to threaten Punhati Perumal A letter of the former against Perumal is mentioned by Gouvea, but no action between them is recorded Most likely the Pandya sovereign apologized, and the false accusations of his subjects were unmasked Gouvea relates that the Christian church of the Malleas was finally completed in spite of great difficulties Gouvea, *Iornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p 82 back

1 Sewell, II, p 19, Rangacharya, II, p 1002, 91

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 288-9, and p 297, vv 45-57

3 Ibid, p 297, vv 67-77

4 Ibid, p 320-1, and p 302

5 From Fr N Pimenta, to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 210

6 *M E R*, *1916*, para 75 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 248-9, translates this passage as follows "He protected the flying armies of the Madura chief from destruction" This version is inconsistent with the loyalty of this chief

conditional submission to Venkata He was on this occasion made to pay something more than the usual annual tribute *viz.* twelve millions of gold coins for to the ordinary tribute was added a war indemnity [1]

7 After a short reign Krishnappa Nayaka II died between May and June of 1601 according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS* [2] Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, who was at this time travelling through southern India, informs us that a few days after his arrival at Madura, the ruler died and went to the lowest hell. This chief " he continues, had 700 wives and they all threw themselves at the same time into the fire " [3] An inscription of 1600 at Sermadevi seems to be the last one of his reign it mentions Murti Settiyar an agent of Krishnappa Nayaka [4] He had been seriously ill in the beginning of his reign about the end of 1597 After his recovery he retired to a country house, in a delightful place far from the crowds of the city ostensibly for the sake of health [5] But Fr Pimenta, who passed through Madura a little after Krishnappa's retirement, gives another reason "The Naichus of Madure is very superstitious, and resigned his Palace to his Idol Chichanada upon the authority of a Priest who said the Idol by night had bidden him tell the King that he or I must dwell in this house " [6]

Krishnappa II had a son but according to the *Pandyan Chronicle* he had died before his father [7] There was also a

1. Du Jarric I, p. 685-6.

2. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II p. 119 Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar o c., p 87

3. *Majalis-s Salatin* Elliot, VII, p. 139 The author does not give the date of his visit to Madura. Anyhow we know that the work was compiled in his old age in 1628. Now in his journey to Madura he was accompanied by his father Hence he could not be then more than 35 years of age. Now supposing that he was about 60 when his book was compiled, he was about 33 when Krishnappa Nayaka II died. We therefore conclude that this Krishnappa Nayaka was the ruler referred to by Sharif Hanafi.

4. 717 of 1916

5. Du Jarric I, p. 649

6. From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C. Aquaviva Purchas, X, p. 219

7. Taylor o. c., I, p. 38

Palaiyakarans of the neighbourhood. One is styled in th Jesuit sources 'King of Tuticurin The Paravas of the neighbourhood also used to pay him an annual tribute But when this chief demanded from the poor folk of Tuticorin a heavier sum the latter refused to pay it. The petty king could not brook such a flagrant breach of obedience. He marched his army against Tuticorin entered it by surprise sacked the whole town robbed the College of the Jesuits and destroyed the altars and images of their Church The Father who was then in the College, and whose name is not given was captured by the soldiers of the so-called king and carried to their capital, where he was kept in captivity till a ransom of four thousand cruzados was paid by the Paravas. Now these much-vexed people demanded from the Palaiyakaran some sort of amends for the injuries done both to them and to the Catholic Church. But the chief was rather inclined not to trouble himself as far as this satisfaction was concerned. On seeing this the Paravas of Tuticorin abandoned their city and proceeded in a body to the little island called of the Kings, a league from the sea-shore where they settled Later on fortifications were built round the island, by the license of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha [1] Naturally the escape of the Paravas from the continent was not a welcome news to the covetous Nayak of Madura. But another event that followed soon after still more infuriated the Madura sovereign.

The Palaiyakaran of Vigiabadi (Vijayapati) named Ariya Perumal, was likewise heavily oppressing the Paravas that inhabited the tract between Cape Comorin and Manapadu. Once he besieged the village of Obari and took all its inhabitants prisoners to his capital. The Paravas could not stand such a humiliation They secretly resolved to attack Vijayapati by night, in order to take revenge on the extortions of their tyrants. Early in October 1602, the chiefs and promoters of the expedition with 300 young men well equipped, (who were not yet cognizant of the purpose of the enterprise) embarked at Manapadu on six

1. Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal no ano de 606. & 607* p. 607 Cf. Besse *La Mission du Madure* p. 409 10

These facts show how strange was the situation of these poor folks of the Fishery Coast. Oppressed with taxes and depredations by their natural lords, they had to be protected by a foreign people, whose sovereign in Europe took great interest in their welfare. When that monarch was informed of this new exaction he wrote to his Viceroy as follows "Manoel de Cunha father of the Christians of the Fishery Coast, I recommend you to help those Christians as much as possible, and to employ all possible means to hinder the said Naique from making such extortions any more" [1]

This information referring to the control of the Nayak of Madura over the Fishery Coast, is confirmed both by the fact that Muttu Krishnappa s son Muttu Virappa, made a gift of land to the Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin in 1606 [2] and by Fr.A. Laerzio s letter of November 20th, 1609 describing the Paravas as tributaries of the Madura Nayak and the latter as the ally of the Portuguese [3]

9. Muttu Krishnappa is said to have been the founder of the Setupatis of Ramnad in the Marava country According to the *Pandyamandala Cholamandala Tondamandala Rajakal* the Marava people were originally a colony of fishermen from Ceylon, who settled at Rameswaram as well as on the opposite coast [4] In the early times, when the Chakravartins flourished, seven persons from among the inhabitants of the Ramnad coast were

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irruptions of the Badagas into the Fishery Coast, in 1603 and 1604. Cf. Besse o. c., p. 409 10 and 411. A new vexation of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka is recorded in the Jesuit letters of 1607 on the ocasion of the shipwreck of a Portuguese boat near the island of the kings. Cf. Guerreiro o. c., p. 109 10 Besse, o. c., p. 412-5.

1. From King Phillip III to the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro Lisbon, February 26th, 1605 Ap. B No. VIII.

2. Cf. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State* I, p. 303.

3. Bertrand, *La Mission du Maduré* II p 2. Cf. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 107-8.

4. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 207 The poem adds that they were settled there by Rama after the conquest of Lanka, to guard the temple and protect the pilgrims; this cannot be admitted by history until proved.

appointed to be its guardians [1] They had been under the Pandya kings, but at the time of the Muhammadan invasion they attained their independence [2], and several famous princes had since ruled over the Marava nation Udaiyan Setupati in 1434 built the outer surrounding walls of the western *gopuras* of the Rameswaram temple, and about 1540 Tirumalai Setupati erected the southern half of the second *prakara* of the same temple, finished by his son Raghunatha Tirumalai Setupati [3] Their main task was to watch over the causeway leading to Rameswaram and to protect the pilgrims But after the conquest of the South by Visvanatha Nayaka the Setupatis had lost their old authority, and were mingled with the other palaiyakarans of the South Muttu Krishnappa gave that house a considerable strip of land in the Marava country, and this is the reason why he is considered the founder of that dynasty This is how it happened

The *History of the Karnataka Governors* relates that the chief guru of Muttu Krishnappa, who was invested with the title of Kartarkal or lord, went once on a pilgrimage to Rameswaram Udiyan Sethopathi (Udaiyan Setupati), a descendant of the old Setupatis [4], whose task was to protect the pilgrims going to Rameswaram, was then living in the village of Pugalur "He escorted the chief guru safely to Ramiseram (Rameswaram), without allowing him to suffer any insult or molestation on the way, and in like manner he also safely conducted him back again to Madura Being greatly pleased with this attention, the chief guru introduced him as a skilful guide and safeguard on the road to Sethu" Consequently the chief was then presented by the Nayak with a number of villages, along with an honorary robe and various ornaments On returning to Pugalur he built a fort there, and

1 *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis*, Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, Ap, p 49

2 Cf Ch VI, No 3

3 Burgess, p 57 Cf Sewell, II, p 227

4 His father, or perhaps one of his relations, was one Muthuviraja Raghunatha Setupati, who in 1604 settled a dispute between two parties in the Ramnad country 11 of 1911, Burgess, p. 62-3 Cf Rangacharya, II, p 1170,105

assembling some forces, subdued all the turbulent country around and reduced them to his own sovereignty He collected a considerable sum of money from taxes levied upon the newly subdued people, and brought it over to the Madura Nayak. Muttu Krishnappa was greatly pleased with such activity and accordingly "gave him an unrestricted grant to subdue additional people instructed him to see to the forest lands which yielded no revenue, that these be cleared and cultivated and wrote letters to the people commanding their submission to his Viceroy" Udaiyan Sethupati went back to his country and without delay took possession of a greater tract of land and divided the revenue into two parts of which he kept one for himself and sent the other to the Madura king. Then Muttu Krishnappa sent for him and invested him with the title of Setupati, or chief of Setu "bestowing on him elephants and horses with vestments and ornaments and also gave him some banners or ensigns of dignity and in Madura had him consecrated to his viceroyalty by the sprinkling of the water of the Ganges"[1] This ceremony took place according to the *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis* in A. D 1606[2]

10. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* tells us that "Udiyan Sethopathi built a mud fort at Ramanathapuram (Ramnad), and ruled after the fashion of a king"[3] And "the other six persons, who were also guardians, were included in his government and together with all the inhabitants yielded their consent"[4]

One of the first measures of the new Raja of Ramnad, as he is called in some inscriptions, was to make a gift of five villages to the temple of Ramanatha and Parvatavardhani at Rameswaram for worship and offerings on November 20th 1606[5] Then in a copper plate, dated July 8th 1607 Dalavay Setupati Kattadeva records another gift of eight villages near

1. Taylor o c., II, p 37-9
2. Ibid. Ap., p. 49
3. Ibid., p 39
4. Ibid., Ap., p. 49
5. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras* p. 37

Pamban to the same temple for the regular performance of the *puja* and of offerings [1]. Some days after, on the 17th of the same month, he gave a plot of land in the island of Rameswaram to a servant of the Ramanathaswami's temple [2]. Then in the year 1607, he made a gift of lands to the people 'of the five countries' who served as priests and cooks in the Rameswaram temple [3] These grants prove the care of the newly-appointed Setupati for the performance of the Hindu rites on that famous spot, of which he had been nominated the guardian.

An inscription of his of the following year 1608 at Rameswaram gives the list of his titles, which will appear again in some grants of his successors Tirumalai Udaiyan Setupati is there styled "the lord of the city of Tevai, the responsible agent for the protection of the Setu embankment, the responsible agent for the charities of Ramanathaswami, who is actively engaged in worshipping Siva, the chief of all other kings, the destroyer of the army of the Ariyaraya, who cuts into a thousand pieces and three thousand pieces those failing in the correctness of their language, who conquers all the country that he sees and never gives back a country once conquered, the punisher of Muvaraya, the lord of the valorous and the fertile country, the protector of the Brahmans studying the Vedas, who has put down the pride and prosperity of the valorous and inimical Yavana kings" [4]

During his time, in 1608 according to an inscription at Ramesvaram, the temple of Ramalingesvara was built [5], and it was at this time too that the sage Ramanatha, as other inscriptions testify, repaired the main temple at Ramesvaram [6] and constructed the Kotitirtha *mandapa* in the same temple [7]

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1 Ibid, p 37, Sewell, II, p 50, Burgess, p 60-8

2 *Catalogue*, p 38 Cf Burgess, p 75-8

3 Burgess, p 65-6, Rangacharya, II, p 1170, 110

4 Sewell, II, p 6, Burgess, p 65-66

5 102 of 1903

6 Burgess, p. 59, Rangacharya, II, p 1168, 78

7 100 of 1900 The same Ramanatha had built in 1598 the Adal-mandapa in front of the central shrine of the Ramalingesvara temple at Ramesvaram 99 of 1903

11 The relations between Muttu Krishnappa and the Emperor seem to have been of mutual friendship and understanding A grant of Venkata II of the year 1601 to the Bhasyakata shrine in the Madanagopal temple of Madura proves these relations to have been such from the beginning of his reign [1] Then an inscription of 1606 at Villapuram, outside the dominions of Madura records a gift of a garden as a reward to Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka [2] Finally a coin which probably belongs to Muttu Krishnappa, is a proof of the same. It bears on the obverse a standing figure of Vishnu with a fish the symbol of the Pandya kingdom—on his right, and on the reverse this inscription 'Venkatapa [3]

Moreover in September 1604 Venkata II received in audience a special envoy of the Nayak of Madura, as a Jesuit letter of the year 1906 tells us [4] And in 1608, the last year of Muttu Krishnappa s reign another of his embassies reached Venkata s court. Fr Coutinho, who was himself present at the public audience, gives in one of his letters a detailed account of the ceremony A very few days ago" he wrote on October 11th, 1608, "the Naiques of Tangior and Madura sent their tribute consisting of 500 thousand *cruzados* and many sorts of presents to the King In order to receive these (things) (the King) dressed himself as on the days of great celebration, with many ornaments of gold and precious stones. The one he bore on his chest was valued at a hundred thousand *cruzados* We were present at this ceremony by a special privilege and permission of the King" [5]

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1 35 of 1908

2 326 of 1917

3. Hultzsch *Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 308 No. 37 Cf. *Ind. Ant* XLV p. 104, and Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604 1606, Ap. C No XII.

5 From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th 1608. Ap. C, No. XXIII. It may be seen from this how groundless is the statement of Sewell, p. 220: "The Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore became independent in 1602."



12 Muttu Krishnappa must have died either at the end of this year or in the beginning of the following year 1609, for there is an inscription of the first half of this year recording a gift of money to celebrate certain festivals for the merit of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, his successor [1] This was the eldest of the three sons of Muttu Krishnappa, the other two, according to the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, were named Tirumali Naicker (who was destined to become famous in the history of southern India) and Kumara Muttu-Naicher [2] Of these three Muttu Virappa succeeded his father [3]

Following the wise policy of his father, the new Madura ruler continued on good terms with Venkata II during the first years of his reign An inscription in Madura belonging to the year 1609 records that Venkatapatidevaraya, at the request of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, made a gift of the village of Nagenalluru, surnamed Mudduviramahipalasamudra, on the northern bank of the Kaveri river, to Brahmans The Nayak divided the village into 82 shares and distributed them to several learned Brahmans on November 13th [4]

13 But suddenly these mutual relations appear to have been broken No more inscriptions are found showing the names of the Emperor and his Nayak together, the latter does not acknowledge his overlord any more Early in 1610 a gift of land of his to the temple at Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly [5],

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1 87 of 1905

2 Taylor, o c, II, p 29 I do not know why Prof Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 97, does not accept the existence of this third son of Muttu Krishnappa The *Mrtyunjaya MSS*, Taylor, II, p 260, and the *Supplementary MSS*, Ibid, I, p 206, do not mention him because they only give the list of the Madura kings The same must be said of the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III *Ep Ind*, III, p 239 Silence in this case is not a good proof, when other sources mention Muttu Krishnappa's third son

3 *Supplementary MSS*, Taylor, I, p 206, *Mrtyunjaya MSS*, Ibid, p 260, *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid, II, p 29

4 9, Ap A of 1906, *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 55, Rangacharya, II, p 1003, 95.

5 122 of 1907

and an exemption from taxes of the Mudaliyar servants of the Sokkanatasvami temple at Madura [1] are both recorded without mentioning Venkata. The same policy is followed in the inscriptions of the following years. In 1612 a gift was made in Tinnevelly for the merit of Muttu Virappa Nayakkar [2] in 1613 an inscription in honour of the same Muttu Virappa was carved in the greatest *gopura* of the Perumal temple at Madura [3] in neither of these does the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara appear

Fr A. Proenza writing from Trichinopoly to Fr General G Nickel in 1659, said "Tirumala Nayaka, who rules now walking in the footsteps of his father resolved to free himself" [4] We have seen that Tirumala's father always remained loyal to the Emperor Beyond doubt Proenza took Tirumala's predecessor as his father and this means that Muttu Virappa Nayaka also resolved to free himself' Fr Vico, writing from Madura in 1611 says that the Nayak was not punctual in paying the tribute often would he postpone the payment sometimes he even refused it with insolence. "In that case continues the Jesuit, "the Bisnagar (the Emperor) comes or sends one of his generals at the head of a hundred men to make them pay all the arrears with interest" [5]

One of these rebellions took place in the beginning of 1610. Very likely Venkata did not lead the army which marched against the rebel Nayak. At this time he is described by both the Jesuit and the Portuguese sources as a very old, and a valetudinarian. Matla Ananta or Venkatapati Nayanimgaru might have held the supreme command the latter in an inscription of 1612 3 is called the conqueror of the territory called Panchapandya *i.e* the kingdom of Madura [6] The result of this

1. Burgess, p. 109–10
2. 123 of 1907
3. Sewell I, p. 293
4. From Fr A. Proenza to Fr G Nickel, Trichinopoly 1659 Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure* III, p. 42.
5. From Fr A. Vico to Fr A. Laerzio, Madura, August 30th 1911, Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 124.
6. Butterworth, I, p. 246

fight was the same as on the previous occasions· Muttu Virappa was defeated by the army of Venkata, and compelled to pay a heavier tribute, summing up the arrears and the war indemnity Fr Roberto de Nobili, writing from Madura on December 12th, 1610, to Fr Laerzio, says as follows "A certain notable Pandara said to one of my Christians these last days that the coming of the King of Bisnaga was the destruction of the Naiche, just as my stay in this country was the destruction of the Pandaras" [1] The saying referred to in this letter proves evidently both that the war was over at the end of the same year, and that its result was satisfactory to the Vijayanagara Emperor The same is meant by Fr Vico's letter, which says that the poor people had to pay for the fault of the prince "all the country is laid waste and people are plundered or massacred" [2]

After this war, the control of Venkata over Madura appears again through the inscriptions of the following years There is one dated 1611 on a rock in the Matribhutesvara temple at Trichinopoly, which records a gift of Venkata for the merit of Virappa Nayaka [3] Then another inscription of Venkata of 1613 registers that a certain Venkatadari Bhattar set up at Vellangudi, in the country directly ruled by Muttu Virappa, the images of Krishna and Kamesvari and granted land for their worship [4].

14 Shortly after the war with Venkata, Muttu Virappa was engaged in another war. Fr. Laerzio, writing from Cochin on December 25th, 1611, says that he was going on his usual visit to all the houses of his Province On the 22nd of September he was in the College at St Thome, but he was prevented from proceeding to Madura on account of the war between the Nayak of Madura and the Nayak of Negapatam [5] It was

1 From Fr R de Nobili to Fr A Laerzio, Madura, December 12th, 1610, Ap C, No XXXI

2 From Fr A. Vico to Fr A. Laerzio, Madura, August, 1611, Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p 124

3 134 of 1905.

4 452 of 1916

5 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, Decembe 25th, 1611, Ap C, No XXXIII Cf Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p 108

usual among the Jesuits to call Nayak of Negapatam the Nayak of Tanjore Nothing is hitherto known either about the cause or the result of this war between Madura and Tanjore. Did it break out because the Tanjore Nayak had given his aid to the Emperor the year before, while going to subdue the rebel Muttu Virappa? We shall see that this feud between the two houses that came to a head and burst in Venkata s reign continued unabated till the extinction of one of them and that very soon just after the death of the Emperor the Madura and Tanjore Nayaks again came to blows.

1. Du Jarric I p. 633

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MISSION OF FATHER ROBERTO DE NOBILI

SUMMARY —1 The fruitless mission of Fr G Fernandez at Madura —2 Fr Roberto de Nobili in Italy, Goa and Cochin —3 De Nobili at Madura Investigation of the causes of the failure of this mission —4. De Nobili's new plan approved by his superiors —5 He presents himself as a 'Roman Brahman'—6 His ordinary life —7 His mastery of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu —8 His mode of dealing with visitors —9 Albert, the first convert —10 De Nobili dresses as a *sannyasi*.—11 Other conversions Good spirit of the new Christians —12 De Nobili's method of preaching The fourth Veda —13 A number of extraordinary events confirm the Christian Faith —14 Relations between de Nobili and the Palaiyakarans De Nobili's dealings with Srivallabha Pandya —15 Frs Leytao and Vico at Madura —16 Criticism of de Nobili's mission

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Jesuit letters —2 Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Figueroa —3 *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives) —4 Juvencio

ONE of the most important events in the history of southern India during the reign of Venkata II is the establishment of the mission of the Jesuit Fr Roberto De Nobili [1] The brief account of it which we give here is an attempt to do justice to that bold but holy undertaking of this famous Jesuit, so differently judged both by his contemporaries and by subsequent historians and controversialists

In the year 1596 Fr Gonzalo Fernandez arrived at Madura from the Fishery Coast Here he settled down in order to look after the spiritual welfare of the Christian Paravas of Coromandel, who occasionally went to the capital on business [2] Fr Guerreiro, relying on the missionaries' letters, says that Fr Fernandez stayed at Madura to negotiate with the Nayak about the affairs of the missionaries on the Fishery Coast [3] What these 'affairs'

1 Hence both Mr Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom*, *Ind Ant*, *XLV*, p 107-8, 116-9, etc , and Prof Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 93-5 , 106-8, speak at length of this missionary enterprise

2 Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p 199

3 Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal no anno de 606 & 607* , p 112

were is not stated in this work but we feel sure that the frequent irruptions of the Nayak's soldiers into the villages of the Paravas proved the necessity of such an agent at the court of Madura. Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka II, the then ruler of Madura, received the missionary amicably and granted him permission to build a church in his capital Accordingly Fernandez erected a church not so magnificent as the Hindu temple, says Du Jarric, but yet beautiful and pious [1]

Madura was a new field to work in. The faith of Jesus Christ had never been preached in the old Pandya capital, and the zealous missionary did not lose his golden opportunity He spoke about Christ and his holy religion in his conversations with the people of the town [2] Frequent religious disputations were held at his house between the missionary and the Brahmans who were often attracted thither both by the Father's benevolence and by their natural curiosity Moreover the Jesuit established a dispensary and hospital, where everything was administered free to Christians and Hindus alike [3]

It has been often said that Fernandez's labours bore no fruit, a statement which is not founded on contemporary Jesuit authorities. The only information about this particular point is found in Guerreiro, who says "that the Badagas (Telugus) greatly admired the holiness of the Father and specially his chastity' but he also states that in the conversion of Hindus he did very little [4] This means, no doubt that some conversions to Christianity were made, but the success was by no means encouraging For a time Fr Nicolao Levanto was sent there in order to study Tamil [5] But he was soon sent to St Thome and Fernandez once more remained alone.

Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka followed the policy of his uncle in his dealings with the Father and the bonds of friendship bet

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 649 Cf. D Sa, *History of the Catholic Church*, II p 31

2 Guerreiro L c.

3. Du Jarric, I, p. 649–50.

4. Guerreiro L c.

5. Du Jarric I, p. 650.

ween the two were as close as ever. The King of Portugal, in a letter to his Viceroy dated February 26th, 1605, says that he is aware "that the Naique (the Nayak of Madura) made his salutations to a religious of the Society (of Jesus), who was conducting some business there"[1] Great friendship must have existed between Muttu Krishnappa and Fernandez, if the knowledge of it reached the ears of even the King of Portugal

2 Such was the position of the mission of Madura when Fr Roberto de Nobili was sent there in 1606

The new missionary had been born at Montepulciano, Italy, in September, 1577[2], of a very noble family, related to Popes Julius III and Marcellus II and to the Cardinals Sforza and Bellarmino[3] Another of his illustrious relatives did perhaps greatly influence Roberto's career This was his uncle and namesake, Cardinal Roberto de Nobili, who died some years before Roberto's birth, at the early age of 18 years[4]. "Roberto de Nobili", says Pastor, "was a Cardinal upon whom the representatives of the Catholic reform party could rest their greatest hopes Highly gifted from an intellectual point of view—he is said to have spoken Latin and Greek at ten years of age—he distinguished himself still more by his great piety Like Aloysius of Gonzaga, whom he particularly resembles, he was scrupulously pure of heart He could never do enough in his ascetic exercises, he fasted strictly, slept on a board, wore a hair-shirt, assisted at Mass every day, listened frequently to sermons, and often received Holy Communion, and from motives of humility would not allow his portrait to be painted The dignity of the Cardinalate, which he had received from Julius III, was only used to assist the needy He repeatedly thought of renouncing this dignity and of retiring into a

1 From King Philip III to the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro, Lisbon, February 26th, 1605, Ap B, No VIII

2 Brucker, *Malabar Rites*, *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, IX, p 558, says Roberto de Nobili was born in Rome I prefer the authority of Dahmen, *Roberto de Nobili*, *S J*, p 1

3 Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae S J*, IV, p 74-5 Guerreiro, l c, says that he was a nephew of Card Sforza Card Bellarmino was his father's uncle Cf Dahmen, l c

4 Dahmen, o c, p 2, note 1

religious order but his confessor the Jesuit Polanco, dissuaded him from this step Assisted by him he died after a painful illness, with the most perfect resignation to the Divine Will, on January 18th, 1559 Men like Charles Borromeo Bellarmino and Baronius venerated as a saint this Cardinal who was so early called away to a better life "[1]

The pious nephew moved perhaps by the example of his uncle, in order to avoid any probability of his elevation to high ecclesiastical dignity joined the Society of Jesus in 1597 at Nocera, in the 19th year of his age. The famous historian of the Society Fr Nicolao Orlandini was his novice master Four years later though not yet a priest he requested his superiors to send him to the missions of India[2] In 1604 his wishes were fulfilled. He reached Goa in September 1605 and was despatched shortly after to the College of Cochin, where he finished his studies in Theology[4] One of his letters to the General, written at Cochin shows both the state of the missions of southern India on those days and his enthusiasm to undertake missionary life in the interior of the peninsula. It runs as follows It is but too true that till now our Fathers have hardly tried to get into touch with the people of the in terior With the exception of a few towns owned by the Portuguese and a few stretches on both coasts depending on them where they had minor settlements all that immense land of India, where the power of the King of Portugal never possessed any sort of influence and where consequently one cannot expect any help from that power for the promotion of the missions, continues to grovel in the darkness of idolatry Thus the way to the conversion of India is closed and of our best missionaries all are content to employ themselves in the Colleges of Cochin and in the four residences we have along the coast and close their eyes to the innumerable multitude of souls living in those wide spread lands of India. Only a few try to penetrate into the interior "[5]

1. Pastor *History of the Popes* XIII, p. 176 7
2. Dahmen, o. c p. 2
3. Ibid., note 4.
4. Ibid. p. 3-5
5. Castets, *The Madura Mission*, p. 25 The last allusion of de Nobili is most likely to those who were at the court of Venkata II.

3 Finally in 1606 Father de Nobili himself ventured into 'those wide-spread lands' In the middle of this year Fr A Laerzio, the Provincial of the Malabar Province, when going to pay his annual visit to the missionaries, took Fr de Nobili along and left him at Madura The same Provincial, in a letter written towards the close of the following year, says "One year and a half elapsed since we sent Fr Roberto de Nobili to the residence of Madura in order to learn the language of that country to perfection"[1] And in another Jesuit letter of the same year, 1606, we read again "In November last Fr Provincial, passing through that residence (of Madura), left Fr Roberto de Nobili there to help Fr Goncalo frz (Fernandez), and to learn the more correct language of the court, and also to relieve the Father who, being old and sickly, required a successor"[2] De Nobili was then 29 years old

We find the first impressions of de Nobili after his arrival at Madura in a letter dated December 3rd, 1607, to his godfather the Marquese D Gregorio Boncompagno "This," says he, "is the chief city of the kingdom It is thickly populated by men that are indeed rich and brave in war, but who have as yet no knowledge of the true God They are addicted to a very wicked idol-worship, and our Fathers who work here find themselves confronted with such insuperable opposition that after twelve years they have not made a single convert, except three or four sick persons who were baptised shortly before death Yet our Fathers, who have been at work so long here, are men of outstanding virtue and true ability"[3] De Nobili, in another letter to his cousin the Comtessa de Santa Flore, compares the idolatry of Madura to the idolatry of the old city of Rome "I am now", he writes, "in a famous city of this country called Madura, crowded with wicked idols, as was formerly the famous city of Rome"[4]

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1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap C, No XX

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid, No XXVI

3 Dahmen, o c, p 4

4. Ibid, p 12, note 1.

Naturally de Nobili investigated the causes of the failure of Fr Fernandez, and finally discovered them There might of course, be other explanations says Fr Dandoy here. "But one seems to have suggested itself at once to the clear and keen mind of the princely Tuscan missionary There is an old proverb about the Rome to which de Nobili compared Madura. *Si Romae vivis Romano vivito more* (when thou art in Rome, do as the Romans do) In other words one must adopt the customs and ways of the country one lives in Nobili realised that one of the mistakes of his zealous brethren was that they not only failed to observe Indian customs, but by their example at least taught their converts not to respect them "[1]

One of the missionaries residing at the court of Venkata II Fr Antonio Rubino, after studying the causes of the lack of conversions, arrived independently at the same conclusions almost at the same time. In one of his letters to Fr C Aquaviva, he wrote "It is astonishing how well barred is the entrance of this kingdom against the Holy Faith. This comes from the aversion and implacable hatred they have (towards us) based on the impression that we are the priests of the Portuguese, who eat beef and drink wine We keep ourselves away from all these things in this kingdom Yet our black dress is quite enough to rouse such opposition and abhorrence we are therefore looked upon by them as a pestilence. And to them it is quite enough as said before, that they know us to be the priests of the Portuguese. It is necessary in order to obtain different results, to dress oneself to eat, and to keep other social customs, just as they do, *in quantum fieri potest* (as much as possible). I often wrote this to Fr Provincial. He wishes to send me dressed according to their fashion, to a city of this kingdom where I am unknown "[2]

This was neither the only nor the main cause of such an aversion towards the Catholic priests. On account of a fatal misunderstanding the Paravas and their missionaries were called *Prangus* and the missionaries themselves unaware of the

1. Dandoy *A Sannyasi from the West*, *The Light of the East* July 1924 p. 6.

2. From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore September 30th, 1609 Ap. C, No. XXVII.

real meaning of this word, had accepted it, and even called the Catholic Religion, 'the Religion of the *Pranguis*' Christianity had been wrongly identified with *Pranguism* [1] De Nobili, after a careful study of the meaning which the people attached to this word, realized the great mistake of his predecessors "The word *Prangui*", he wrote some years later in his *Apology*, "does not, in the mind of this people, signify either Portuguese, or European, or Christian , for they do not exactly know either the one or the other It means a vile class of people, despicable to a degree not far removed from the beasts—people without virtue and modesty, given to drink, feeding on unclean meat and even human flesh, incapable of science, divinity or religion The Hindus ", he continues, "have seldom met men of the illustrious Portuguese nation The men who come here (from the Portuguese possessions) may be reduced to two classes They are either men who, being born in India, have no Portuguese blood in them whatsoever, yet think that, when they have learnt by heart four Portuguese words and have dressed themselves like the Portuguese, they have changed their race and have become Portuguese , these we call *Topazes* [2], and the Indians call them *Pranguis* , hence it is clear that it is not only white men whom they call *Pranguis*, but anyone who, whatever his colour, dresses as a Portuguese Or they are men who were born Jews, but came to some agreement with the Portuguese, and travel on business These also the people of Madura call *Pranguis* without any qualification Now anyone who has to deal with them knows the nobility, the reliability and the cleanliness of these two classes ! No wonder then that the *Pranguis* are held most vile" [3]

4 The careful consideration of all these prejudices led to the natural conclusion that the mode of living of missionaries

1 The word *Prangui* is borrowed by the Hindus from the Muhammadans to designate denationalised people This word, in Sanskrit *Phitanguin* and in Persian *Prangui*, was the name given by the Muslims first to the Franks, and then to all the Europeans in general The special meaning attached to it in southern India, in Fr de Nobili's days, was quite different

2 One who uses two languages Cf *Ceylon Antiquary*, VIII, p 210

3 Dahmen, o c , p 6 and note 1, Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p 151.

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had to be changed in order to attract the Hindus to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Blessed John de Britto, in a letter of 1683, wrote to this effect Fr Roberto de Nobili, of revered memory that great servant of God and that model of missionaries having acquired a most complete knowledge of all these prejudices and being persuaded with St. Ambrose that *primus discendi ardor nobilitas est magistri* [1] made himself all things to all men that he might win them all to Jesus Christ" [2]

But before taking any step in carrying out his new plan he consulted his superiors about the matter The Provincial Laerzio thoroughly approved of de Nobili s plan and mentioned his approval in a letter to Fr General written in 1609 [3] His ecclesiastical superior Mgr Francisco Ros Archbishop of Cranganor and a Jesuit says "Before adopting this manner of life Fr Roberto first consulted me, who am the pastor of that church When we had decided between ourselves on a plan to be adopted the Father gradually carried it out, whilst I decided to continue to be in a certain fashion his fellow worker and to assist him in so holy an enterprise. I first read books on Hindu idolatry the subtlest that exist next I sought the advice of the best theologians of the Malabar Province, of the Goan Inquisitor and of the Most Illustrious Primate, Dr Frey Alexis Menezes, now Primate of Braga and Governor of Portugal and on finding that their views agreed with what I had gathered from long experience of those parts of India, I gave my full sanction to the method followed by Fr Roberto in the formation of his Christians. We declare in particular that the thread worn by the Brahmans, and the *kudumi* or tuft of hair which caste Indians grow on their heads, the sandal paste and other social customs, were not marks of a religious sect but only distinctions of nobility caste or family and that the converts might keep them without any scruple [4]

1. The eminence of the master excites the first desire to learn from him.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Madura Mission, 1683 Castets, *The Madura Mission* p. 24.

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Ap. C No. XXVIII.

4. From Mgr F Ros to Fr C. Aquaviva Cochin, November 19th, 1613 Castets, o.c., p. 29-30

5 With such a full and encouraging approval from the Archbishop, de Nobili separated himself from his confrère Fernandez, and started his new mode of life, in 1607, a year after his arrival at Madura Let us hear again the Provincial Laerzio, in one of his letters to Fr C Aquaviva "God in his mercy", he writes, "has at last heard the prayers we addressed to Him long ago and crowned our hitherto fruitless efforts with success A new field is open to our apostolic zeal, and everything makes us hope that it will be fertile in the labour, merit and fruit of salvation, to the greater glory of God. I mean to speak to Your Paternity about the Madura Mission, by whose beginning such brilliant hopes have been raised Fr. Roberto de Nobili was moved by the deplorable blindness of those people, who are buried in the darkness of death, and was filled with the great thought that Jesus Christ had come down for the salvation of all men, and must everywhere triumph over the devil, destroy his empire and wrench all his slaves from him So after discovering the true cause of their obstinacy, he resolved to bring an efficacious cure to such an evil After the example of St Paul, who made himself all to all, and specially after that of the Eternal Word, who made himself man in order that men might be saved, Fr Roberto said to himself I too will make myself an Indian to save the Indians

"With my approval, and with the authorization of His Grace the Archbishop of Cranganore, he presented himself to the Brahmans, protesting that he was neither a *Prangui* nor a Portuguese, but a Roman Rajah[1], *i e* a man of high nobility, and a *sannyasi*, that is, a penitent who has forsaken the world and all its enjoyments The life to which he has bound himself by such a profession is very hard and very difficult, but there is nothing that does not become

1 Such is the statement of Laerzio, followed by Fr Castets, o c p 24, note 2 It is however contradicted by both Mgr Ros and Blessed Britto, as we shall see later on Moreover Fr Juvencio, who based his work on the accounts sent annually to Rome, says expressly that de Nobili declared himself a Brahman, and adds "Id quod vere predicare poterat, quippe qui e nobilissima inter Italicas gente ortus" Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p 74 The same

easy to a man animated with a true desire to make Jesus Christ known and to gain souls to Him.

"From that moment Fr de Nobili admitted none but Brahmans into his service. Rice milk, herbs and water taken once a day constituted his only food.

"He also thought it necessary to separate himself from Fr Gonzalo Fernandez and having built for himself a house and a chapel, on a site given him by a pagan of high position in the Brahman quarter he made it his own special home"[1] Guerreiro s account states that the house was given him by the Governor of Madura

Blessed John de Britto, writing on de Nobili s change of life, says that he adapted himself strictly to the Brahmanical manner of life, "used only Brahmans as servants, and gave himself out as a Roman Brahman Sannyasi or in other words, a religious sage from Rome. Conformably to the social usages of the country he avoided all public intercourse either with Europeans or with Pariahs"[3]

Moreover Mgr Ros, while speaking of this strange evolution says that he transformed himself into a Brahman

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Fr Laerzio in another letter written one year later November 20th 1609 states that Fr de Nobili put on the thread of five strings, *because the Brahmans wear one made of three threads* (Italics mine) Cf. Ap. C. No XXVIII. Moreover all the sources affirm that de Nobili's new house was placed in the Brahman quarters. Guerreiro, l.c., not acquainted with Indian things and customs says that he presented himself como Brahmene or Rayo In one of the contemporary letters there is an anecdote which might perhaps create some confusion. Once the Nayak Hermeo itti (Erumel Chetti) sent soldiers to arrest one of de Nobili s disciples. At the official s request the missionary answered If His Lordship wants my head, let him cut it off but let him not expect from me a deed unworthy of my rank At these words one of the soldiers who was a rajah by caste was heard to murmur with some pride Here is a true rajah. I know his caste from the way he behaves Bertrand, o.c., II, p. 94. Is Bertrand reliable here? I was unable to see the original of this letter

1. From Fr Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, December 30th 1608 Castets, o. c., p 26 7

2. Guerreiro o. c., p. 112

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Madura Mission, 1683 Castets, o.c., p. 24.

philosopher' [1]. Accordingly he was called thereafter *Tattva-bodhaka Swami*, the Philosophical Doctor.

6 De Nobili himself, in a letter to Cardinal Bellarmino, dated Madura, December 1st, 1607, describes confidentially his ordinary life in his new settlement. "I now dwell", he says, "in a mud-house covered with straw, which is to me more useful and gives me more satisfaction than a rich palace I hold it to be most certain that there is no consolation comparable to that enjoyed by one living in this voluntary sort of exile for the love of God, and toiling much for His sake Nevertheless at times the labour I have undertaken becomes wearisome to me, and when the thought rushes on me, that I shall have to continue amidst such toil and fatigue all my lifelong, I begin to be apprehensive that I shall not be able to persevere to the end But when I turn my thought from this to heaven, I am reminded of what Your Excellency used to say, explaining those words of King David '*Qui posuit fines tuos pacem*' I feel that my fear has vanished, and I am consoled at the thought that, since such peace and repose await us in the end, a longing for rest here on earth is simply unreasonable

"My way of living is as follows I remain continually shut up in my little mud-house Thereto, every day, after I have said Mass and commended myself to the Lord, I give free admittance to whoever likes to speak to or to discuss with me The time left to me, which is very short, I spend in writing, in the language of the country, the refutation of some of the false doctrines upheld by various leaders of thought among these people As I am thus obliged to keep continually to my house, or rather to my single little room, and as the food I eat is not very substantial, since neither meat nor fish nor eggs ever so much as pass my door, I am always sickly, and few are the days in which I do not feel some pain either in the stomach or in the head My food consists of a small quantity of rice, of which there is abundance in this country, and some herbs or fruits This manner of diet I must observe, because if these people did not see me following this penitential kind of life, they would not

1 From Mgr F Ros to Fr C Aquaviva, Ibid, p 29

consider me fit to teach them the heavenly way For so are their doctors wont to live and some of them even follow a harder and austerer kind of life. There are those in fact who do not even touch rice. Now if Your Excellency reflects that here the use of bread is unknown and that as to wine, I use it only for Mass, Your Excellency may gather how little a man has to feed upon if he abstains from rice. As for me, I do not venture so far because what I already do, namely abstaining from flesh and fish and eggs, suffices in order that those people may condescend to consider me as a true teacher of religion. At this very moment I am suffering from such a strong fit of asthma that I can scarcely breathe and so I finish my letter bit by bit as I can" [1]

This food was prepared by a Brahman cook and he never dared any more to take food prepared by a non Brahman servant [2] He had one daily meal only and that at four o clock in the afternoon according to the custom of the *sannyasis* [3]

7 For the rest of the day he was extremely busy with the study of the languages of the country Shortly after his arrival in Cochin he had taken up the study of Tamil. In his letter to Prince Boncompagno quoted above, he says "As soon as I came here I began to learn the language which, on account of its rich vocabulary and its syntax is difficult. But God helped me, so that after six months I could hold conversation and preach without an interpreter" [4] Two years later he wrote again that he finds it more difficult to speak Italian or Portuguese than Malabar (Tamil) [5] Writing to Card. Bellarmino, he says I find their language very fine, very copious and very elegant [6] About the same time, Fr Laerzio wrote to Fr

1. From Fr R. de Nobili to Card. R. Bellarmino, Madura December 1st, 1607 Castets o c., p. 32-4.

2. Guerreiro o c., p 112.

3 Figueroa *Historia y Anal Relacion Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 134-5

4. From Fr R. de Nobili to Prince Boncompagno Madura December 3rd, 1607 Dahmen, o c., p. 4.

5 From the same to Fr Fabius de Fabiis, Madura October 8th 1609 Ibid., p. 14.

6. From Fr R. de Nobili to Card. R Bellarmino Madura December 1st 1607 Castets o.c., p. 33

General "Fr Roberto charms every one by his conversations, the purity of his High Tamil, and the stories and passages from Indian authors that he quotes from memory [1]"

He now began to apply himself to Telugu and Sanskrit No European had previously studied the latter language [2] His teacher was a learned Brahman from Madura In a letter dated April 22nd, 1609, Fr de Nobili expresses to his Provincial his gratitude to that learned man "I cannot express," he says, "all the obligation I am under to this excellent Brahman Besides the knowledge of Sanskrit and Telugu, I owe him a knowledge still more precious that of the most sacred mysteries of the Vedam It is considered a crime for a Brahman to write down the Vedam, they only learn it by heart at the cost of incrediable fatigue, and it takes them ten or twelve consecutive years My teacher has overcome his scruples on this point, which is a shining proof of his faith He writes down all the laws for me, but this must be done quite secretly, if the Brahmans came to know of it, the least punishment inflicted on him would be the plucking out of his eyes We spurn the danger because of the utmost necessity of this means for on the knowledge of these secrets depends the conversion of the gentiles" [3] His assiduity in study was so great that Fr Vico, one of his companions later on, affirms that de Nobili used to study whilst the barber was shaving him [4]

In an account of the year 1608 we read as follows "He has started to learn the *Gueredan* (Gradonic or Sanskrit) now,

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1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ibid, p 27 "Sabe ya la lengua Talmul (Tamil), mas cortesana, y pronunciala tan biem que no da ventja a los Bramanes mas entendidos Lee y escrive ya la misma lengua, y tiene passados muchos libros de sus historias y decorados muchos pasos de su ley, y versos de los mas famosos Poetas de que ellos hacen mucho caso" Figueroa, o c, p 135

2 Cf Max Muller, *The Science of Language*, I, p 143

3 From Fr R de Nobili to Fr A. Laerzio, Madura, April 22nd, 1609, Bertrand, o c, III, p 49

4. Bertrand, o c, II, p 104

and he reads it and speaks it moderately well"[1] Two years later in a letter dated December 8th 1610 Laerzio reports that Father Roberto possesses the language understands it perfectly and speaks it with ease'[2] Finally in 1613 Mgr Ros is able to affirm that de Nobili has "learned three very difficult languages, investigated to their very depths the secrets of the sacred mysteries of the heathen and mastered them fully' And somewhat later on the Archbishop expresses his admiration for the marvellous knowledge acquired by de Nobili in such a short time I have conversed with Fr Roberto" says he "about the languages and manners of these people and I was so much impressed by his knowledge, that I who may however be said to know something of those languages, am ready to swear every time I am asked to do it that this Father cannot have acquired the knowledge he possesses through natural means, any more than he can without the special help of God, lead the austere life he leads [3]

8. Admiring crowds gathered round the Philosophical Doctor and curiosity led the men of Madura to see and hear him. Visitors flocked to the small hut to inquire where the new *sannyasi* came from, what was his caste, his doctrine, his manner of life and his purpose. But de Nobili, knowing the customs of the Indian ascetics, at the beginning did not stir out, and received visitors only with great reserve. When people came to see him his disciple told them that the *sannyasi* was engaged in contemplation, or engrossed in meditation upon the divine law [4]

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1. Figueroa o. c., p. 135

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva Cochin, December 8th, 1610 Bertrand o. c., II p. 88.

3 From Mgr F Ros to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613 Castets o. c., p. 29 Suspiciebant (Brahmanes) majorem in modum, tantam in homine Europaeo vernaculi sermonis facultatem, non secus ac si mediis in Madura et aula fuisset educatus eruditionem vero in nulla doctrinae Indicae parte rudem." Juvencio, *Epitome* IV p. 75 "We feel deep admiration for his (Nobili's) learning and knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only the Sanskrit literature was known to him, but also the Veda, at least one of the Sakhas, the Yajurveda of the Taittiriyas" Caland, *Roberto de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language Acta Orientalia, III* p. 51.

4. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 113.

When admiration and curiosity were at fever-height he received the visitors, but not before they had come twice or thrice. "They tell the porter that they wished to speak with the Ayer (that means the lord)," says Figueroa "Then after much waiting, as it is there customory, they are admitted to his presence to talk with him They find him sitting on a dais covered with a red carpet-like cloth, another red carpet is lying before him, and next to this there is a mat Those who come, even the most noble and principal courtiers, bow reverently before him, raising up their hands over their heads and then bringing them down in profound obeisance Those who desire to become his disciples bow thrice in this style, and finally prostrate themselves for a while "[1]

Guerreiro affirms that even Muttu Virappa Nayaka was desirous of hearing the new European *sannyasi,* and manifested his wish several times to his courtiers, but one of them, who probably knew de Nobili, replied that 'the Father was so chaste, that-he never went out of his house to avoid seeing women '[2]

As a matter of fact, de Nobili spent more than one year in that holy solitude, without having been seen in the streets even for a moment[3] When, after a while, he began to go occasionally to his country-house for some rest, he went in a palanquin preceded by two criers to clear his way Some years afterwards, however, all this show was dropped he presented himself as a mere spiritual *guru,* proceeding simply on foot, with a long-staff bearing his insignia and two Brahman disciples accompanying him[4] All these ceremonies and honours were far from being dear to the heart of the humble missionary, who had joined the Society of Jesus in order to avoid them, but in his *Apology* he says that a Hindu *pandaram* had given him the following good advice "If you desire your own salvation only, you should retire to a desert, where you can live stark naked But if, as you tell me, you have at heart the salvation of the people of this land, you must surround yourself

1 Figueroa, o c, p 135
2 Guerreiro, o c, p 113
3 Ibid —
4 From Mgr F Ros to Fr Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o c, p 38.

with splendour the spiritual man must be like a corpse who wears with equal indifference silk robes and linen rags, riches and poverty honours and ignominy " [1]

De Nobili s purpose was successfully attained. Fr B. Coutinho in a letter of 1608, speaks of the great fruit obtained in Madura by Fr Roberto and of the great edification he gives by devoting himself to the service of God in a sort of disguise " [2] And Mgr Ros is still more explicit in the following passage of the letter quoted above " He (de Nobili) has attracted the hearts of haughty Brahmans, in such a way that not only do they come to see him, and hear from his lips the word of God with incredible admiration but they go so far —a wonder which no one could have expected,—as to kiss the ground he has trodden on and to embrace the faith that he preaches. Acknowledging their errors, they openly declare Never has a man spoken as he does [3]

9. The immediate fruit of this admiration and veneration was a large crop of souls. The first Brahman who became a Christian was a teacher in the school founded at Madura by the Jesuits [4] He was a very learned and proud young man who had despised the Fathers and their doctrine. Fr de Nobili gave him a Tamil Catechism written by Fr G Fernandez, to be translated into Telugu. The reading of this book excited much curiosity in the teacher's mind. On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, that took place on February 25th 1608, Fr de Nobili refuted several of his ideas and superstitions. That was their first religious talk. After that the teacher was a frequent visitor at de Nobili s house and became his constant disciple. Guerreiro gives the matter and order of some of these discussions "They first spoke about the plurality of gods. The Father showed him its absurdity based on the argument of the divine perfection? For it is evident that if God were to have partners of his divinity inferior to Him they would not be

1. Bertrand, o c., II, p. 167

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th 1608, Ap. C., No. XXIII.

3 From Mgr F Ros to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin November 19th 1613 Castets, o. c., p 19

4. Cf. Ch. XXV No. 13

gods; if they were equal, none of them would be god, since each would be wanting in the perfections the others had The teacher easily agreed to this reasoning Then they discussed whether God had created this world out of nothing On this point the pagans hold the same error as our ancient philosophers did, *viz.* that it is impossible to create something out of nothing De Nobili refuted this as follows —

"Everything that exists has its existence either because it has it from itself or because it has received it from another Your Paju (Pasu) exists, now, this existence is given him by God or it comes from himself

"The Hindu replied that it had not been given by God

"Hence it comes from himself", added the Father

"It seems so," answered the Hindu

"Therefore, (replied de Nobili), this your Paju (Pasu) is God, and possesses an infinite being, and this being is not limited by anybody" On hearing this the Hindu remained silent no answer could be given to the conclusion Then, in order to convince him thoroughly, the Father proved the same with another more evident argument from the omnipotence of God If God could not create something out of nothing, he was not mightier than the earth, which produces the trees out of their seeds, nor than the water, which aided by the sun and other circumstances produces fishes and other imperfect animals [1] He would then be like a carpenter, who from a tree makes an image, but he cannot make it without the tree De Nobili told him at the same time that God, in order to be infinitely powerful, cannot lack any power, but He would certainly lack power if He would need Paju (Pasu) in order to create anything Hence either He was not Almighty or He was not in need of Paju (Pasu) The Hindu remained satisfied after hearing this reasoning

"On another occasion, another important dispute took place about the transmigration of souls, an ancient dream of Pythagoras The reason given by the Hindu was founded on the variety of men some are kings, others are slaves, some are

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1 This idea was founded on the ancient philosophical theory of spontaneous generation, which is now thoroughly exploded.

Brahmans, others Pariahs While explaining his theory the Hindu spoke as a true Pythagorean would have done, since he maintained that the soul was not the form of the body but was (he said) inside the body as the bird is inside the cage and the chicken inside the egg It was not very difficult to show him the fallacy of this opinion

"You know very well, said the Father "that when the bird is inside the cage, the cage does not grow unlike the body that having the soul inside, grows up to its perfect height. Moreover you cannot deny that the bird out of the cage can beget another bird and yet you will never state that the soul *separated from the body could have sons. Moreover the* soul is not in the body in the same way as the bird is in the cage.

"Then the Hindu asked de Nobili How did it stay in the body?

"The Father answered that the soul dwelt in the body as the form and the life of that body and both together made one thing, called man. The Father proved this by the human operations of eating walking and running for these operations cannot be done by the body alone without the soul but by both together And for the same reason neither the body alone, nor the soul alone, but both together forming one single thing make up what is called a man Hence, it would not be in accordance with justice that any of them separately should be either punished or rewarded for the bad or the good deeds of the man both together must be either punished or rewarded, since both together have done bad or good things Then the mission ary explained to him how a man dying in a state of sin that is in infinite malice, has to be punished with an infinite punishment. But to be a hundred years in the body of a dog was not an infinite punishment therefore a place was necessary where, after passing away from this life the sinner could be punished for ever without ever entering another body As to the variety of men, from which the transmigration of souls was inferred, the Father replied that the potter from the same mud moulds a jar for the king's table and a basin for washing one's feet in the same way God according to his will creates one to be a



XVI Fr Roberto de Nobili, S J,
in the costume of Brahman Sannyasi

An ink sketch by a contemporary missionary Fr Baltazar da Costa, Biblioteca Nacional, Panjim

represents the Passion and Death of the Saviour" [1] Figueroa, after having described de Nobili's costume in accordance with the preceding extract, adds the following consideration to the explanation of the string of five threads "Thus with this string he publicly announces in that country the mysteries of the Most Holy Trinity of the Incarnation and of the Redemption" [2] Later on de Nobili ascertained that a solitary ascetic need not wear the thread, and thenceforth he discarded it [3]

11 The number of conversions was gradually increasing At the end of September, 1608, he baptised four prominent men of Madura—Dadamurti, the owner of the *agrahara* where Fr de Nobili lived, Chritinada, a craftsman of great repute with the Nayak and the nobles of the court, Golor, brother of the chief porter of the Nayak's palace, and a fourth, whose name is not given. At the feast of St Thomas the Apostle, December 21st, nine others were also baptised [4]

In the following year, one of the most illustrious converts was de Nobili's own teacher of Sanskrit and Telugu When their friendship began, the proud *guru* nursed fond hopes of converting the Christian *sannyasi* to Hinduism, but the result turned out to be quite other than he had foreseen or even hoped for On June 7th, 1609 de Nobili announces this event, showing in his words the joy of his heart and his thankfulness to God "Today", says he, "the feast of the Holy Ghost, I have baptised my beloved teacher I cannot sufficiently express his joy, mine, and that of all the Christians He has received the name of God-given I trust he will do much for the conversion of the Gentiles, for he is a young man well known throughout Madura for his nobility, his cleverness, his erudition, and his profound knowledge of the sacred laws, and, what I esteem most, he has ever led a pure and regular life" [5]

The number of conversions cannot be ascertained with

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1 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o c, p 27. Cf Ap C No XXVIII

2 Figueroa, o c, p 134

3 Bertrand, o c, II, p 110

4 From Fr R de Nobili to Fr A Laerzio, December 24th, 1608, Figueroa, o c, p 141

5. Bertrand, o c, II, p 37

precision Fr Besse, after an examination of de Nobili's letters records their number at 71 for this first period of his work, from 1607 to 1614[1] The letters of de Nobili and his companions often commemorate the virtues practised by these Christians that recall to our mind those of the first Christians of Rome. Alexis Nayak is mentioned as an example of humility and Christian perfection[2] His brother Vihuuada (Vihuvada) Nayaka preferred to be dismissed from the retinue of Kasturi Nayaka, a cousin of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, rather than mark his forehead with the sacred ashes as in former days[3] Another called Calistri (?) is shown as busy spreading the Christian faith among his old friends and always desirous of the palm of martyrdom[4] The craftsman we have mentioned above was offered great quantities of money to induce him to make several statues of idols but he always refused them, preferring a life of poverty to contributing any more to the splendour of that cult[5] Fr Buccerio a companion of Fr Fernandez, by whom he was later on influenced against Fr de Nobili, wrote a brilliant apology for the converts of de Nobili. I observed in that Christian community" says he, "two other things well worthy of the highest praise, and exceedingly rare in India, among those who wish to become Christians I may speak from experience, for during my long apostolate the Lord sent me many to be instructed and baptised. Those who thus present themselves generally come to us either because of the interest they find in joining Christians of their caste, or because of the difficulties they experience in remaining pagans or Muhammadans or because they hope to secure some temporal advantage, or for other interested motives. For these reasons they are often he cause of great difficulties to us. What can we give them? How are we to clothe or protect them? At the same time we must give them much instruction in order to teach them to purify their intention, and to make them understand that in our religion alone can they find salvation. But, on the

1. Cf. Dahmen, o c., p. 77
2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 147
3. Ibid., p. 145
4. Ibid., p. 142
5. Ibid., p. 143

other hand I observe that, in Fr Roberto's community, those new Christians have come with no other end in view than their salvation, also after having attended, during several months, the instructions of the Aiyer (de Nobili) and understood that our religion is the only true one, they asked to be baptised and to be made Christians, solely to please God and to save their soul The Aiyer has never to give anything to his Christians, it is rather they who, on the day of their baptism, are wont to present the Aiyer with some little offerings for the use of his church, or for other similar purposes We, on the contrary, are all our lifelong beset with cares and anxieties to find out how we may help our Christians, who are continually begging Some of them have even come all the distance from Cape Comorin to this city, in order to approach me for some help The second thing which I always tried, though in vain, to make both Christians and Pagans understand, is that our religion is no more the religion of the Portuguese than of any other nation, and that by becoming a Christian an Indian does not lose his honour or his caste, but rather keep all the honour he had, and adds to it the much greater glory of becoming an adopted son of God But it is useless for us to speak to them in this way, we fail entirely to persuade them, for those who come to us are invariably regarded by Christians and Pagans as joining the caste of the *Pranguis* or Portuguese, or of that of the Paravas, according to the nature of the converts, and the Pagans look down upon us in the matter of caste, as being below everything In consequence respectable Pagans, or even the Christians of St Thomas, refuse to admit those converts into their houses or to their churches Fr Roberto has obtained totally different results Hence, though both Christians and Pagans well know that the law he preaches is the same as that of the Portuguese (as is proved by the crosses and other pious objects which those Chrtstians wear in place of the image of their gods), the Christians (of de Nobili) have the satisfaction of being assured that the Father is not a *Prangui*, and the Pagans, who have the same conviction, are appeased and have no difficulties in dealing with the Christians in all social or civil matters" [1]

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1 Castets, o c, p 35-6

12. After having seen the relatively great success obtained by Fr de Nobili, it may be of interest to know what his way of preaching was. He explains this in one of his letters "The advice given in the *Exodus* says he, Do not speak against the gods applies even to pagan divinities not that these divinities are not despicable, but because speaking against them instead of doing good, prevents the conversion of souls When we wish to drive darkness out of a room, we do not waste our time creating a great stir and trying to expel it with brooms we light a taper and darkness vanishes by itself. Reach the pagan heart by winning its esteem and affection and then bring in the taper of truth and all the darkness of idolatry will vanish without trouble " [1]

In another letter he explains more particularly the different articles of faith which formed the subjects of his conversations with his visitors To those who come to me," says he "I teach that there is only one God in three persons, whose attributes are infinite who created the world, man and all beings who in order to save men assumed a human nature, body and soul, in the womb of an ever-chaste virgin that this incarnate God, true God and true man is called Jesus Christ—a name that means Saviour full of grace and heavenly gifts that free from all stains, He atoned for all the sins of men and saved them. The holy spiritual law which contains these truths is the Law I preach It requires of none that he should give up his caste, or that he should join another caste, or do any thing that is contrary to the honour of his caste. God is *witness to me that the holy spiritual law is for all castes.* As the great Nayak is the lord of these lands, so that all the inhabitants, Brahmans or Rajas are obliged to obey him in all

1. Bertrand, o. c., II, p 265 Accordingly in his works, of which we shall speak at length in the following volume, he never directly attacks paganism. Cf. Miranda, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India* p. 23 Figueroa, o.c., p. 64, however affirms that "he had read many books of their stories. And these stories are to him of great help in order to refute them and to prove that there are not many gods, but only one who has no body" Anyhow this refutation of the tenets of Hinduism always followed the exposition of the Christian Doctrine

temporal concerns, so the true God is the legitimate Lord of all men, so that all conditions and castes should live according to His spiritual law This is the law I preach, and which other saints and *sannyasis* have preached in this land before If anyone were to say that this law is proper to *parahs* and *Prangurs*, he should commit a great sin, for since God is the lord of all the castes, his law must be obeyed by them all, and no caste is so high that it is not further raised by obedience to that law As the sun spreads its very pure light on all castes and all objects in this world, without losing thereby anything of its admirable purity, and as its light, instead of soiling the Brahmans, honours them, so the true God, the spiritual Sun, spreads over all men the gift of his holy law, the true spiritual light' [1]

Now the way of conveying all these new ideas to the mind and heart of his audience was purely Indian even in his way of teaching he accomodated himself to the customs of the country Fr Laerzio says in one of his letters "Fr Roberto charms every one by a great number of verses of his own composition, which he partly sings and partly recites with exquisite delicacy and distinction" [2] Fr Castets, commenting on this passage, says "The practice here described by Fr Laerzio was then the approved method of preaching or teaching moral or religious truths It is not unknown even now The orator begins by singing a pithy stanza expressed in more or less enigmatic and very concise language This is followed by a rather lengthy gloss in which the explanation of the text is interspersed with quotations, stories, allusions, according to the wealth of learning and fluency of the exponent When one considers that Fr de Nobili was able to go successfully through such a performance before a most fastidious and fault-finding audience, and even to astonish his hearers by the elegance of his diction and the wealth of his literary knowledge,

1 Bertrand, l c

2 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o c, p 27 "Sabe tambien muchas canciones y las canta con tan buena voz y gracia, que le oyen todos con admiracion y gusto" Figueroa, o. c, p 135

after scarcely a year's study of the language, we must conclude that the Father must have been not only a man of wonderful ability but a true prodigy" [1]

Finally another unexpected circumstance drew to Fr de Nobili the attention of his audience. "What helps me very much in the conversion of these people" says he in a letter of December 24th 1608 is the fact I discovered, that they had originally four Vedas three which the Brahmans still teach, *viz* of Vesmu (Vishnu) Brama (Brahma) and Rutru (Siva) and a fourth, wholly spiritual, by which salvation was to be attained. They say however that this fourth Veda is lost, and there is no man wise and good enough to recover it. And the wisest of their men state likewise that the most secret books affirm it to be impossible to attain salvation by any of the other three laws Hence many think that there is no salvation at all and others suppose that there is nothing beyond this life. From this I take occasion to show them that they are in a fatal error from which as they themselves confess none of their three Vedas can save them. I prove this to them with the very sayings of their books. These people have a deep yearning for eternal life hence they are much inclined to do penance and to give alms, and to be very faithful to their idols So I profit by this disposition to tell them that if they wish to be saved they ought to listen to me that I have come from a far-off country simply to save them by teaching them that spiritual law which (as their Brahmans avow) has been lost—thus following the example of the Apostle who preached to the Athenians the Unknown God. I tell them that if they wish to apprehend this fourth law they ought to declare themselves my disciples Their conversion becomes then very easy For when they resolve to become my disciples they easily receive from me the doctrine I preach to them and thus their will being inclined in my favour they gladly come to hear my explanations [2]

1. Castets, o c p 27-8

2 Figueroa o. c p 147 Cf. Bertrand o c., II p. 21. About the discovery of the Veda, which Fr de Nobili speaks of, see Yule, *Notes on Supara and the Discovery of Sanskrit* *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 96; *Burnell*

This original way of insinuating himself into the hearts of the Hindus is acknowledged by Max Muller as a wonderful token of the prudence and knowledge of Fr de Nobili "The very idea," he says, "that he came, as he said, to preach a new or a fourth Veda which had been lost, shows how well he knew the strong and weak points of the theological system which he came to conquer" [1]

13 In this enterprise Fr de Nobili was evidently aided by God himself Mgr Ros says that "God confirmed his (de Nobili's) testimony by prodigies and the gifts of the Holy

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On Some Early References to the Vedas by European Writers, Ibid, VIII, p 98, Caland, *Ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda* (Amsterdam, 1918), Zachariae-Hosten, *The Discovery of the Veda, Journal of Indian History*, II, p 127-57 In the 18th century, a MS containing a new Veda, the Ezur-Veda was found in the Mission Library of Pondichery The most respectable native Christians of the place held the opinion, founded on no authority, that the book was written by Fr Roberto de Nobili Nevertheless, Mr Ellis, *Account of the Discovery of a Modern Imitation of the Vedas, Asiatic Researches*, XIV, p 32, wisely says "There can be no doubt that he (de Nobili) was fully qualified to be the author of those writings If this should be the fact, considering the high character he bears among all acquainted with his name and the nature of his known works, I am inclined to attribute to him the composition only, not the forgery, of pseudo Vedas" Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p 174, note 70, categorically says "The Ezur-Veda is not the work of Robert de Nobili It was probably written by one of his converts There is no evidence for ascribing the work to Robert, and it is not mentioned in the list of his works" In spite of the statements of these learned scholars, D'Orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries*, p 256, boldly affirms that "Pere Robert applied his great skill to the production of a forgery in Sanskrit on an old bit of parchment When questioned as to the genuineness of this certificate, he solemnly swore before the council of Brahmans at Madura that the document was authentic, and that he, like all Jesuits, was descended from their Indian Divinity! Nor was this all He forged a new Veda, which was so well executed that, for nearly two centuries, it imposed itself upon the natives themselves" There cannot be more historical errors in so few lines Then and Dr Alex H Japp, *A Jesuit Missionary in India, East and West*, III, p 977-92, repeats this unfounded accusation, but he was thoroughly refuted by Fr Ernest R Hull, *Was Robert de Nobili an Impostor?* Ibid, p 1223-38 There cannot be any doubt about the authorship of the Ezur-Veda A French Jesuit, named Calmette, wrote it one century later As Prof Caland, o c, p 33, shows, the spelling of the Sanskrit words and proper names points to Bengal and Orissa and not to the Tamil country where de Nobili ordinarily lived Cf Caland, *Robert de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language, Acta Orientalia*, III, p 50

1 Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p 174-5.

Ghost"[1] Impartial history cannot but acknowledge the preternatural character of a number of cases related in the contemporary letters, either of Fr de Nobili himself or of his companions

In 1607 a new Christian compelled the devil to leave the body of his wife, not yet a Christian by making the sign of the cross over her forehead[2] The same happened to a Muham madan in July 1608 for when Albert, de Nobili s first convert, made the sign of the cross the devil exclaimed "You owe my departure to the weapon given by this man" "Whose weapon is this? questioned the Muhammadan "The weapon of the Almighty God, who created both of us" replied the devil and disappeared for ever[3] In August of the same year one of the disciples of de Nobili not yet a Christian was lying very sick, together with his three children de Nobili on being apprised of the case sent Alexis carrying the Gospel and holy water By these two spiritual remedies the four patients were suddenly cured[4] Another catechumen was sick unto death, as a result of an attack of apoplexy on October 23rd, 1608 de Nobili went there himself and baptised his disciple, and the latter got up at once in good health[5] At about the same time, another man possessed by the devil was presented to Albert. This Christian before making the sign of the cross over the sick, asked the devil what kind of man was Father Roberto, and whether the things taught by him were true. The devil replied that Fr de Nobili was a man of great authority and that all the things he taught were perfectly true. Again Albert asked the devil about the progress and success of Fr de Nobili s enter prise. The devil answered that the missionary would obtain

1. From Mgr F Ros to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin November 19th, 1613 Castets, o c., p 9 "Foy tambem o Senhor seruido de coñ firmar estes nouos Christaos com algunas obras marauilhosas, que os animam muyto a se consolarem com a fee que tem recebido & perseuerarem nella" Guerreiro o c., p. 116

2. Guerreiro, o c., p. 116-7

3 Figueroa o. c., p. 139

4. Ibid., p. 139-40.

5 Ibid., p. 140-1. See another similar case in p. 137-8

very little fruit in the beginning, but, three years later his mission would be extraordinarily developed[1]

14 All these events were naturally spoken about at the court of Madura and even in the country around, and Fr de Nobili's fame and deeds were on the lips of everyone "The fame about me at Madura and through the country", he wrote on December 24th, 1608, "is that a new Mori (a spiritual ascetic and teacher) has come to destroy the idols Hence they speak of me in very different ways"[2] This was the cause of the friendship between de Nobili and a number of nobles and Palaiyakarans of the kingdom of Madura

In a letter to Laerzio, dated October 25th, 1608, de Nobili says "A chief Raya, about seventy years old, often came to the door of my house, and spoke to one of my neighbours, begging to be announced to one of my servants, for he was already old and the hour of his death was near Then he begged my servant to be introduced to me in order to become my disciple, since many said in this city that I was teaching the road to salvation I allowed him to come in, and he prostrated himself at my feet and prayed to be taught the law of salvation I spoke at length to this old man, who was very clever and sensible, he promised to come regularly to my preaching, and to bring to me several other Rayas who were under him"[3]

On one occasion, one of the four Governors of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, in the city of Madura, went to pay a visit to the Father A brother of his, who had been governing one of the palaiyams, had died childless shortly before, and had been succeeded by him De Nobili asked him where his brother, once noble and rich, was, and concluded his interrogatory by saying that as he had not known the law of salvation, he was, on account of this ignorance, in hell De Nobili spoke with such fervour on this point that his visitor burst into tears, and promised to come back to hear more of his teaching[4]

At the same time de Nobili wrote a letter to the Palaiya-

1 Ibid, p 139
2 Ibid, p 145
3 Ibid, p 140
4. Ibid, p 137.

karan of Daraporan (Dharapuram) in which he said that there was no salvation for those who ignored God and the divine law and offered to put him on the right way to salvation The chief's answer is as follows :—

" I Chavarcovardin (Chakravartin) the slave of Your Lordship, wrote this, while bowing and looking at the feet of Your Lordship I am ready to serve you at any time, according to the command of Your Lordship With great rejoicing I received your letter by which you announced you would come soon to teach me the divine secret This was the main purport of your letter But our land is now troubled with many wars As soon as these matters are settled, I shall send a message to the holy feet of Your Lordship and then Lord, please come to us. Do not be sorry that I beg you to delay your coming a little, on account of the deadly dissensions in this country I cannot discover what good luck it was that brought Your Lordship here. I shall let you know of everything "[1]

Friendly relations were also started in 1608 between de Nobili and the then Pandya King of Tenkasi, Srivallabha, the brother and successor of Ativirarama[2] The missionary wrote Srivallabha a letter inviting him to hear of the things referring to his salvation The messenger sent by de Nobili, who must have been one of his disciples, was kindly entertained by the King They spoke about God and the new doctrine preached by the Western *sannyasi* Srivallabha showed his desire to see and hear Fr de Nobili. Accordingly he replied that when he should go to Madura to pay a visit to the Nayak, he would see the Father and receive his instruction. Srivallabha went there on August 1st and at once sent one of his Brahmans to the house of de Nobili to visit the Father on his behalf this envoy told

1. Ibid., p 136-7

2. Cf. *T A S.*, I, p. 57-8 The details given in the Jesuit source about this Monarch who is still called Rey de Madure King of Madura, leave no doubt that he is the nominal Pandya King. " Era este Rey antigamente muy poderoso mas al presente el Nayque le ha vsurpado muchas tierras. Tiene buen entendimento, y en su confor midad desea saluarse, assi ay grandes esperancas de su conuersion" Figueroa o. c., p. 137

de Nobili that His Lordship would come later on, to speak with him about his salvation Unfortunately the Pandya fell sick during his stay at Madura, and he had not yet recovered when the letter that gives this news was written [1] We could not find any further details about this interesting subject

Two years later, on December 24th, 1610, Fr Vico wrote to Fr Laerzio from Madura itself "Two months ago a petty King, feudatory to the great Naique (Nayak), by name Utappa Naique, came to us He was a man of very good nature, and desirous of finding the way to heaven This man on reaching the chamber of the Aiyer prostrated himself, his face touching the ground, nor did he stand up till requested by the Father twice or thrice He spoke with the Father about the misery of this life, and about the certainty of death Finally, he earnestly begged the Father to come to his own country, as he was much interested in being instructed in our doctrine" [2]

15 The hard life and heavy work of the Christian *sannyasi* was too much for his enfeebled health At the end of 1608 he wrote to the Provincial "I cannot stand so much work alone. Hence I am in need of a companion He must be a very fervent man, desirous of suffering for Christ's sake For the families of those who are already baptised are very numerous, and there are other catechumens with their families Many other nobles and rich Hindus come over every day Rest is unknown to me day or night I am afraid I shall not be able to bear up with so much toil" [3]

Shortly before, de Nobili had sent two of his new Christians to Cochin and Angamale, where they received the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of Mgr Ros [4] The presence of those new Christians excited great enthusiasm among the Jesuits at Cochin, many offered themselves to the Provincial to share in the fatigues of de Nobili [5] Fr Laerzio selected for

1 Figueroa, l c

2 From Fr A Vico to Fr A Laerzio, Madura, December 24th 1610, Ap C, No XXXI

3 Figueroa, o c, p 144

4 Ibid, p 159-60

5 Ibid, p 161

this task Fr Manoel Leytao, a Portuguese, who was then Master of Novices at Cochin [1] He left this town on the 15th of August, 1609, in the garb of a *sannyasi* and reached Madura on the 26th of the same month [2] From there he wrote an interesting letter to Fr Laerzio, of which the following lines are an extract After some time spent in holy conversation" says he Fr Roberto told me it was meal time. His disciples came to prepare the table. It was soon ready a plantain leaf placed on the floor served as table, table cloth, dish and plates. I sat down close to the leaf on which a Brahman placed the food I began to eat but in spite of my great hunger I felt such abhorrence for this new kind of food and also perhaps for the new way of taking it—with the fingers—that I had to force myself to swallow the morsels. This abhorrence lasted for several days I begin however to get a little used to it for every feeling must give way to the love of God and to the desire I have to serve Him in this land [3]

He however could not stay long His health broke down and he was recalled to Cochin at the beginning of the following year and was replaced in the month of September 1610 by Fr Antonio Vico lecturer in Theology [4] of whom we shall speak at length in the following volume

16 This would be according to chronology the proper place to relate the beginning of the persecutions against Fr de Nobili which commenced towards the close of this period but we think it advisable to leave the narrative of them for the following volume where we shall be able to give an uninterrupt ed account of those sad events.

Before closing this chapter however it may be considered the task of the impartial historian to give a criticism of de Nobili s method of introducing Christianity into the heart of Hinduism. He had certainly many enemies among his own contemporaries but they were swayed in their campaign against the missionary by evil passions which induced them even to

1. Juvencio *Epitome* IV p 121.
2. Figueroa, o c., p 161-2
3 Bertrand, o c., II, p. 53-4.
4. Besse, o c p. 200

calumniate the Christian *sannyasi* Many Protestants have condemned Fr de Nobili's system [1] It is a pity to see several of those old accusations, now exploded, innocently reproduced in modern Catholic books But impartial historians cannot but praise the work accomplished and the method so successfully employed by the illustrious Italian missionary

Fr Juvencio, the famous historian of the Society of Jesus, recognised in Fr Roberto de Nobili a man who had been destined by God to begin the Madura Mission [2] This statement is merely an echo of the eulogy of de Nobili, written in 1613, by Mgr Ros to the General of the Society of Jesus "The Madura Mission", says he, "which is within my diocese, is a very spiritual one but very trying, and in all respects worthy of perfect men and true sons of the Society, entirely devoted to God, without any human satisfaction and with a perpetual mortification of the flesh I am convinced that it has been commenced by divine inspiration, in order to open the way to the conversion of the whole of the Malabar (Southern India) At last, after numerous prayers, penances, tears, and holy sacrifices, God Our Lord opened the eyes of the *Zelotes* of the Holy Church, and they considered that the proper work of the Society was to do what St Paul had done, 'I have made myself all to all' Thus the good Fr Roberto de Nobili went by a special inspiration of the Holy Ghost, into the great city of Madura" [3]

The method followed by Fr de Nobili was the only one which ever met with success among the high castes of India His way of preaching Christ's Gospel to Indians was the result of his deep knowledge of the religion, customs and literature of the priestly caste His broad ideas made him clearly distinguish between religious and social customs, between superstition and good manners, between faith and nationality, and through a thousand difficulties and numberless hardships success crowned his enterprise

1 Cf D'Orsey, o c, p 257, and Japp, o c, p 991

2 Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p 66

3 From Mgr F Ros to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th,1613, Castets, o c, p 28

His splendid work and the encouraging results he and his companions obtained reached the ears of Philip III of Spain then also sovereign of Portugal This pious monarch whose zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith is well known wrote to them an encouraging letter the original of which we could not anywhere trace. But the Archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangim still preserve a copy of the reply of the Viceroy to his sovereign Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo wrote in 1613 to this effect The letter Your Majesty sent will be given to those (Jesuits) of Madure whom I thanked on your Majestey s behalf for their good conduct in propagating Christianity They are religious who well deserve it because they do their work with the utmost care and assiduity" [1]

1. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo to Philip III 1613 Ap. B No. XII.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE AND JINJI

SUMMARY —1 Continuation of the reign of Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore His behaviour towards Venkata II —2 Abdication and death of Achyutappa Nayaka —3 Ragunatha Nayaka murders his eldest brother —4 His suspicious relations with Vijayanagara —5 Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji and his uncle —6 Early revolt of Krishnappa against Venkata II —7 Krishnappa Nayaka and Fr N Pimenta Description of Jinji —8 Foundation of the city of Krishnapatam —9 Great power of the Nayak of Jinji His feudatories —10 Rebellion of Krishnappa against Venkata II His madness —11 Victory of Venkata over Krishnappa in 1608 —12 Krishnappa Nayaka and the Dutch The fort of Devanapatnam

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Hindu inscriptions and grants —2 Jesuit letters —3 Du Jarric —4 Anquetil du Perron —5 Jongue's Dutch documents —6 *Sahithyaratnakara Ragunathabhyudayam, Ushaparinayam* —7 *Velugutivaru Vamsavali*

DURING the first half of the reign of Venkata II, the ruler of Tanjore was still Achyutappa Nayaka The *Sahityaratnakara* relates that during his time the Dutch, who were then starting their trading career in the East, appeared before Negapatam and attempted to land in order to found a trading factory, but they were valiantly repulsed and driven away by Achyutappa [1]

Negapatam had been lent by his father to the Portuguese, and their number had been constantly on the increase [2] Fr Pimenta, who passed through it in 1597, tells us that "many Portugals dwell there and many winter there, which come from the Coast of China, Bengala, Pegu and Malaca" [3] Achyutappa Nayaka invited Fr Pimenta to establish a Jesuit house with a Church at Negapatam, while another one was already started

1 *Sahithyaratnakara*, canto VI, v 68

2 Cf Ch VIII, No 2

3, From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 207 Cf Du Jarric, I, p 632

at Tranquembar [1] And while Fr Pimenta was in the town the inhabitants actually purchased a place for five hundred Duckets, for a new Residence of ours says the same Fr Pimenta [2] Fr du Jarric gives a slightly fuller description of this place. He says that it was "by the river side having the sea to the West and was fitted for the functions of the Society' Fr Pimenta sent two priests there [3]

As to his relations with Venkata II Achyutappa Nayaka is mentioned with the title of Mahamandalesvara, in a much damaged and dateless record on a stone in the Kankudutta Vinayaka temple at Kavalkudaru [4] An inscription of 1596-7 by the same Venkata in North Arcot, records a gift of money by Achyutappa Nayakar Aiyan for the merit of Dikshitar Aiyan [5] Formerly Achyutappa had sent his son Raghunatha to help the Emperor in the siege of Penukonda [6]

But Anquetil du Perron gives us a piece of information not consistent with the above. He says that before the year 1595 both the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore had rebelled against Venkata [7] We really doubt the accuracy of Anquetil in this passage for the inscription of Venkata mentioned above is dated only a year later It is possible, however that the rebellion took place some years later and was misplaced by Anquetil, confusing it with an earlier rising of the Nayak of Madura. As a matter of fact, one of Fr Coutinho s letters from the court of Venkata seems to allude to an insurgent attitude on the part of Achyutappa for he affirms that "the rumour was that the King (Venkata) would warre upon the Naichus of Tangaor called Astapanaicus (Achyutappa

1. Ibid., Cf. Du Jarric I p 633
2. Ibid.
3. Du Jarric, I, p. 633 A letter of Phillip III to the Viceroy dated Lisbon, December 10th, 1607 mentions some riots occurred among the Portuguese of Negapatam, it seems that the leaders of the rioters were two brothers named Mello Bulhao Pato *Documentos* I, p. 146
4. 298 of 1911.
5. 710 of 1904.
6. Cf. Ch. XVI Nos. 1 and 2.
7. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p 166

Nayaka)"[1] This letter, published by Purchas, has been extremely mutilated The original gives more valuable information Coutinho says that Venkata "has a large army with many good generals in order to re-conquer Kanchivaram, which city, along with all the country around, surrendered to Astapanaichus (Achyutappa Nayaka), the king of Tangior"[2] We deduce from this passage that the cause of the trouble was not precisely refusal to pay the tribute, but the city of Kanchivaram, though what the fact was that created this enmity is not clear Moreover we know from the same letter that the war never broke out "It is quite certain", continues Coutinho, "that the King does not think of that expedition any more"[3] Venkata's designs were checked by the death of Achyutappa Nayaka[4] And since this took place in 1600, this quarrel between the Emperor and the Nayaka must have occurred in 1598-9

2 According to the *Sahithyaratnakara*, Achyutappa Nayaka, on account of old age, resigned the crown in favour of his son Raghunatha Nayaka, and retired to Srirangam, where he spent the rest of his life Consequently Raghunatha was crowned according to the ancient rites, Govinda Dikshita performing the ceremony[5] Up to this time we have relied upon the authority of Govinda Dikshita's son, Yagnanarayana Dikshita, who, however, to give some dramatic interest to his poem, placed the renunciation of Achyutappa after the outbreak of the civil war, and the death of Venkata II Nothing could be farther from the truth Anquetil du Perron said that Achyutappa "had resigned and given up the government affairs some years before 1600"[6] But Fr Pimenta, when passing through Tanjore in 1597, wrote that Achyutappa "has lately renounced the world and prepared himself for death"[7] Fr du Jarric

1 From Fr B Coutinho, Purchas, X, p 222

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

3 Ibid

4 Ibid, Purchas, l c

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 273

6 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 168

7 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 219

agrees with him [1] Hence there can be no longer any doubt about the date of Achyutappa s renunciation the year 1597 witnessed the coronation of Raghunatha and his father's pilgrimage to Srirangam. The *Raghunathabhyudayam* agrees with Pimenta and Anquetil du Perron according to this poem, Raghunatha was crowned King long before the civil war and the war with Ceylon [2]

Both Pimenta and du Jarric relate that when Achyutappa retired to Srirangam, he was faithfully "accompanied in that devotion by his seventy wives, all which were to be burned in the same fire with his carkasse. Hee had bestowed five thousand pieces of gold in sweet woods against that day" [3] Anquetil du Perron states that Achyutappa s death took place about 1600 [4] And Fr Coutinho, writing from Chandragiri on July 17th 1600 reports "This (Achyutappa Nayaka) died lately His corpse, along with 370 wives still alive was burnt in a big fire of sandal wood" [5]

Achyutappa is praised by the son of Govinda Dikshita for his long and beneficient rule, for the destruction of his enemies, and for his liberal patronage of learned men [6] He gave many villages in free tenure to the temple at Srirangam offered a costly diamond-throne to the god Ranganatha, with a rich necklace, crown and leg jewels, all set with diamonds. He had many *agraharams* built in his name and lodged many Brahmans in them. He performed many *pujas* and other religious services in various temples, such as those of Chidambaram, Tirupati

1. Du Jarric I, p. 648.

2. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 286-7

3. From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva Purchas, l. c. Cf. Du Jarric l. c.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

5 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap C, No V This passage had been translated by Purchas, X, p. 222, as follows "His three hundred Concubines being burned with him to honour his Exequies, willingly leaping into the flames"

6. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 273.

Kalahasti etc [1] According to the *Raghunathabhyudayam*, the beautiful golden tower over the shrine of Srirangam was one of his gifts to the god This poem also records many presents made by him to the god Siva, who was worshipped at Rameswaram, and the restoration and reconstruction of many holy bathing ghats of this place which were then in ruins [2]

3 Govinda Dikshita implies that Raghunatha was the eldest son of Achyutappa Nayaka, but Anquetil du Perron tells us that the eldest son of Achyutappa had been imprisoned by order of his father [3], and this information is confirmed by Fr Coutinho, in his letter of July 17th, 1600, to Fr Pimenta [4] No reason for such an imprisonment is given, what is clear is the extreme predilection of Achyutappa for Raghunatha "When Raghunatha grew up", says Ramabhadramba in her poem, "his great qualities pleased his father very much He had several Princesses of the Pandya and of other kingdoms married to him Achyutappa made Raghunatha Yuvaraja" [5] The same poem, when describing the return of Raghunatha from Penukonda after defeating the Muslim hordes, who were menacing the capital of Venkata II, gives an instance of his special fondness When Achyuta heard that his son Raghunatha was returning after accomplishing his mission with the Emperor of Karnata, he proceeded some distance from his capital to meet him, and gave him a fitting reception [6] Sivappa Nayaka, his grand-father, also had an extraordinary predilection for his grandson Raghunatha If we are to believe Govinda D kshita "When he and many other famous scholars were once sitting in the court of Chevva (Siva), Raghunatha was brought before them, a small child Seeing the child Chevva in great delight said "This child will become great and rule the whole kingdom, and we

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1 Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p 6-7 Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 270

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 285.

3 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 168

4 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 285

6 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 286

shall become famous on his account"[1] This singular love for Raghunatha naturally excluded the eldest son from the succession to the throne and this was perhaps the reason of the latter's imprisonment.

On many occasions such predilections have been the origin of unspeakable family tragedies as it was in the present case. The crime that ensued was carefully concealed by both the court poets Yagnanarayana Dikshita and Ramabhadramba, who did not mention even the existence of such a brother After Raghunatha's accession to the throne his brother remained under custody and either because of a natural fear proceeding from the fact that his own right to the crown was less founded than that of his brother or owing perhaps to a court conspiracy in which his own brother was implicated, Raghunatha murdered his elder brother this crime is testified to by both Anquetil du Perron and Fr Coutinho[2] As Fr Coutinho speaks of both events in the same letter dated July 1600 this fratricide must have been committed in the beginning of Raghunatha's reign perhaps immediately after the death of his father

4. Raghunatha's relations with Venkata II are a little suspicious. There is no doubt that in 1604 the latter received an envoy probably with the tribute, from the Nayak of Tanjore[3] Nevertheless it seems that, before 1606 Tanjore had withdrawn the payment of tribute[4] In 1608 at the end of September or at the beginning of October Tanjore again sent his tribute to Venkata, according to a letter of Fr. Coutinho, referred to in the preceding chapter[5] About 1610, however Tanjore was not on friendly terms with Vijayanagara At about this time Venkata besieged the city of St Thome the Portuguese were aided by Ragunatha who received for this service a letter from the Spanish sovereign (who was then also the King

1. *Sahitya Sudha* S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 267
2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c. Letter of Fr Coutinho mentioned above.
3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606 Ap. C, No. XXII.
4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1606-1607 Ibid. No XXVI.
5. Cf. Ch. XVII No. 11.

of Portugal) thanking him for his aid[1] This is a proof that Raghunatha's policy towards the Empire was very suspicious After Venkata's death however he became as we shall see, the most enthusiastic supporter of the heir appointed by Venkata on his death-bed

5 When Venkata II ascended the throne of Vijayanagara, the Nayak of Jinji was probably Krishnappa Nayaka[2], called Vencapatir by Anquetil du Perron[3] We do not know what kind of relations existed between him and Surappa Nayaka, who has been spoken of in the preceding chapters[4] Anquetil du Perron says that Krishnappa Nayaka succeeded his father[5] Who was then his predecessor? We cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question Mr Rangachari calls Krishnappa Nayaka, Varadappa Nayak (1580-1620), and states that he was the son of his predecessor Venkatappa (1570-1580), without however, mentioning the source of his information[6]

We know nevertheless that after the death of his father, Krishnappa Nayaka, who must have been then a young man, was imprisoned by his uncle in the same fortress of Jinji But "by helpe of his friends", says Fr Pimenta, "he forced (his uncle) to become in the same place (prison) his unwilling successour, having put out his eyes"[7] Anquetil du Perron, who records the same fact, adds that Krishnappa was freed by his own subjects[8]

6 Krishnappa was probably one of the chiefs who revolted against Venkata II in the beginning of the latter's reign, for, we see him imprisoned by Venkata, early during the siege of Penukonda by the Golkonda forces[9] On the occasion of his rebellion, the Emperor sent against him an army under the command of one Venkata, an elder brother of the Kalahasti

1 Cf Ch XXI No 13
2 *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 286
3 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 169
4 Cf Ch VIII, No 3 and Ch XIII, No 7
5 Anquetil du Perron, l c
6 *Ind Ant*, XLV, p 92
7 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 218
8 Anquetil du Perron, l c
9 Cf Ch XVI, No 1

chief Ankabhupala Venkata marched against Krishnappa and defeated him[1] It seems that Krishnappa fell into the hands of the victorious generals for he was afterwards kept in the Emperor's prison[2] Such is the expression used by Ramabhadramba in her *Raghunathabhyudayam* it has been supposed, however that this Emperor's prison was in the capital itself Penukonda[3] During the time of his confinement the Jinji territory seems to have been ruled by Venkata the general who had defeated the Nayak because the same *Ushaparinayam*, that gives us the information about his victory says that after this event Venkata constructed in his territory (*viz* Krishnappa's) a large tank, and named it Chennasagaram after his father"[4] This seems to imply a long stay in the Jinji country

It happened afterwards that Raghunatha Nayaka, after the defeat of the Golkonda forces asked the Emperor Venkata for the release of Krishnappa, which was granted through the Tanjore Crown Prince. 'The lord of Tundira (Jinji) then prostrated himself with his Queen before Raghunatha, and showed his gratitude by giving Raghunatha his daughter in marriage[5]

7 Some years after Krishnappa's return to Jinji Fr Nicolas Pimenta a Jesuit traveller often mentioned in this work, made his acquaintance while making his visitation of the Jesuit missions in the South of India from him we fortunately possess a valuable account of his dealings with the Nayak and of the very city and fortress of Jinji.

Their first meeting took place in the city of Chidambaram in 1597 Pimenta arrived there on his way to St. Thome, where Krishnappa Nayaka happened to be at the time. "The Naichus of Gingi says Pimenta himself "was come thither in whose Dominion it standeth. He commanded that we should be brought to his Presence. Before us two hundred Brachmanes went in a ranke to sprinkle the house with Holy water and to prevent Sorcerie against the King which they use to doe every

1. *Ushaparinayam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 308
2. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar o. c., p. 286
3 Cf. Ibid., p. 2?2, note.
4. Ibid., p. 308.
5 *Raghunathabhyudayam* Ibid., p 286

day that the King first entreth into any house We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chaine hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all over his brest, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearles, some Princes and Brachmanes attended him He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that wee chewed not the leaves of Betele which were offered us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which hee was building" [1]

They met again after some days at Jinji itself Fr Pimenta's narrative is worth reading, it shows the greatness and wealth of this famous city, called at that time by the Europeans *the Troy of the East*, it shows as well some of the customs and ceremonies performed in the court of Krishnappa Nayaka

"Wee went thence to Gingi," writes Pimenta, "the greatest Citie we have seene in India, and bigger than any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted In the midst therefore is a Castle like a Citie, high walled with great hewen stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into Bulwarkes and Turrets, and made impregnable The Naicus showed us his golden stuffe, amongst which were two great Pots carried on their shoulders full of water for the King to drinke The Naicus appointed our lodging in the Tower, but the heat forced us to the Grove (though consecrated to an Idoll)

"The next day the inner part of the Castle was shewed us, having no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded In the Court the younger sort were exercised in Tilts Wee saw much Ordnance, Powder, and Shot, a spring also of cleare water He (the Nayak) was guarded homeward with a thousand armed men in the Streete were ranked three hundred Elephants as it were fitted to the warre At the Porch one entertained him with an Oration in his praise, a thing usuall in their solemne pompes Christapanaichus (Krishnappa Nayaka), (that is his name)

1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 208 Cf Du Jarric, I, p 634

shewed us another day his store of Jewels, and gave us leave in his new Citie [1]

8. This new city referred to by Pimenta was then under construction It was named Christapatama, i.e Krishnapatam after the name of the Nayak its founder [2] It is located" says du Jarric, "in th country called Arungor near the mouth of the river Vellar" [3] In order to foster the new foundation Krishnappa allowed every body to select his own building-site and a piece of land was assigned to everybody in the outskirts of the city for agricultural purposes. Consequently many buildings were under construction when the visitor went there [4] To superintend the building of this town Krishnappa had appointed one of the nobles of his kingdom called Cholgana (Solaga) of whom we shall speak a little further on [5]

Krishnappa Nayaka earnestly asked Fr Pimenta to build a church in this new city and to erect a residence for a priest, he himself giving a good endowment two hundred pieces of gold being assigned to the Priest thereof" says Pimenta, "his Letters Patents written in the Tamulan and Badagan Languages" [6] This grant was made in the presence of all the grandees and nobles of the court [7] Accordingly Fr Pimenta called Fr Alexander Levi a man of renowned holiness and of great knowledge of the vernacular from Travancore and left him at Krishnapatam to superintend the construction of the new church [8]

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1. From the same to the same Purchas, X, p 217-8. Cf. Du Jarric I, p. 640-2. See Heras, *The City of Jinji at the End of the 16th Century Ind. Ant.*, LIV p. 41-2 where this extract of Pimenta's letter is illustrated and commented upon.

2. Du Jarric, l. c.

3 Ibid., p. 646 It forms the present Hindu quarter of Porto Novo

4. Ibid., p. 646 7

5 Ibid., p 642.

6 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C. Aquaviva Purchas, X, p 218

7 Du Jarric, I, p. 642-3

8. Ibid., p. 647 It is very strange to see Krishnappa Nayaka favouring so much the Portuguese Jesuits, whose nation was

9 One of the Jesuit Letters of 1606 states that from among the three Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, he of Jinji was the most powerful, and accordingly he had divided his dominions among other smaller Nayaks One of these smaller Nayaks, subjects to Krishnappa Nayaka, was, according to the same letter, Lingama Nayaka of Vellore [1] Fr Pimenta mentions two other feudatories of Krishnappa, 'the Princes of Trividin (Tiruvadi) and Salavaccha (?)' [2] The above mentioned Solaga was also one of the chiefs of the highest rank [3] He appears both in the *Sahityaratnakara* of Yagnanarayana Dikshita and in the *Raghunathabhyudayam* of Ramabhadramba [4] During Fr Pimenta's stay at Jinji, Solaga's son, a boy of fourteen, 'accompanied by many nobles and old men', reached the capital to ask Krishnappa to name him after himself, with the further request of a grant of a golden chair and several pieces of land He became a close friend of the Jesuits, so close that when the Nayak allowed the Fathers to depart he commended them to the care of Solaga's son, who accompanied them safely to the castle of his father [5]

The latter was living in a small fort at the mouth of the river Colerun "He had seene his eighties, and was a man of great authority among his subjects, feared by everybody" [6] "Colgana (Solaga), a great man, received us with great kindnesse", says Fr Pimenta himself "Hee is old and severe, and hath caused Crocodiles to bee put in his River for his securitie, charging them not to hurt his owne people They nevertheless killed a man, whereupon I knowe not by what arts hee tooke two of them which were the malefactors, and put chaines about

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reputed as polluted by the orthodox Hindus Du Jarric, I, p 635, affirms that the Nayak used to say that 'he had formerly seen other Portuguese priests, but none was alike to these'

1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII

2 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 209

3 Du Jarric, I, p 642

4 We shall speak of him again in the begining of the following volume

5 Du Jarric, I, p 643

6 Ibid, p, 647.

their neckes and cast them into a miry place, there to bee stoned by the people, and to die of famine. One of these we saw' [1]

This description of the person and character of Solaga marvellously agrees with the account given of him in the *Raghunathabhyudayam* He had occupied an island near the sea, and was giving great trouble to the surrounding country He used to carry away women from the neighbouring country and was giving the people no peace" [2]

10 Such were some of the tributaries of the powerful Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji Holding such a power as he did, it is not strange that his old ideas of independence should again rise in his mind The fact is that in 1600 the nobles and courtiers of Venkata II were earnestly urging him to capture the town of Jinji as Fr Coutinho informs us in one of his letters [3] Anquetil du Perron says that Venkata had plenty of reasons for waging war against the Nayak of Jinji, in 1600 [4] but nowhere are these reasons found. One was very likely the refusal of the annual tribute as pointed out by the same Anquetil.

And then all of a sudden it happened that Krishnappa Nayaka became demented. 'Krishnappa Naiken the Sovereign of Jinji" says Anquetil du Perron "became insane, as a result of a poison which was administered to him [5] This was indeed the first rumour of this affair but soon it was clear that his madness was feigned, as we read in Fr Coutinho s letter mentioned above Christapanaicus (Krishnappa Nayaka) says he, being poisoned, got mad, although the fraud is now patent the King feigned to be out of his head in ord r to please four of the grandees of his kingdom who were afterwards killed by his order" This apparent insanity saved Krishnappa Nayaka from the war

1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 218 Cf. Du Jarric I, p. 647-8.

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 286.

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri July 17th, 1600 Ap. C No V

4. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166

5 Ibid., p. 169

which Venkata and his nobles were ready to make upon him "They persuaded the King (Venkata) to invest this city (Jinji)", says Coutinho, "but he, though having right to do so, replied that it would be a most cruel thing to go to war with a feudatory while he was insane" [1]

Four years later, in 1604, Krishnappa sent an embassy to Venkata, as the Jesuit letters inform us [2], but war burst out at last towards the end of 1607, ending with great dishonour to the Nayak

II On this occasion Venkata, not being able to stand the tardiness of the Nayak in paying his tribute, 'despatched his captains to conquer the lands of the Naique of Ginga (Jinji)', says Fr Coutinho in another letter One of these captains, and perhaps the commander-in-chief, was Velugoti Yachama Nayadu, for the *Velugutivaru Vamsavali* says that in the course of Venkata's reign he captured Chengi (Jinji) [3] "While the imperial army was approaching the fortress, God wanted to punish the Naique who was within," continues Coutinho "Had he remained in the fortress, nobody would have defeated him, for it is impregnable, but he, too arrogant, went out to meet the army of the King (Venkata) Then his own captains, despairing, deserted him, and the said Naique fell prisoner into the hands of his enemies And he," adds Coutinho, "distributed his earrings and other jewels he bore on his chest among his opponents, in order to induce them not to kill him" Such was the great victory won on New Year's day, 1608

News of the happy event reached Vellore at midnight The Emperor set out for Jinji next morning with a large retinue of courtiers and relations "The imprisoned Naique prostrated himself at his feet, and through the Queen and her brothers, agreed to paying him a sum of 600,000 *cruzados*, and to handing over to the Queen the fortress of Ganaripatao, which lay close by After this, the King retired again to Vellur, and the Naique

1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V Cf Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No. XXII

3 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 274

of Ginga (Jinji) moved by his loss of money and elephants marched towards Cirangan (Srirangam) one of his temples saying that he did not want to govern any more, and so on. But the two Naiques of Madura and Tangior who are his friends presented him with many gifts and caused him to return to his State where he is now" [1]

12. Precisely at the end of this year an embassy from the Dutch traders arrived at Krishnappa's court, requesting his permission to establish themselves at Devanapatnam, near the present European Club Cuddalore. A Jesuit letter informs us that the Nayak received these (the Dutch) very hospitably and allowed them to build a citadel at the post where they landed [2] The Nayak's *olla* in which this first concession to the Dutch was made, is dated November 30th 1608 [3]

The letter quoted above relates that the Dutch, after obtaining this document had very diligently begun to build the citadel [4] In one of the following chapters we shall see the consequences that followed the construction of this fort which was finally destroyed by order of Emperor Venkata.

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1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore October 11th, 1608, Ap C, No. XXIII See Ap. C, No. XXV, where Fr Laerzio alludes probably to this war in his letter to Fr C. Aquaviva dated Cochin, December 30th, 1608

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1609 Ap. C, No. XXX.

3. "Copy of the Caull of the King of Gingier —Jacob de Bitter Captain, representing Admiral Pieter Willemsen Verhoeven We promise to protect the Dutchmen who will settle in Tegenampatna, to allow them to build a town, to refuse entrance in it to the Portuguese, to whom we shall remain hostile. On the other hand, we Dutch men promise to bring all kinds of goods, to traffic with all traders, on the condition that they will pay us four for every hundred of all the merchandise we shall bring there, excepting the rice which is used at home, for which they will not pay Moreover we shall pay four for every hundred of the merchandise that we shall carry away from there. Those who have paid once will not pay again. We promise and take the oath to keep all these faithfully Amen. On the 30th of November of the year 1608 in the large town of Gingier" De Jongue, III, p. 281-2.

4. *Litterae Annuae* mentioned in note 2.

CHAPTER XX

THE END OF THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY —1 Vindication of Viceroy Tirumala His rule —2 Tirumala and the Jesuits —3 Conquests of Raja Wodevar of Mysore His relations with the Viceroy —4 Muhammadan invasion of the Kanarese country —5 Second inroad of Manjun Khan Conquest of Mysore —6 The Viceroy Tirumala leaves Seringapatam —7 Occupation of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar His relations with Venkata II —8 The Nayaks of Ikeri —9 The Queen of Ullal and her fortress against Mangalore —10 Kempe Gowda II of Yelahanka —11 The chiefs of Chitaldroog and Bellur —12 Portuguese interests in Kanara

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Hindu inscriptions and grants —2 Jesuit letters —3 *Morcoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives) —4 Ferishta —5 Guerreiro —6 Anquetil du Perron, Travels of Pietro della Valle —7 *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Sivatattvaratnakara*

THE concocted story of the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, about how Prince Tirumala was bribed by the Nayak of Madura in the beginning of Venkata's reign, and then retreated to Seringapatam in a rebellious attitude against his uncle, has found its way into several modern works The character of the Kanarese Viceroy has thus come to be associated with the specially repulsive ideas of rebellion and treachery, totally at variance with the historical personality of the unfortunate nephew of Venkatapatiraya Can it be possible that the energetic and warlike Emperor would have waited fourteen years till he saw his supposed rebellious nephew expelled from the capital of his viceroyalty? On the other hand, no word on this supposed attitude of Tirumala is found either in Anquetil du Perron, who merely remarks that he was residing at Seringapatam [1], or in the Jesuit letters, which testify, however, that Venkata had a natural predilection for Tirumala's younger

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1 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 167

brother Ranga [1] Moreover we know two of Tirumala's inscriptions of the year 1585 in the Mysore district, in which he is styled Mahamandaleswara [2]—a title which suggests a subordinate rank under the Emperor His rule as Viceroy of the Kanarese country could not be stigmatized as either weak or fictitious for in 1609-10 just on the eve of his departure from Seringapatam the Kalasa Karkala chief Bhayirarasa Vodeya (son of Vira Bhayirarasa Vodeya who did not acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara) is said in one of his inscriptions to rule as feudatory of Venkata II [3] Fr Coutinho says in one of his letters that Tirumala is liked by more as well as more powerful chieftains than his brother Ranga [4] Now the above mentioned inscription of the Kalasa Karkala chief proves that, instead of taking advantage of this friendship and respect of the subordinate chiefs for rebelling against his uncle, he obtained the acknowledgment of his sovereignty at least from one who did not pay homage to his predecessors since the time of the battle of Raksas Tagdi [5]

Very little information about his internal administration has reached us. In 1598 he remitted the customs-dues on the village of Akalankajayya and when Bachihalli Pamappa Nayaka heard of this this chief too granted a similar exemption to the village of Vijayapura [6] In 1607 he made a grant for the service of the god [7] Again in 1610 he made another grant to Holinahala Linganna of the Seringampattana *matha* [8] and another inscription of the same year seems to mention one of his dependants named Ramanujayya, who is styled the establisher of the path of the Vedas follower of both Vedanta [9]

1. Cf. Ch. XXIV No. 6
2. *Ep Carn* III, Sr 39 and 40
3. Ibid., Mh, 63 Cf. H. Krishna Sastri *Karkala Inscription of Bhairava II Ep Ind.*, VIII, p. 127
4. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri July 17th, 1600 Ap. O No. V
5. Cf. Ch. X, No 17
6. *Ep Carn* IV Gu, 52.
7. Ibid., Hs 36
8. Ibid., Ch, 194.
9. Ibid. Gu, 40

2 Tirumala's character is fully described in the letters of the Jesuits who were living at this time at the court of Venkata He was determined that at least one of the Fathers should reside at Seringapatam, and erect a church for the Christians of his country [1] On July 17th, 1600, Fr Coutinho wrote to Fr Pimenta "Trimaragius, the eldest son of the King's brother, heir of his kingdom, urges us again and again inviting us to his court He sent us a letter which I am going to copy here —

"Trimanus, Mahanda Lispara, Ramarragius Trimarragius, Lord great prince, sends this letter to the Fathers I shall rejoice very much when I shall hear that you are coming to this town of mine, I shall give you then a good piece of land in this city to build a house and church, moreover five hundred-fold pagodes yearly Besides, I shall receive you with great honour and generosity So I swear by Lord Zanganatam (Ranganatam) and by the feet of my father Ramaraja You will learn the rest from my ambassador Come at once, and do not make me wait" [2]

This seems to have been Tirumala's first invitation to the Jesuits to come to his court Later in the same year two of the Fathers went through Seringapatam in the company of Venkata's ambassadors to the Viceroy of Goa, as will be related in the following chapter On this occasion Tirumala constantly urged the Fathers 'that one of them would stay with him on returning' [3] But they did not gratify his wish, partly because of the want of missionaries, and partly on account of the antipathy of Venkata II towards his nephew, the Viceroy In 1606 Tirumala sent once more a message to the Fathers residing at the imperial court, and addressed them the following letter —

"In the year Subaratut, in the 10th month, on the 10th day after full moon Letter of Trimalaraju, Ramaraju's son, the greatest Prince, Raju among Rajus, sent to the Fathers at

1 Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601*, p 137 Cf Heras, *The Jesuit Influence*, *Q J M S*, XIV, p 133-4

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap C, No V

3 Ibid

Ciandagrim (Chandragiri) I received your letter you sent me through your Raju and I kept it over my heart. All your presents are also in my possession I was very glad to know that you have spoken in my interest with the King and the Princes of the kingdom about my journey to the court. You told me, when passing through here on your way to Goa, that you would soon come back for good. I am astonished you are not yet here. Come soon do not hesitate. My envoy will tell you the rest [1]

This second letter of Tirumala is a most valuable document for determining the relations between him and his uncle. He was desirous to go to the court, a strange disposition of mind to be expected from a rebellious feudatory as he is commonly depicted. To attain this object he used the Jesuit influence at the court of his uncle. The Jesuits spoke to Venkata about Tirumala's coming but apparently the Emperor disliked the proposal or at least was loth to give his approval to it [2]

In 1608 the Jesuits had not yet gone to Seringapatam. Another letter of Fr Coutinho written in this year says that "Tirumalarayu the Prince is continously writing *ollas* to us from Cirangapatao (Seringapatam) where he resides, calling us (to his court) and showing by writing the same friendship he showed personally to us while going to Goa, along with the ambassadors of the King [3]

Tirumala's wishes were never granted. The year 1610 witnessed the end of his viceroyalty and several years passed before the opening of the Jesuit mission in Mysore.

3 One of the influential chiefs of the Kanarese country at the beginning of Venkata's reign was, beyond doubt, Raja

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604 1606 Ap. C, No. XXII

2. Can this agree with the following words condemnatory of the conduct of Tirumala towards his uncle "This coolness (of Tirumala towards Venkata) led directly to the taking of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore." Richards, *Salem Gazetteer* p. 67 We shall see later on that the capture of Seringapatam was due precisely to the coolness of Venkata towards Tirumala. Cf. No 6 infra.

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

Wodeyar of Mysore. We have seen elsewhere how at the end of Ranga's reign, he began the policy of annexing petty States to his own As Madura was in the Tamilian, so too he wanted to become supreme lord of the Kanara country, and yet always, it seems, under the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara Emperor With this aspiration he continued now to absorb systematically the territories of the neighbouring chiefs According to Wilk's list the territories seized by the Raja of Mysore in the beginning of Venkata's reign were the following In 1545, he conquered from one Tima Raja, Rang Sammudir containing twelve villages In 1590 he captured Kembala by assault In 1505 Narmalli and Karugalli were taken from one of his relations In 1600 Arrakerra, the primitive jagir of Jagadeva Raya, was likewise annexed, and in 1606 he took Sosilla and Bannur from the Raja of Talakkad, and Canniambaddi from Dudeia Prabhu [1]

Such accession of power naturally aroused the suspicions of the Seringapatam Viceroy That was perhaps the reason why he besieged the town of Kesara, which depended on the Wodeyar But the Mysore forces defeated the army of the Viceroy, one elephant being among the plunder "But Raj Wadeyar", says Wilks, "sagely reflecting, as the manuscript states, that he could maintain thirty soldiers at the same expense as one elephant, sent the animal as a peace offering to the Viceroy The next year," continues Wilks, "we find him received with particular favour at the court, and immediately afterwards, not only refusing to pay his tribute on pretence of some damage done to his plantations by the people of the Viceroy, but receiving a further grant of land to compensate for the injury" [2]

The Government of Seringapatam was unwillingly yielding to the powerful chief, and an attempt on his life was made, but without success "The opportunity", says Wilks, "was expected to be obtained by the mission of an officer of the court, attended as usual by a large but select retinue, for security after the perpetration of the murder, and ostensibly charged

1 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p 44

2 Ibid, p 38

with a secret and confidential message from the Viceroy The Raja unsuspicious of treachery without hesitation ordered all attendants to withdraw but a more vigilant observer took the precaution of concealing himself behind one of the pillars of the hall of audience and on perceiving the officer to grasp his dagger instantly inflicted on the assassin the fate intended for the Raja"[1]

4. The Viceroy however was not the only one who was scheming to seize the newly acquired territories of Raja Wodeyar A new foe had sprung up in the person of the Sultan of Bijapur Early in 1587 while Venkata was waging war with Golkonda Ibrahim Adil Shah II despatched one of his generals, Balil Khan with twelve thousand horse, "to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar / (Kanara) and in case they refused payment to reduce their forts"[2] He was in Kanara for one year during which he nearly brought affairs in that quarter to a final adjustment[3] But he was suddenly recalled to the court to join the Sultan's army against Ahmadnagar When he received his order "he was just on the point of receiving a large sum as part of the arrears of tribute, which would have been lost to the treasury had he immediately made public his orders of recall and the troops would also have met with great difficulties as he himself confessed in the presence of the Sultan according to Ferishta[4] Finally he retreated to Bijapur with several Rajas of the Kanarese country who accompanied him to pay their compliments to the King"[5] These chiefs were afterwards honoured by Ibrahim Adil Shah with precious robes[6] One chief was, according to Ferishta, the son of Arsappa Nayaka[7] Another was named as the Portuguese sources tell us Sam Carnao Botto (?) We have been unable to identify this person whose territory was near the fort of Basrur When

1. Ibid., p. 39
2. Ferishta, III, p. 161.
3 Ibid.
4. Ibid., p 162.
5 Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 163.
7 Ibid.

the Portuguese sovereign was informed by his Viceroy of the intention of this chief to relinquish his dominions to Bijapur, he sent his instructions as follows "As regards the business of Sam Carnao Botto, which is of great importance, as is clear from the way it goes on, I recommend to be very careful, and to consent by no means that those fortresses be handed over to Idalxa (Adil Shah), using every possible endeavour to this end"[1] But shortly after tidings were sent to the King of the actual surrender of these forts to Bijapur "Again the same governor informs me that, on account of the entrusting of the fortresses to Idalxa by Sao Carnao Botto the fortress of Barcelor (Basrur) is in a great distress"[2]

5 Nevertheless this subjection of the North Kanara petty rulers to the sway of Bijapur was due only to the force of the latter's arms, for from the time of Balil Khan's retreat in 1588 up to the year 1593 all of them 'had neglected to pay their tribute' Ibrahim Adil Shah resolved this year to humble these chiefs "For this purpose", says Ferishta, "he despatched Manjun Khan with a considerable army This general on arriving at Bakapur halted, and summoned all the Rays to meet him with their tributes, promising protection to those who obeyed, but threatening the refractory with vengeance Most of them prepared to comply with his demands and intended coming in a body to visit him, but as Ganga Naik, who was one of the principal Rays of Malabar (Kanara), and had eight or ten thousand horse and foot in his pay, went first to pay his respects, the rest jealous of his power, and suspecting that he had gone to form some plan against them with Manjun Khan, broke off their engagements and withdrew to the mountains Manjun Khan, not thinking it prudent to follow them into an unknown country, marched with Ganga Naik against Jerreh which belonged to Arsappa Naik, who with his allies, to the number of twenty thousand men, endeavoured to interrupt the siege For three days bloody

1 From King Philip II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap B, No I

2 From the same to the same, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap B, No II

skirmishes were maintained by the Bijapur troops, who could not make use of their cavalry owing to the nature of the ground, so that their success was frequently doubtful. But at length the good fortune of the king prevailed" says the Muhammadan writer "and Arsappa, seeing further resistance vain consented to pay tribute, and made a present of two fine elephants to Manjun Khan with many curious and valuable effects for the King"

Manjun Khan accompanied by Ganga Nayak and Arsappa Nayak, who now joined the invader then proceeded southwards and besieged the city of Mysore [1] The siege lasted three months but the city was finally reduced, twenty five elephants being taken among the booty It is a pity that we have no further details concerning the surrender of Raja Wodeyar's capital about which the Hindu sources maintain a discreet silence.

Mysore however did not remain long in the possession of the Muhammadans for Manjun Khan was again recalled at Bijapur in the same year to assist the Sultan's troops against his brother who had rebelled at Belgaum After his retreat the Kanarese Rajas again withdrew their allegiance to Bijapur as is implied in Ferishta's statement "The Hindus of Malabar (Kanara) seizing the opportunity invaded the districts of Bankapur" [3] These Hindus who invaded the districts of Bankapur must have been a detachment sent there by Venkata II himself according to the treaty enacted just then between him and the Sultan of Ahmadnagar against the Sultan of Bijapur [4] Naturally the presence of the imperial army in North Kanara suggests the freedom of the petty Rajas of Kanara from Muslim slavery

The rising of Ibrahim Adil Shah's brother at Belgaum proved on this occasion the salvation of Kanara. The rapid conquests made by Manjun Khan were the beginning of the successful

1 Ferishta says here that Mysore belonged to Venkatadri Naik *i e*, the Ikeri Nayak. This is a palpable mistake copied by Burgess, *Chronology* p 56.

2. Ferishta III p. 175-6

3. Ib d., p. 180.

4. Ibid., p. 286

campaign which would have marked the end of the Hindu power in this country This was likewise the opinion of the Portuguese of those days, who were close to the scene of that tragedy, and interested enough in the revenue coming from Kanara to fill up the empty state-coffers We know of this feeling of the Portuguese through a letter of their King written in 1596 He wrote to the Viceroy as follows "(Mathias de Albuquerque) also writes to me that the Idalcao (Adil Khan) had sent some captains to fight against the Kings and Lords of Canara, at the request of the Queen of Baticalla (Bhatkal), he says likewise that two fortresses would have been taken by them in Gatty, had not the rising of the brother of the said Idalcao compelled him to recall the captains" [1]

6 Soon after the expulsion of the Muhammadans from the Kanarese country, an event took place in the capital of its Viceroyalty which completely upset the political balance in the West of the Empire We refer to the occupation of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore

The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says that Raja Wodeyar, on hearing of the defection of Tirumala in the siege of Madura, "resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Raya from his Viceroyalty, and sent his spies to test the feeling among Tirumala Raya's feudatories" [2] But we have rejected this passage as a concoction of the poet inconsistent with other proved historical facts, and as clearly evincing the author's biassed purpose, *viz* to extol the founder of the dynasty But this is not the only story forged around this event "The acquisition of Seringapatam in 1610", says Wilks, "is related in different manuscripts with a diversity of statement, which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel The pervailing tale states that the Viceroy Tremul Raj, being afflicted with *raj-pora* or royal boil (the disorder most fatal to opulent and luxurious Indians) retired to the holy temple of Talcaud (Talak-kad), with the view of being cured by the interposition of the

1 From King Philip II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, February 8th, 1596, Ap b, No V

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 303

We cannot with confidence join in the chorus of the authors who look upon this event as the first act of the dismemberment of the Empire [1] Raja Wodeyar always acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata II as may be seen from an inscription of 1604, recording a grant made by him, when Venkatapati Raya was seated on the jewelled throne [2] also from another of 1612 which commemorates another of his grants to Siva after acknowledging Venkata as his paramount lord [3] In the same year 1612, another event took place that proves Raja Wodeyar's subjection to the Emperor of Vijayanagara it is a charter confirming the acquisition of Seringapatam, obtained by Raja Wodeyar from Venkata II This document is not yet available, but is referred to in an inscription of Chama Raja Wodeyar of 1622 "On a certain day" says the incription "when this Chama Raj Odeyar of Maisur was engaged in conversation on good stories of works of merit it came into his mind that he would establish an agrahara. And on inquiry finding that formerly in the Saka year 1534 (A D 1612) when Venkatapatideva Maharaya being in Ghanagiri (Penukonda), ruling the kingdom of the world, he had granted to Raj Odeyar a King of his own line, Ummatur and Seringapatana, as an hereditary estate, Raja Odeyar had then sent a petition saying he wished to establish an *agrahara* and that Venkatapati Raya had expressed his strong approval and granted a copper sasana" [4]

This ratification of the capture of Seringapatam and the concession of the village of Bevinahalli to Raja Wodeyar by Venkata are recorded in two inscriptions of the former belonging to the years 1614 and 1615 both prove likewise the loyalty of the Raja to Venkata till the end of the latter's reign, for they mention him as the supreme sovereign. The first mentions a grant of Raja Wodeyar "for the god Chaluvaraya and 28

1. Cf. Rice, *Mysore* I p. 356; Rice *Mysore and Coorg* p. 122; Sewell p. 220 H. Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* *A.S.I* *1911 12* p. 196.

2. *Ep Carn.*, IV Ch, 62.

3 Ibid., 135

4. *Ep Carn.*, III, TN 62.

Brahmans belonging to Seringapatam, which Venkatapati Raya has assigned to him as an umbali" [1], the second records another grant made by the same "for the god Ramachandra of Vahnipura of the village of Bevinahalli belonging to Bannur, which he had received from Venkatapatideva Maharaya as an hereditary permanent estate" [2]

8 The Mysore chief was not alone in his desire to obtain supremacy in Kanara The Ikeri Nayak, Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, was successfully administering his kingdom It was he who gave the first impulse to expansion, which was followed by his successor Venkatappa A letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy Conde de Vidigueira informs us of the ambitious projects of Chikka Sankanna It runs as follows "You say that the Queen of Baticala (Bhatkal) has not paid the tribute due for many years, and that she is now in great distress on account of one Naique (Chikka Sankanna Nayaka) formerly a subject of the king of Narsingua (Vijayanagara) but now risen to power, and who gives clear proofs of his ambition to become the paramount lord over all those neighbouring kings" [3]

Chikka Sankanna constructed a beautiful new town at Ikeri with a magnificent palace, which was provided with a handsome theatre At the village of Sangala he had a big tank built and a garden laid out, which contained all kinds of trees and creepers [4]

Although he had a son called Siddhappa Nayaka, in his old age he appointed his elder brother's son, Venkatappa Nayaka, his successor, and nominated the latter's younger brother, Rama Raja, Yuvaraja [5] This fact must be placed before, or in the

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1 Ibid, Sr, 157

2 Ibid, TN, 116 According to Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p 281, the 'grants' of Venkata II to Raja Wodeyar 'appear to have been conquests rather than grants'

3 From King Philip II to the Viceroy Conde de Vidigueira, Lisbon, Nevember 21st, 1598, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, III, pt 2nd, p 916

4 *Sivatattvaratnakara*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 339

5 Ibid, p 338-9 Mr Sewell, II, p 177, says that Siddhappa Nayaka succeeded his father Sankanna, but reigned only one year (1603-4)

first half of 1592 for there is an inscription of September 30th 1592, in which Venkatappa appears as Nayaka of Ikeri making a grant for the services of a *matha* [1]

The new ruler was to be the most illustrious of the princes of Ikeri and was destined to become for time the rival of Mysore in his wars of conquest but since most of his achievements as a successful conqueror belong to the period subsequent to the death of Venkata II we shall refer to them all in the following volume. Mr Sewell qualifies him as a weak ruler [2] a statement that appears entirely false for he was a valiant and enterprising general as well as a shrewd politician It has also been said that he threw off his dependence on the Vijayanagara Emperor [3] though no reliable proof of this has been yet afforded. As a matter of fact we have convincing proofs of his loyalty to Venkata II in the aforesaid inscription of 1592 and in another of 1614, at Udipi, South Kanara in which mention is made of the grant of the village of Huvinakere by Venkatappa Nayak of Keladi to the local Krishnamatha [4] In both the Ikeri chief acknowledges Venkata II as his sovereign.

9 One of Venkatappa s royal neighbours was Bukka Devi, Chautar Queen of Ullal of whom we have already spoken in a preceding chapter After the settlement of the differences between her and the King of Bangher recorded during the reign of Ranga I, it seems that she constructed a fortress in Ullal to oppose the one built by the Portuguese at Mangalore but was compelled by the Portuguese Viceroy to destroy it probably in fulfilment of one of the terms of thé treaty of peace. The King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy on February 18th 1595 approving of this treaty with the Queen of Ullal [5] But on the 26th of the same month probably after getting fuller information his Majesty wrote to his representative in India as follows 'I approve of the peace made with the Queen

1. *M A. D.*, *1923* p 106 7
2. Sewell, II p. 177
3. Rice *Mysore* II, p. 431.
4. 110 of 1901
5 From King Phillipp II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque Lisbon, February 18th, 1595 *Archivo Portugues Oriental* III, p. 478.

of Ollala (Ullal) after forcing her to pull down the fortress that she had constructed and retained with such great loss of reputation to that State (of Portuguese India), but I am informed now that the aforesaid fortress of Ollala has not been demolished as completely as it ought to have been, and that the foundations are still remaining, in such a way that in a very few days and with very little work it may be put up again, I recommend you to see that the foundations are totally destroyed" [1].

Accordingly the Viceroy sent to Ullal Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, who razed the fortress to the ground, as another letter of the King informs us [2] In the same letter we are told that the Queen was waging war against the King of the Serra (?) at about 1597. The King of Portugal "had written to the King of Banguel (Bangher) charging him to settle such differences, and praying him that he would by no means join the aforesaid King of the Serra against the Queen" [3] This final recommendation of the Portuguese sovereign makes it seem probable that the King of Bangher had formerly rendered some aid to the King of the Serra against the sovereign of Ullal This was customary in the court of Portugal, it recommended people not to do in future that which it knew was already being done Anyhow this incident was probably the cause of the definite break of relations between the two neighbouring chiefs

The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle informs us about the relations between these two sovereigns and the subsequent events resulting from this break of intercourse, "yet, though they were Husband and Wife," says he, "they liv'd not together, but apart, each in their own lands on the confines whereof, either upon Rivers, where they caus'd Tents to be erected over boats, or in other places of delight, they came to see and converse with one another, the King of Banguel wanting not

1 From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 26th, 1595, Ibid, p 503

2 From the same to the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, Lisbon, February 5th, 1597, Ibid, III, pt 2nd, p 667

3 Ibid

other Wives and Women who accompany d him wherever he went 'Tis reported that this Queen had the Children which she hath, by this King of Banguel, if they were not by some other secret and more intimate Lover for they say she wants not such "[1]

10 During this period, in the petty state of Yelahanka we find Immadi Kempe Gowda II but we cannot admit that he was the immediate successor of Kempe Gowda, with out at the same time admitting that his reign lasted 89 years and specially when there are documents to support the probability of another chief between the two Kempe Gowdas[2]

He improved the Somesvara temple at Ulsur and, calling from Belur a famous sculptor named Jakanachary ordered him to carve on its walls the episode of the marriage of Parvati and Siva. The carvings says Mr B Puttaiya "consist of numerous sculptures and figures of Gods and Goddesses who attend the marriage, including Brahma and Vishnu and the thirty-three crores of Devathas or inhabitants of the celestial world. The details of the assemblage at the ceremony are all carved in stone with a wealth of elegance ornament, and realism so that one is astonished at the wonderful skill displayed in carving such intricating details on hard stone"[3]

It is said that Kempe Gowda II died in 1658. Hence we shall speak of him again later

11 Very little is known about the other states of Kanara during Venkata II's reign The year 1602 seems to have witnessed the death of Obana Nayaka who, being appointed by Sadasiva chief of Chitaldroog had acquired considerable importance during the reign of Tirumala and Ranga He was now succeeded by his son Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka during whose reign the possession of Mayakonda, Sente Bennur Holalkere, Anaji Jagalur and other places was contested in

1 Della Valle II, p. 313 Fr Coutinho in one of his letters says that 'Tornagoda, the Governor of Olala invites us (to go there) From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri July 17th 1600, Ap. C, No. V This must be a governor on behalf of Bukka Devi.

2 Cf. Puttaiya *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs* Q.J.M.S., XIII, p. 729 and *Ep Carn.*, IX, An, 47

3 Puttaiya o. c., p 730,

several battles with the Basvapatna chief. But they remained attached to the Chitaldroog territory. His governorship lasted until 1653, and in the long tenure of his office he had considerably extended his territories[1].

In Bellur we find a grand-son of Era Krishnappa Nayaka and son of Venkatadri. An inscription of 1587, which acknowledges the suzerainty of Venkata II 'ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom', records that Krishnappa Nayaka, grand-son of Era Krishnappa and son of Venkatappa Nayaka, made a grant for watchmen from money obtained from the temple endowments[2].

12 No other conquests by the Portuguese took place in Kanara during this period, but the King of Portugal as well as his Viceroy at Goa were carefully watching the fortunes of this country We have seen the interest the Portuguese sovereign took in the affair of the fortresses of Sao Carnao Botto Portuguese trade received its greatest supplies from Kanara "Accordingly (Manoel de Sousa) writes to me," says Philip II, "that the greatest quantity of pepper that comes by these fleets is taken from Kanara, and according to him it will be increased every year, a thing which will be of great value for the loading of our ships He says, moreover, that he was trying to satisfy the kings of the coast as much as he could because of this pepper, the majority of which comes from the lands of Sao Carnao Botto[3]"

This was the reason of the intercourse between the Portuguese and the chiefs of the Kanara country; for trading purposes also, several Portuguese forts were built on the coast, as we have narrated during the reign of Sadasiva In the begining of Venkata's reign, these fortresses were repaired and furnished with sufficient ammunition, according to an order of the Portuguese sovereign to the Viceroy dated February 18th, 1595[4]

1 Rice, *Mysore*, II, p 502

2 *Ep Carn.*, VI, Cm 79

3 From King Philipp II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap B, No I

4 From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 18th, 1595, Ap B, No IV.

CHAPTER XXI

VENKATA II'S RELATIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

SUMMARY.—1. St. Thome under Venkata II.—2. Contemporary description of the town.—3. Formation of the Portuguese Dutch and English Trading Companies.—4. Spain against England and the Netherlands.—5. Embassy of Venkata II to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha.—6. Embassy of Ayres de Saldanha to Venkata II.—7. Differences and riots at St. Thome.—8. Erection of the Diocese of Sao Thome de Meliapor.—9. Destruction of the city of Madras and fortress of Mylapore.—10. Great distress of the Portuguese in India in 1606.—11. Venkata II causes the Dutch to be expelled from Devanapatnam.—12. Correspondence between Venkata II and Philip III of Spain.—13. Siege of St. Thome by Venkata II.—14. Decision to fortify St. Thome and necessity of a Governor.—15. The Dutch obtain Pulicat from Venkata II.—16. First attempt of the English to settle at Pulicat.—17. Embassy of Venkata II to the English at Masulipatam. Their second voyage to Pulicat.—18. Portuguese designs against Pulicat.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives) —2. Jesuit letters.—3. Travels of Gasparo Balbi and Ludovico de Barthema, Anquetil du Perron.—4. Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Queyroz.—5. Documents concerning the Mylapore Diocese.—6. Letters of the E. I. C.

THE history of the dealings between Venkata II and the Portuguese chiefly centres round St Thome and Pulicat and in the meantime, Dutch and English traders appear in the southern seas boldly challenging the Portuguese monopoly and trying to make friends with the local rulers.

The city of St. Thome, from its position within the territory of Vijayanagara, paid at this time an almost nominal tribute to the Emperor. It consisted of a quarter per cent of the merchandise imported by sea.[1] Nevertheless, its administration was

1. From King Phillipp III to the Viceroy Don Jeronymo d Azevedo, March 7th, 1613 Ap. B No. XIII.

immediately under the authority of the Nayak of Tanjore [1], and accordingly it paid an additional tribute to him, at least from the year 1600 [2] It was the Nayak of Tanjore who appointed the governor or *adigar* of St Thome, the Jesuit annual letter of 1604-1606 tells us that in 1600 the Tanjore Nayak nominated to this place one Puley or Pillai, a noble of Kanchivaram [3]

This governor did not reside at St Thome, but at the ancient city of Mylapore "The Portuguese", says the Jesuit annual letter of 1606-1607, "have a captain or *ouvidor*, to govern and administer justice In another separate town, but in its vicinity, there is a captain of the King (of Vijayanagara), who collects the taxes and governs the Hindus" [4] Mylapore is the same city that Gasparo Balbi speaks of in the account of his travels through India in 1582 "Without the Citie of Saint Thomas is another Citie invironed with walls, made of earth, and inhabited with Gentiles Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called Adicario (*adigar*), who hath power to execute justice" [5] Apparently Mylapore was then fortified and garrisoned by the Emperor of Vijayanagara, hence it receives the appellation of a fortress in several Jesuit letters of those years [6] All these letters distinguish between this fortress and a Hindu town which was a little farther away We have suggested elsewhere that this Hindu town might be the one called Madarasa, next to which the Fort St George was constructed several years after by the English traders, who called it Black

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1 Du Jarric, I, p 638 Cf Hay, *De Rebus Iaponicis*, p 740

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII

3 Ibid

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap C, No XXVI

5 Purchas, X, p 148

6 From Fr M Roiz to Fr J Alvarez, St Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap C, No XII, From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ibid, No XIII, From the same to the same same date, Ibid, No XIV, *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid, No XXVI

Town as inhabited by coloured people [1] The Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva Raya mentions both Mailapura and Madarasa as connected with the father of one of the Brahmans favoured with the grant [2]

2. The above mentioned Gasparo Balbi has an interesting description of St. Thome which deserves to be quoted in full It runs as follows "The Front is towards the West very strong by reason of the Blockehouses which are upon the Port, along towards the sea. This port is so low that elephants cannot enter in at it for the horses enter with not a little trouble. There are three Churches one very fair of Saint Thomas, which is well served with Priests the chiefe of them is a Vicar (for so they call him) who was sent thither by the Archbishop of Goa. There is another of Saint Francis very well served with Capuchins and another of Saint John the Baptist, where the Fathers of Saint Paul of the Companie of Jesus are in continuall prayer to build this they had not so many transomes as were sufficient when miraculously a great piece of timber was cast up by the Sea, which seemed to be made by the line and measure of that Church. I was here when this piece of timber was cast up for one day going to Masse to the Church of our Lady I saw great concourse of people running to the Sea-side, and I went also to see what was the matter and saw this piece of timber cast upon the shoare. Then the Church of St. John the Baptist was finished, but because they wanted transomes to make the roofs they covered it with straw The foresaid Fathers of Saint Paul have another Church in the Citie dedicated to our Lady where they baptise the Gentiles, and exhort and instruct them in matters of Faith [3] There is another Church called of Our Lady of Light, which (is) served by Saint Thomas his Priests Saint Thomas

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1. Cf. Heras *Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese* Q J M S., XIV p. 316 note 9

2. *Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 215 Several of the Brahmans names in the list of this grant are connected with the territory Cf. Ibid., p. 216

3. The congregation of this Church consisted of five thousand recently made Christians, in 1606-7 Cf. Guerreiro *Relacam Annal – no ano de 606. & 607.*, p. 105

is as faire a Citie as I saw any in that Countrie, and the houses joyne one to the other, so to be able to succour one another" [1]

Such was the city of St Thome in the begining of Venkata's reign. At about the same time several events took place in Europe, which were to influence much the future history of Vijayanagara

3 Up to the year 1587, the monopoly of Portuguese commerce had rested with the Government, but in this year the whole trade was handed over to a newly established company called '*Companhia Portugueza das Indias Orientaes*', a definite step towards the 'Comercial Company', '*Companhia do Comercio*', which was created in 1630 [2] This new organization was intended to meet the fresh needs which were beginning to face Portuguese trade in the eastern seas

A little earlier, on April 8th, 1583, the Dutchman John Huighen Van Linschoten had sailed from Lisbon to the East Indies, and after visiting the Portuguese colonies and some other places inland, returned home and published the account of his travels ten years later Linschoten's account excited the enthusiasm of his fellow countrymen, who had shortly before thrown off the Spanish yoke One chapter of his narrative in particular, "of the Spices, Drugs, Plants, and Stuffes for Physicians and Apothecaries, ordinarily used in India, and of their growing" [3], had the effect of launching several trading companies in the Netherlands, which sent about fifteen expeditions to the East between 1595 and 1601 [4] On March 20th, 1602, the various Companies of the Flemish States, became united under the name of '*De Algemeene Geoctroyeerde Oest-Indische Compagnie*' [5] During the next year the new United Company sent out a great expedition of thirteen ships to the East Indies under Steven van der Hagen, and in the instructions furnished to him made special mention of the piece-goods trade of Pulicat and Masuli-

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1 Purchas, X, p 147-8

2 Danvers, *Report*, p 12

3 Purchas, X, p 310

4 Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p 6 See *A Collection of Voyages Undertaken by the Dutch East India Company*, Introduction

5. Galletti, l c,

patam on the East coast [1] But neither of these places was to house the first Dutch factory on the eastern coast. We have seen elsewhere that in 1608-9, through the benevolence of the Nayak of Jinji, the Dutch were building a factory in Devana patnam [2] We shall speak later of the transactions between the Emperor Venkata the Nayak of Jinji and the Portuguese which resulted from the building of this fort

But the Dutch were not then the only rivals of the Portuguese in the Eastern seas. Early in 1527 Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol had addressed a memorandum to King Henry VIII of England advising the opening of a route to India by the North West [3] But the attempts made through this route proved a failure. Subsequently from 1580 to 1584, several letters were received in London spurring the merchants of the place once more to try a new route to India such letters had been written by the Jesuit Father Thomas Stephens, the first Englishman who set foot in India. In one of them dated October 24th 1583 he describes several kinds of fruits and other productions of Salsette and Goa [4] Such a description was a tacit invitation to the enterprising British traders. Accordingly after an unsuccessful attempt of Sir Robert Dudley in 1596, a large

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1. Ibid.

2. Cf. Ch. XIX, No 12.

3. Cf. Basu, *Rise of the Christian Power* I, p. 16.

4. "We have here a tree oftener seen than the elm or the vine, called the Palm on account of its likeness to it, or perhaps because it is really so if you admit that Palm is a generic word and consists of two species. It gives oil, liquor (vinum) toddy (lac) syrup (mel) sugar and vinegar Coir rope is also made from it to tie with, and its branches are used to protect huts from rain. It gives fruit all the year round, which are rather nuts than dates, resembling a man's head. When the exterior rind has been removed, they equal the size of two fists. Inside the fruit contains water like beer and good to quench one's thirst. It is so plentiful that, after drinking from one fruit, you would not look for another In the interior of the nut is a kernal lining it all over like a covering and forming a prized article of food. The shell furnishes the blacksmiths with charcal. Those that live near the sea not only load their boats with the tree but also utilise it for making ropes and sails. You will find hardly any piece of writing except on its leaves. Those that live on land invariably make use of them to shelter themselves from rain" etc. Saldanha *The Christian Purana*, p. XXIII XXXVIII.

number of English merchants formed themselves into an association and subscribed upwards of £ 30,000 in support of the undertaking A Charter of Incorporation was granted by Queen Elizabeth to George, Earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen Knights, aldermen and merchants, under the name of '*The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies*'. The first expedition of this Company, under Captain Lancaster, sailed from Wollwhich, on February 13th, 1601, but it did not reach India In 1604 a second attempt was made under the command of Henry Middleton but with no better results Finally a third expedition was sent, and Captain Hawkins its commander, landed at Surat, proceeding thence to the court of the Mughal Emperor New voyages to the East Indies were subsequently made almost every year [1].

4 These Dutch and English activities were by no means propitious to the prospects of the Portuguese in the East Since 1584, the relations between Spain and England had become daily more and more strained in the European seas Moreover in 1566 the Netherlands had rebelled against the Spanish sovereign And Portugal, now united to the Spanish crown, was destined to taste in India the bitter fruits of this disagreement between her conqueror and these two enterprising nations [2] True, a treaty of peace between Spain and England had been made in 1604, one of the articles of which, the 9th, provided that the English were not to go to India, nor carry on commerce in any part of it [3] But the British traders went on acting as though there were no such treaty Precisely at this time John Mildenhall was in the court of Akbar, deputed by Queen Elizabeth, and trying to persuade the Mughal Emperor to allow the British to trade in his dominions on the same terms as those enjoyed by the Portuguese Moreover he asked

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1 Cf *Letters Received by the East India Company*, I, p XV-XLI, Das Gupta, *India in the Seventeenth Century*, p 26-67, Roberts, *History of British India*, p 21-22, Hawkins, *Voyages*, p 379-419

2 Danvers, *Report*, p 15-7

3 *Torre do Tombo, Livros das Moncoes*, Livro 32, fol 72, Livro 33, fol 72 Cf Danvers, o c, p 29.

Akbar not to take offence if the English captured Portuguese vessels or ports on his coasts [1] They however endeavoured to avoid open hostilities with the Portuguese, while they competed with them for the Eastern trade [2] Early in 1604 Fr A. Laerzio wrote that there were in the gulf of Bengal "many Dutch and British ships, our enemies who had captured some Portuguese vessels" [3]

5 But at this time the influence of the Portuguese in southern India had reached its zenith, through their ancient friendship with the Emperor of Vijayanagara. Early in 1600 when the Superior of the Province of Malabar Fr A Laerzio passed through Chandragiri and was received in audience by Venkata the sovereign ordered all the courtiers to leave the hall and remained alone with the Fathers then taking the Provincial apart, he told him he wanted to send his ambassadors to the new Viceroy of Goa in order to renew and strengthen the old friendship with the Portuguese" Now he wished that Fr Simao de Sa, who was then Rector of the College of St. Thome should accompany them hence he begged Fr Laerzio to give him permission to do so. "Then the Provincial replied that when the news of the landing of the Viceroy should arrive, he would consider the cause. But the King urged again (saying)—

And when this news comes nobody will be here to give this permission to the Rector (Fr de Sa). We must make our decision now afterwards we shall not be able to do so."

" Then Fr Provincial gave his permission according to the wishes of the King, who betraying his joy (in his countenance) told Fr Rector in a loud voice:—

" You have already permission to go to Goa along with my ambassadors" [4]

The new Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha landed in Goa in the

1. Cf. Smith, *Akbar* p. 292-3

2. Danvers, o. c., p 21.

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 15th, 1604, Ap. C, No. IX.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606, Ap. C No. XXII.

same year 1600, and, according to a letter of Fr. Pimenta dated December 21st, 1602, shortly after his arrival wrote to the Emperor Venkata "announcing by this letter his landing in India, thanking him for the benevolence with which he treats the members of our Society" [1] This news probably reached Venkata's court early in 1601, and it was then that Venkata sent to Goa his legation briefly mentioned by Anquetil du Perron [2]

The ambassadors, along with Fr de Sa and another Father, left Venkata's court in the same year 1601 Fr Ricio, who remained at Chandragiri, wrote on October 20th, of the same year "The King wishes to be in close friendship with the Portuguese, and sends his ambassadors to the Viceroy along with two of our Fathers, who are Fr Simao de Sa and Fr Belchior Coutinho, and presents (the Viceroy) with two rings that cost five thousand *pagodes*, along with a message showing his desire to be the brother in arms (ally) of the King of Portugal" [3] This extract shows clearly Venkata's purpose in sending such an embassy to the Poruguese Viceroy; it was to establish firmly a defensive alliance with Portugal, probably against the Mughal Emperor Akbar, whose designs were at least suspected at Venkata's court [4]

In a letter of December 21st, 1602, Fr Pimenta, who was still at Goa when the two Jesuits reached the city with the ambassadors, writes "I could write a long account of this legation, as well as of the earnest entreaties of the Prince (Tirumala), whose country (Seringapatam) they had to pass through, that one of the Fathers should stay with him on his return" [5] Unfortunately Pimenta did not set down this account at length, he only says that the embassy passed through Seringapatam, hence it would proceed to Mangalore, and from Mangalore would perhaps reach Goa by sea

1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap C, No V

2 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 168

3 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap C, No I

4 Cf. Ch XVI, Nos 9 and 10

5 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, referred to in note 1.

The success of this embassy seems to have been extraordinary In another Jesuit letter of 1602 we read The ambassadors, after having left Goa full of gifts and honours from the Viceroy went by land to Chandegri (Chandragiri) where in the presence of the King and of the nobles of his court they extolled all our things and the honours and favours they had received from the Viceroy and our Fathers in Goa, this was highly esteemed by the King who showed himself hereafter more inclined to our interests [1] Even Philip III congratulated the Viceroy on the success of this legation he wrote to him from Valladolid on December 23rd, 1604 "I was very glad to know that the ambassadors of this king (of Vijayanagara) were gallantly entertained and heard by you as you wrote to me that you did" [2]

6. The Viceroy naturally returned this courtesy with an embassy of his own, the account of which is also found in one of the Jesuit letters that runs as follows 'The ambassador was received by the King (Venkata) with great respect and splendour as on his arrival at Chandegri (Chandragiri) one of the chiefs of the Royal Council accompanied by elephants, camels horses, kettle-drummers and other signs of joy and merriment went out to fetch him and lodge him in the best palaces and houses of that city The King was at that time at Tripeti (Tirupati), two leagues from Chandegri The King determined to receive our ambassador in this city for which he sent his favourite with great show and reverence to bring him there. The King was outside a very great court not dressed in rich clothes because it is not customary but covered with precious stones, armlets and strings of pearls from his feet to the crown of his head he wore among others two jewels of great beauty one of which was an emerald surrounded by big pearls and brilliant diamonds, and the other a ruby of high price and extraordinary greatness. The ambassador knelt down but the King ordered him to get up and sit down. He (the King) joyfully received the letter and

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1602, Ap. C, No VIII.

2. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604, Ap. B No VII.

the gift of the Viceroy, and spoke of the friendly relations he wished to have with the Portuguese, and of other things concerning the welfare of the State Then he sent back the ambassador loaded with honours and presents" [1]

Thus the old alliance which Venkata's predecessors had made with the Portuguese was renewed [2] "It had been almost forgotten at the time", says the above-quoted letter [3] Venkata himself in a letter to Fr Pimenta, who was then at Goa, wrote as follows "My old love for the Portuguese was sufficiently proved at Goa I have determined to send a ring with other gifts to the Viceroy, my interpreter Condogor will be charged with handing them over to him Kindly inform the Viceroy about my purpose, in order that the old friendship may be renewed" [4]

7 In the meantime in the city of St. Thome there were continuous differences between the Portuguese themselves, and even sometimes between them and the neighbouring Hindus This uneasy state of affairs is indicated in a letter of the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to his sovereign, in the year 1613 "The inhabitants of the city of Meliapor (*viz* Sao Thome de Meliapor) were accustomed to live in the most absolute freedom Justice has no other meaning than the one those citizens, and specially those who are reputed as powerful, are pleased to give it For since that land belongs to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), and there is no garrison nor authority to be respected, such and many other troubles take place there every day" [5]

Venkata was aware of these dissensions, and felt how hard the task of the governor or *adigar* of that city must be The one appointed in 1599 was, it seems, a man without the experience

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1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap C, No VIII

2 Cf Ch IV, No 5

3 See Ap C, No VIII

4 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr N Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap C, No V

5 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to King Philip III, 1613, Ap B, No XVII.

of years or of affairs hence Venkata wrote to Fr Simao d to look carefully after the welfare of the city and also ord his *adigar* to take no serious steps without previously consul the Jesuits [1] As a matter of fact one of the Jesuit letters 1600 relates that some differences between the governor and Portuguese were settled through the deligence of Fr de Sa Fr Manoel de Veiga [2]

Nevertheless, the riots in the city of St. Thome continue the following years. When I reached this country September 3rd 1606" writes Fr M Roiz from St. Thome it I found the Portuguese quarrelling and fighting among th selves, as they were doing two or three years ago" [3] another letter recounting the affairs of the same year 1606, st "This city of Sao Thome is for the best divided into fact and there are often terrible fights as in times of civil war remedy can be found for that since it is situated in the cou of the Hindu King, and far from the capital and neither judicature nor the captain is so provided with military forc to arrest and punish the criminals. Great troubles however l been checked by our (fathers) One Friday during Lent preacher spoke so fervently and zealously against hatred strife that the chief of one of those factions who was hea the sermon together with other people carrying arms muskets, was so deeply moved that he determined to change life at once and to become a friend of his foe as he did in Mother Church of St Thomas the Apostle, where he m *amends for the damage and loss he had caused and wen* confession with signs of contrition and amendment. present there is no hatred nor strife" [4]

8. In order to put an end to these continual disturban it seems that the appointment of a Bishop for Sao Thome

1. Du Jarric, I p. 632

2. From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta Chandragiri, 17th, 1600 Ap. C No. V

3 From Fr M. Roiz to Fr J Alvarez, St. Thome Nover 1st 1606 Ap. C No XII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1606-1607 C, No XXVI.

proposed, as is clear from a letter of the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to the King written in 1613 In this letter the Viceroy states that experience has shown that the citizens of Sao Thome have not improved after the appointment of a Bishop there [1]. On the other hand, the Bishop of Cochin was unable to make his pastoral visit through the whole of his diocese on account of its extent [2] Hence Philip III of Spain, moved by these two reasons, requested His Holiness Paul V, to erect a new Bishopric in Sao Thome [3] His Majesty's petition was presented to the Pope by Cardinal Eduardo Farnesse [4] Paul V finally erected the Church of St Thomas at Mailapur (Mylapore) as the Cathedral of the new Bishopric on January 9th, 1606, and on the same day appointed the Augustinian Friar Fr. Sebastiao de Sao Pedro as its first Bishop, according to the King's request [5]. The new Diocese embraced the whole Coast of Coromandel and the kingdoms of Bengal, Orissa and Pegu [6]

The new Bishop reached St Thome late in 1608 "The new Bishop sent by Holiness and His Majesty", writes Fr Coutinho, "has reached St Thome And our Fr Rector entertained him very kindly in our own house, where he resided, and when he went through the streets on foot, he was received with great pageant, dancing, garlands, triumphal arches, etc He is our sincere friend" [7].

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1 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to King, Goa, December, 1613, Ap B, No XIV It seems that Dom Jeronymo even proposed to abolish the Bishopric of St Thome, for on March 2nd, 1615, Philip III wrote to him as follows "Na mesma carta me propondes que os bispados da China y Meliapor se devem tornar a unir aos de Malaca e Cochim e por quanto os inconvenientes que aportaes nao me parecerem bastantes para alterar o que, tao pouco ha, tenho ordenado, hei por bem que assy se continue" Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, III, p 284

2 *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, Ap D, No II

3 Ibid Cf *Mitras Lusitanas*, p 95

4 *Copia do mais essencial da bulla da ereccao do Bispo de S Thome*, Ap D, No I

5 *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, l c

6 *Copia do mais esencial*, l c

7 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIII,

9 Precisely in the very year of the establishment of the Diocese of Mylapore an event took place in St. Thome which enraged Venkata II against the Portuguese. The occasion was a fight the Portuguese had with the Hindus, owing to the death of a Portuguese gentleman married at St. Thome, who was stabbed by the Hindus at night in their own city (probably Madras). He had gone fully armed to it in search of a girl who either had run away from him or had been stolen from his house by a soldier of the *adigar* [1] A fight having ensued there, many Hindus joined this soldier and the Portuguese was killed and a brother of his wounded. News reached St Thome at once. "Our men" says Fr Coutinho rioted and wanted to set out during night to attack the fort. The captain stopped them till next day when at dawn they went well armed to the captain's house and the counsels of the young men prevailed over those of the Priests and the old people of the city' The captain, moreover was forced by the relatives of the deceased to take revenge. At last gathering together a strong force of armed people he marched against the Hindu town (Madras) by storming and sacking it and slaying a number of people and as the *adigar* had taken shelter in a fortress close to St. Thome (Mylapore) the Portuguese set the fort on fire

News of this rising was reported to Venkata by the same *adigar* But his letter related the events falsely" says the same Coutinho and the Queen who has paramount power all over the country at present excited the King against the Portuguese on account of this affair so that, after the aforesaid letters (of the *adigar*) were read in the presence of the whole court, the sovereign became so furious that though usually as meek as a lamb on that occasion he looked like a lion and said several times that he would destroy even the foundations of our city to do which he appointed some captains, declaring that he did not want friendship with the Portuguese any more, and that he would call the Dutch, and so on." One of the things he said according to another Jesuit letter was that if the *adigar*

1. The sources we use for the narrative of this fact are not concurrent on this point.

had committed anyoffence, they (the Portuguese) ought to have represented it to him and he would have punished him". "His courtiers said", continues Countinho, "that they had never seen him so much excited as on this occasion".

"The inhabitants of St Thome", says another letter, "fearing that the King might send an army to besiege them, deputed Fr Rector, Nicolas Levanto, to go to the King and appease him with reasons and presents The King on hearing of his arrival sent him a message inviting him, in case he had come to talk on the Fathers' business, but if he had come to talk on the affairs of Maleapor (Mylapore) he would not listen, seeing that they had offered him such a great affront; nor would he receive their presents". Nevertheless Venkata gradually relented, and being 'naturally meek and benevolent', after two months he sent for Fr Levanto, who was received by the Sovereign with signs of great affection Then the Rector of the college of St Thome offered to the King all the presents he was carrying on behalf of the Portuguese, and obtained everything he had asked for, "even to remove that *adigar* or captain of the fort, placing in his stead another one according to the wishes of the Portuguese" Such was the end of that unpleasant incident, which might easily have been the ruin of the city of St Thome[1]

1 From Fr M Roiz to Fr J Alvarez, St Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap C, No XII, From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ibid, No XIII, From the same to the same, same date, Ibid, No XIV, From the same to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ibid, No XVIII, *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid, No XXVI Two years later Venkata received in his court at Vellore a Portuguese merchant dealing in emeralds From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIII, Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal no anno de 606 & 607*, p 105 It is worth while to compare this account based on impartial contemporary documents with the following extract from Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power*, p 28 "When St Thome was held to ransom for the intolerant acts of some Jesuits and Franciscans, the Raja of Vijayanagara kept such faith with the Portuguese that, as one of them says, such humanity and justice are not to be fund among christians".

10. It was their very good fortune not to lose for ever the friendship of the powerful monarch of Vijayanagara in those days of great trials and dangers for the Portuguese in India their cause was in great distress and the success of their enterprises was then first thwarted by the enemies who finally ruined their once flourishing State.

Fr Alberto Laerzio an Italian and hence an impartial witness, in a letter to Fr J Alvarez dated Cochin November 20th 1608, says that the causes of these troubles were two the maladministration of Archbishop Menezes, who was then acting as Governor General since the death of Dom Martim Affonso de Castro[1] and the increasing power of the Dutch and the English traders "the Dutch ships" he says, are cruising in these eastern seas checked by nobody[2] At the same time the English had taken possession of Masulipatam and Philip III in a letter dated December 10th 1607 recommends his Viceroy to do his best with Venkata in order to obtain their expulsion from the place[3] At the end of the same year the new Viceroy Conde da Feira was eagerly expected at Goa but the Dutch were interested in impeding his arrival. He had left Lisbon with a fleet of fourteen ships, one of which says Fr Laerzio in the above mentioned letter "parted from the Viceroy and reached Mozambique in the month of August and finding there thirteen Dutch ships that had besieged our fortress was conquered by them after one day's hard fight" The Dutch were then informed that the Viceroy was coming behind hence they raised the siege and went to Goa, where they anchored off the mouth of the river "During

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1. In 1606 the Archbishop Governor sent the gift of a horse to Venkata II. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C, Aquaviva St. Thome, November 4th 1606, Ap. C No. XIV

2. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, November 20th, 1608, Ap C, No. XXIV

3 From Philip III to the Viceroy Martin Affonso de Castro Lisbon, December 10th, 1607 Bulhao Pato, *Documentos* I p. 146 An other letter of the same sovereign, dated Lisbon, February 21st, 1610 speaks of the same expulsion of the English traders from Masulupatao (Masulipatam) Ibid., p. 359

our stay there", continues Laerzio, "news reached us that a ship, *Oliveira* by name, belonging to the Viceroy's party, had also arrived and was six miles away on the North and even within sight our ships went there from Goa, threw all money and goods overboard and, before the arrival of the Dutch, had set the ship on fire and reduced the whole of it to ashes, that the enemy might have nothing of it "Of the other twelve ships with the Viceroy no news whatsoever is heard", so Laerzio says at the end [1] As a matter of fact Conde da Feira never saw the shores of India he died on the way

11. At the end of the year 1608 the Dutch obtained from Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji permission to build a fort in Devanapatnam, as we have stated in one of the preceding chapters [2] It seems that in the place selected by them there was formerly an old fort [3] They soon started to construct their own But according to a letter of Venkata to Philip III of Spain, which we shall quote later on, no sooner did the Emperor hear of the construction of this fort, than he sent an envoy to the Nayak of Jinji, ordering the expulsion of the Dutch from his territory It seems that Krishnappa Nayaka did not obey his sovereign's order, for in the following year 1609, Fr Nicolas Levanto was deputed by the Bishop and the Municipality of St Thome to obtain from Venkata the expulsion of the Dutch from Devanapatnam Levanto went to Venkata's court and easily obtained from him a new order for the Nayak of Jinji, to whom he personally presented it He was also well received by Krishnappa Matters however were seriously discussed, "the nut was a hard one to crack", says the Jesuit letter we are transcribing here, "because of the large profit he was hoping to get from the new guests, hence he (Krishnappa) told the Father to hope for the best, but at the same time delayed giving him a definite reply" Venkata in the meantime suspected the cause of this delay, and accordingly issued a third letter of his own accord, in which he scolded the Nayak for his disobedience, and ordered him again

1 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, November 20th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIV

2 Cf Ch XIX, No 12.

3. Rea, *Monumental Remains*, p 13.

"to do according to the demand of the Father and expel from his territory the foes of the Portuguese, who are better friends than the Dutch"

As soon as Krishnappa received this letter he sent for Fr Levanto and after assuring him that he was ready to obey the Emperor's order gave him letters for the Bishop the Captain and the Municipality of St. Thome In these letters he announced his final resolution that the fort already in construction should be delivered to the Portuguse. Fr Levanto him self went there by the Nayak s express command to witness the expulsion of the Dutch. "The foundations and the walls of the citadel had already been built on all sides to some height. There was a huge amount of lime and a good supply of bricks, for the fort was going to be of brickwork. One of our priests remained there" [1]

Great was the success of the Portuguese on this occasion thanks to the benevolence of Venkata and equally great was the disappointment of the Dutch. But they did not relinquish all hopes for once more before Venkata s death they demanded from Krishnappa Nayaka permission to settle in Devanapatnam and Porto Novo the new city founded by Krishnappa [2] but this time without success [3] Probably it is on account of these constant refusals on his part to allow the Dutch to settle in his territory that Krishnappa is said in a letter of the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama, dated November 28th 1634, to be "very fond of the Portuguese" [4]

12. This friendship of Venkata with the Portuguese was confirmed in the same year on receipt of a letter from Philip III, King of Spain and Portugal, in which His Catholic Majesty thanked the Vijayanagara Emperor for his royal protection of the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus. The text of this letter

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1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1609 Ap. C No. XXX. Cf. Figueroa, *Historia y Anal Relacion Las annos passados de 607 y 608* p. 114-5

2. Cf. Ch. XIX, No 8.

3. *Memorial against the Jesuits of Vijayanagara*, Ap C No. XXXVII.

4. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

runs as follows, according to a copy we have found in the Pangim Archives :—

" Very Noble King of Bisnaga (Vijyanagara)

" I, Dom Phelippe, etc., make you aware that I have come to know the good hospitality you have extended to the Religious of the Society who dwell in your kingdom, and the favour and assistance you have bestowed on them, as to things concerning Christianity; for which I deemed that it was my duty to thank you, as I do by this letter of mine, and to inform you of the good will with which I shall be pleased, for the sake of all this, to oblige you in all your things

" And thus I command my Viceroy to carry it out in whatsoever way you may want from him And I expect from your nobility that you will keep up this your excellent treatment of the said Religious, so that I may ever feel more and more indebted to you, the Very Noble King of Bisnaga

" May Our Lord enlighten you with the light of His grace, and with the same keep you under His protection

" Written in Madrid, January 27th, 1607 " [1]

This letter from such a powerful sovereign deeply affected the old Emperor of Vijayanagara From the latter's answer we deduce that the Viceroy of Goa also wrote proposing to him on behalf of his sovereign an alliance against the Muhammadans, with special reference to the Mughal Emperor This was precisely Venkata's desire Witness his answer to Philip III as follows —

" Letter of the King of the Kings, Great Lord, Great Knight, King Vencatapati, very great King, to the most powerful Lord of sea and land, Dom Phelipe, King of Portugal, etc

" I received Your Majesty's letter and I enjoyed its reading very much Your Majesty spoke of two things in it the first was about the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are

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1 Ap B, No X In a letter of King Phelippe to his Viceroy dated December 10th, of the same year, the Spanish sovereign refers to this letter to Venkata II " Pelo que me escrevestes do bom procedimento del-rey de Bisnaga e favores que faz em suas terras aos padres da companhia, mandei escrever as gracas d'isso nas naus que este anno foram " Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 146

living at my court and Your Majesty's joy on hearing how I was myself honouring and entertaining them. The second was about Your Majesty's Viceroy at Goa, *viz.* that Your Majesty had already written to him, ordering him to help me when the welfare of my kingdom should require it. I was very glad to know both things, because, as far as the Fathers are concerned they in these eleven years they have spent at my court, have always been good, religious very chaste, prudent learned people and preachers of their own faith and I shall treat them in the way Your Majesty desires and they are worthy of. As regards the Viceroy I am always ready to help him with the whole of my army and power when necessary against our old common enemies the Moors (Muhammadans)

"I learned how the Dutch, rebel subjects of Your Majesty came to Girola (Jinji) to talk with the Nayque (Nayak) and they requested from him the harbour of Tauana Patan (Devana patnam), where they were already building a fortress. I sent at once a messenger of mine with some letters for the Nayque and later on Fr Nicolas Levanto Rector of the College of St. Thome of the Society of Jesus at my request went there taking with him letters of mine on the same object And I saw that the Nayque forbade the building of a fortress by them, and expelled them from my possessions since they being rebels against Your Majesty so they are also to my person

'The old friendship which existed between the Kings my ancestors and the Kings of Portugal, from the time of Narsinga (Narasimha) must continue at present between Your Majesty and myself and I beg Your Majesty to write me at once when ever necessary

From my Kingdom

"Venkataja, King [1]

The Spanish monarch was naturally extremely glad to receive Venkata's letter and to know his attitude towards the Dutch traders at Devanapatnam Simultaneously he addressed a number of letters to several Princes of the East against his

1. Figueroa *Historia y Anal Relacion Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 113-4.

rebel subjects of the Netherlands, copies of which are to be found in the Government Archives at Pangim [1] King Phelippe was made aware of the conduct of Venkata II towards the Dutch by a letter of Archbishop Menezes, as one of the former's letters to his Viceroy testifies. Even before he had received this letter of Venkata, he had again written to the old Emperor thanking him for his loyal friendship [2]

13 This friendship between Venkata and the Portuguese seems to have come to an abrupt end in 1611, when the former besieged the city of St Thome The Viceroy, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, in a letter to his sovereign dated 1613, (month not given), says that the origin of this war 'was due to the absence of the Jesuits' from Venkata's court [3] They had been removed from it shortly before [4] A Jesuit letter of 1611 gives a full account of this unfortunate affair

"Its cause", says the letter, "was greed of money; for the old King dotes sometimes, and on such occasions those who

1 See one of these letters to the king of Cananor in Ap B, No IX In 1613, the Spanish monarch ordered his Viceroy to thank the Kings of Calicut and Cananor for the expulsion of the Dutch from their ports Ap B, No XVI In the same year he gave a detailed account of the Dutch and British ships, which had left Europe for the East Ap B, No XVI. In the volume *Moncoes do Reino, No 6, (la pte)* in the *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, Pangim, there are several documents on this subject A letter to the King of Cochin, dated Madrid, January 17th, 1607 (fol 117), another to the King of Melinde, Lisbon, December 22nd, 1606 (fol 120), another to the Prince of Carnate (*sic*), Lisbon, December 23rd, 1606 (fol 123), another to the King of Porqua, Lisbon, December 22nd, 1606 A letter of the same sovereign to his Viceroy dated January 16th, 1607, laying down their attitude towards the petty chiefs of Canara runs as follows "E porque o estado das cosas mostram ser necessario conservar a estes reys em paz e amisade, vos encommendo trateis com que assi se faca lembrando-lhe a elles que nao tenham commercio nem amisade com os rebeldes de Hollanda, por serem aleuantados" Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 73

2 "E porque o dito arcebispo governadar me escreve na mesma conformidade e o bem que o dito rey se tem avido em nao consentir que os hollandezes sejam recebidos em nenhum porto seu, lhe mandei escreuer a carta que vae nestas vias" Lisbon, December 10th, 1607, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 146

3 Ap B, No XII

4. Cf, Ch XXII, No 11.

govern the kingdom do as they please Once they demanded from the citizens of St. Thome an enormous amount of money They (the Portuguese) refused (to pay) such an extraordinary exaction then they were attacked (by the King's soldiers) and defended themselves both parties fought courageously many of the enemies and some Portuguese were killed [1] In the city which was not yet fortified [2] the besiegers resisted for several months, according to a letter of Fr Laerzio [3] Fr Queyroz, who supposes that Venkata himself was commanding the beleaguering army relates that in the course of the siege, his Queen brought forth a child whose legitimacy was doubtful [4] this seems to indicate that the siege lasted about nine months. The same author records that the army of Venkata contained two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, who were finally repulsed with heavy losses by the Portuguese under the command of Manoel de Frias Captain of St. Thome [5] From a letter of Philip III to his Viceroy dated March 6th, 1613 it appears that the Bishop Fr Sebastiao de Sao Pedro had a large share in the hardships of the siege, the success of which was partly due to him I highly appreciate the person and the services of the Bishop" says His Majesty "and his conduct during the siege [6] And on February 20th, 1614, the King writes again to his Viceroy as follows "The Bishop of Meliapor (Mylapore) wrote to me describing his action in my royal service during the siege of that city' [7] The same letter speaks of the aid given to the Portuguese by Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1611, Ap. C, No XXXV

2. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo, Lisbon, March 7th, 1613 Ap. B No. XIII.

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXII.

4. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao* p. 309

5. Ibid.

6. Philip III's letter mentioned in note 2, Ap. B No XIII.

7 From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo Lisbon February 20th, 1614, Ap. B, No. XI. Fr Sebastiao de Sao Pedro is also said to have defended St. Thome and Sadras against the Dutch. Cf. *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur* Ap. D No II

"And since I have also been told of the good conduct of the Nayak of Tanjaor (Tanjore) in my service during the aforesaid siege, I am sending by this mail a letter thanking him, entrusting you with the charge of forwarding it to him"[1] Unfortunately neither this letter nor a copy of it has hitherto reached our hands, we know only that it was sent to the Bishop of Mylapore, by whom it had to be dispatched to Tanjore. "The letter of Your Majesty to the Nayak of Tanjaor (Tanjore)", says the Viceroy in his answer to the King, "is being sent to the Bishop (of Mylapore), who will hand it over to him"[2]

Finally the Bishop and the Captain of St Thome deputed Fr. Antonio Rubino, and two of the chief men of the city to propose terms of peace to Venkata "But since they did not bring the sum demanded, they were seized and cast into prison We are still ignorant of what will be the end of this affair"[3] So does a Jesuit letter, written at the close of 1511, end its narrative of this war At any rate we know that Fr Rubino and his companions remained in prison for two months, and were eventually released on the Portuguese promising to pay 401 pagodas, half to be paid at once and the other half by instalments during the following six months Rubino's return to St Thome was a solemn triumph he was received and acclaimed as the liberator of the country[4]

14 The siege of St Thome by the army of Venkata II clearly showed the imperative necessity of fortifying the city. No walls had surrounded the settlement till then, it was really a *tour de force* to resist the attack of the imperial army for several months, without walls, bastions or ditches In a letter of Philip III of March 7th, 1613, we read "The same Viceroy wrote to me that the inhabitants of the city of St Thome were demanding aid and permission, not only for fortifying themselves,

1 Ibid

2 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III January 21st, 1613, Ap B, No XIII

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1611, Ap C, No XXXV

4 Cf Saroglia, *Vita del Venerabile P. Antonio Rubino*, p 30.

but also for incorporating their city into the jurisdiction of that State (of Portuguese India) and establishing a custom-house and a tax-collector to gather the one fourth per cent which is now paid to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayangara) for my treasury"[1] The second item which the King speaks of shows the disaffection the inhabitants of St. Thome felt towards Venkata. It had been the natural result of his recent siege of their own city This was the first indication of their desire to be independent of the sway of the Vijayanagara Sovereign Great discussions ensued on this point after the death of Venkata which will be narrated in the following volume. As to the first point of the King's letter his decision to fortify St Thome was not carried out until after Venkata had passed away his letter did not reach India before that event. This may be seen from the answer of the Viceroy[2]

There was still another problem about St Thome, which required prompt solution The Viceroy in a letter of 1613, after relating the differences and brawls between the citizens of St. Thome, adds "For this reason I wish to appoint a *hidalgo* of authority as captain of that city and at the head of a garrison able to wage war"[3] Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo, when writing these words had no doubt in mind the recent war with Venkata. At the end of the same year he again urged his sovereign to nominate a respectable *hidalgo* for that task, "because, owing to the want of such a respect able person there, many riots take place and the citizens are divided and fighting among themselves and specially (he is necessary) to be there ready to check the Dutch if they intend to settle again on that coast"[4] The Bishop himself also wrote to the Viceroy requesting the appointment of a person

1. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronomo d Azevedo Lisbon, March 7th, 1613 Ap B No XIII.

2. Ibid.

3 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo to Philip III 1613 Ap. B, No XVII.

4. From the same to the same Goa December 26th 1613 Ap. B No XV

for that post [1] To put an end to such troubles, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo wrote to the King on December 31st, 1614, that perhaps he would himself proceed to St Thome [2]. But his project was not carried out

In the meantime, he wished to appoint Dom Bernardo de Noronha, Captain of St Thome, for he wrote to the King to this effect on December 26th, 1613 On the matter being proposed to his councillors, Dom Bernardo was elected and "thus I declared to him", says Dom Jeronymo, "that I would give him as much (money) as I could take from the State, with the same regulations as the Captain of Ormuz has, and the authority over that city and the whole of that coast, which is ordinarily given to the Captain-Generals of the fleet" But in spite of the earnest entreaties of the Viceroy, of the Archbishop and of other nobles such as Dom Luiz da Gama, Dom Bernardo de Noronha refused the appointment [3] The Viceroy, however, still hoped to send Dom Bernardo to St Thome, but at the end of the following year he received two letters from his sovereign, in which Philip III disapproved of such an appointment "Hence" says the Viceroy, "I did not think of it any more" [4]. Nothing further touching this matter is found during the life of Venkata II

15 The fear of the Portuguese that the Dutch, after their expulsion from Devanapatnam, would renew their attempt to establish a factory on the eastern coast, was not groundless In 1605-6, one of their ships went to Pulicat, and after that the

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1 From the same to the same, Ilhas, December 31st, 1614, Ap B, No XVIII

2 Ibid

3 From the same to the same, Goa, December 26th, 1613, Ibid, No XV

4 From the same to the same, as in note 1 of page 450 Dom Bernardo de Noronha was finally appointed Captain General of Malabar in the following year, according to a letter of the Viceroy to the King, dated December 18th, 1615 *Archivo da Secretaria Geral do, Governo*, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fol 191*) He seems to have died shortly after, according to another letter of the Viceroy (Ibid, fol 254)

sell or buy goods and merchandise so that no one can prevent it.

All painters and weavers who should make some agreement with our nation and make or paint cloth or sell linen here, will receive the payment according to the agreement. Moreover the King will not be able to allow any European nation to trade here, other than those who have the permission of His Princelike Excellency

On our side, we on behalf of this General Company promise to the King that whatsoever goods guns war ammunition or other such things of our countries he desires we shall be obliged to bring here on the first occasion the King will pay for these things the price they cost in our countries

When we stop with our ships in the harbour of Palleacatta, we shall not be allowed to do any harm or to arrest any boat

All the boats that sail from here to other places with a passport of our captain will not receive harm from our nation

All these points of the contract I Vinkata Pati Raya Alou King over these countries of Carnatica Sinvakena, Pati and more principalities, promise to keep them now and for ever and I swear it by my *God Peramal* (Perumal)

I contractor of the General East Indian Company promise not to break the same, otherwise let God interfere.

"Under this there was printed in black the seal of the King and near it written That is the seal of the King, printed by His Majesty himself for greater security the King has moreover printed his hand on a piece of linen which they call the hand of Sandal and signed Arent Maertss (*sic*) [1]

Fortune was proving adverse to the Portuguese Some

1. De Jongue, *De Opkomst* III, p 348–9 This was the *caul* referred to by Peter Williamson Floris, when, one year later he passed through Pulicat "John Van Werslcke the Dutch President on the coast of Choromandel, showed us a *caul* from the King of Narsinga Wencapati Raja wherein was granted that, it should not be lawful for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patent" Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* III, p. 320

years after, in 1630, the Portuguese Viceroy wrote to his sovereign the following words, suggested most likely by this concession of Venkata to the Dutch · "From the time that our European enemies began to come to India, it seems that all the Indian Kings have broken their faith and allegiance which was due to this Government" [1]

16 The lucky adventurers started without any delay to build their factory at Pulicat. When two years later the English Captain Hippon sailed up the eastern Coast of India, looking for a place to establish a factory as well, the Dutch were firmly settled at Pulicat It is worth while to quote Hippon's words to the East India Company His ship had met a Portuguese boat of St Thome with two Portuguese merchants from that town, who informed the Englishmen "that the Dutch had settled a factory in Pellacata (Pulicat), whereupon", continues the English account, "we resolved to make for that place, to see if anything might be done at the place aforesaid for the profit of the Company although neither of us had ever been at this place In the evening, passing by St Thome we did see 13 on 14 *ascletows*, or small barques, riding in the road, about some two leagues (further) we came unto an anchor because we would be sure not to pass by Pellacata The next morning we setting sail, and in the afternoon we came into the road of Pellacata, and there then came 2 boats aboard, the one sent from the Hollanders with a Dutchman therein, from whom we did learn some particulars concerning the country there about, the other boat was sent from the Shabunder to bid us welcome, and then we gave them to understand that we were English and not Dutch And for the first we desired to have a *cowl* of the Shabunder to send persons aland, for to make a contract with him, and to have further conference together, all which they promised us we should have, and so they departed from the ship The next day in the morning being the 10th ditto so came again aboard us the people of Shabunder, bringing with them a cowl, according as we desired, whereupon we resolved to send our skiff aland, with Mr Peter Floris and Mr Robt Brown for to speak with the Shabunder, and to learn

1. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

out what might be done there for the Company's behoof and then on our first entrance we were in present danger and were not able, by any means, to avoid it for being in the breach of the bar our skiff was turned upside down and we (by the great mercy of God) were all preserved so that nothing was lost save only of some particular as some apparel and rapiers and such like and so having had this misfortune we came aland where the Shabunder attended our coming upon the strand, who was very sorrowful for our mischance, showing unto us all the friendship that he could And so we embarked and went up the river towards the town where he had provided us of a house which was but a poor one but yet it was so good as that place did afford. In the evening we sent a boat aboard with news of all that was passed by us, and withal that Mr Lucas Antheunis and Thomas Essington should come aland for to consider together what was best to be done in this business, and further we found that the Hollanders did bear a hard hand against us for to hinder us from trading in this place. The day following after that Mr Lucas Atheunis and Thomas Essington were come aland, then we went unto the Shabunder for to speak with him and when we were set then came thither Jan Van Wesick (John Van Wersick) who is President of the Dutch Company upon the coast of Coromandel, and after some compliments used by both sides he showed us a cowl of the king, wherein under other articles there was one which made mention that he did forbid all nations which should come out of Europe without (permission) of the Dutch Company of East India [1] (unfortunately there are here some gaps which make the account unintelligible) whereupon we fell into some hard words one with the other At last the Shabunder came between us and gave both parties contentment with words and referred us until the coming of Conda Ma who is governess of this place [2] And this Conda Maa was gone into the country and would

1. Cf. No 15 and note 1 of p. 454.

2. Floris says "We answered we had Commission from his Majestie of England and would therefore doe what we could. Hence (the Dutch Preside it) arose high words, which the Shabunde calmed, telling of the Governesse her coming thither within three days" Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* III, p 320

return again within 3 or 4 days, and in the meantime we must have patience The 15th ditto the aforesaid governess came into the town and also that Mr. Brown was fallen very sick again, so that we have expressly sent for Captain Hippon, that he should come aland, for to have his opinion upon all occasions that might happen, that nothing might be overslipped which might redound unto the benefit of the Company. After that the governess was come into the town we had prepared a very good present for to have presented her withal, then she refused to give us audience, and sent us word that she had nothing to say unto us, also that this place was given unto the Hollanders by the mere gift of the King, and if we would go unto the King, to desire some other place, she was thereunto very well contented Which message made us much amazed, yet notwithstanding we did use our best endeavours to come to have speech with her, but could not be effected, whereupon we fell into counsel with ourselves whether it was best to go unto the King, who was but 50 leagues from thence and to see what with him might be procured in these affairs; and after that we had well debated the matter between us, and considering that we had not people sufficient to settle a Factory, and having not time enough, fearing lest we should lose our monsoon, and that we should be at great charges in going to visit the King, so that we have resolved to depart from hence, (here again there are several words torn away). If the Company are resolved to enlarge their trade, we cannot find that this place will be so available that it will be worth any extraordinary charges seeing that at Masulpatam (Masulipatam) and at Pettapoly (Petapoli) will be sufficient to bring us more cloths that your Worships shall possibly find vent for, and so far that your Worships will be desirous to have this place or any other place near about it, then it will be needful that your Worship should procure letters from his Majesty, and with a fair present unto the King of Narsinga, Vencapati Rajah (Venkatapati Raya), and then to see if you can procure any sea town for a place of residence, which will not be done without great trouble and extraordinary charges, your Worships may do herein as you shall think good We do not think good with the ship called the Globe to proceed further

here in considering that *Muselpatam* and Pettapoly is more than sufficient for us to finish our pretended voyage, the which serve your Worships for advice" [1] It is very interesting to see the difficulties the British merchants met with on their first attempt to establish factories in a country which was subdued by them after two centuries.

17 Needless to say the idea of a settlement at Pulicat was not abandoned by the enterprising British traders. They returned to the newly established factory at Masulipatam and shortly after they were glad to receive a quite unexpected visit. Venkata II had heard of the voyage of the English merchants to Pulicat, and had therefore sent an envoy to them at Masulipatam with proposals for opening trade with them [2] Floris's account gives many details about this Embassy of King Venkata to the English traders —"I returned to *Masulipatam*" says he "where I found three persons which said that they were sent with Letters from Objama Queene of Paleacatte Jaga Raja Governour thereabout and of Saint Thomee, Apa Condaja (Kondaja) secretarie of the Great King *Wencatadraia* [3] wherein they sent me word that if I would come thither they would grant me a place right over against the Fort of Paleacatte with all such Priviledges as we should desire, and other great promises besides. But I considering how I and the James had beene entertayned there could beleeve but little yet at last we agreed that one of them should stay with me, and the rest should depart with one of my folkes, who should carrie the letters to the aforesaid persons as also to the king; wherein I repeated the bad entertainment which we had at Paleacatte. And if now it pleased him that we should come into his Country then to send us his Caul or safe Conduct, to which we might trust.

1. From Captain Hippon and the merchants of the seventh voyage to the E.I.C August, 1611 (?) *Letters received by the E.I.C.*, I, p. 133-5

2. Rea, *Monumental Remains* p 6.

3 Floris says that there were three persons in this Embassy and then speaks of two only The third perhaps was one Tima (Tirumala) Raja mentioned with the other two a little later

"The nine and twentieth of July, arrived foure persons as Embassadors, with my man Wengali, from the great king of Narsinga of Velur, bringing me a Caul with his *Abestiam* (which is a white Cloth where his owne hand is printed in Sandall or Saffron) as also one from the Queene of Paleacatte, and divers Letters from Jaga Raja, Tima Raja, Apocondaia and others The Kings Letter was written upon a leafe of gold, wherein he excused the former fault done to us in Paleacatte, desiring that now we would come into his Country, and chuse a place to our best liking, and that there we should build a house or Castle according to our owne liking, with other priviledges He gave me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearely revenue, with promise to doe more at my coming thither The Hollanders had wrought much against it, but their words were not now in such force, the Inhabitants grieving to see every yeare English ships passe by without any profit to them, and therefore filling the king with complaints, and procuring these friendly offers I kept them with mee, allowing their daily charges till the ship be come into the Road, then to consider further My man Wengali had beene in person before the King, and spoken with him, the King laying his hand on his head, and presenting him with a Tesseriffe" [1] Floris seems to have been inclined to proceed to Venkata's court But when on the 25th of October he heard of the King's death, he was somewhat disheartened on account of the expected troubles "I dispatched likewise the Embassadors of Velur," says he, "in respect of the troubles there, and my short stay denying fit opportunity yet I left Letters with them for the first English ships, with my best advice" [2].

Independently of this attempt another English expedition called at Pulicat in the beginning of 1614, to start trading with the natives there Two boats, '*The Globe*' and '*James*', went there, but for the second time met with an unwilling reception "Arriving at the road of Pollicat (Pulicat)", says the commander John Gourney to the East India Company, "we had soon after two several troops of messengers from the Shabunder to welcome us, and to show us that if we came to trade we should not

1 Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p 336-7

2 Ibid, p 341

want any favours needful and that his desire was to seen us ashore this agreeing with our own desire, I went ashore taking Thomas Brokedon with me and being entered into the town understood that the Shabunder was gone forth to the town So we turning directly towards a large castle the Dutch have there built were at our coming into it entertained with kind shows by Warner Van Berghen alias Captain Drinkwater Captain there and Rector of all the factories upon that coast being then accompanied with Captain Samuel King English born and there we also found with them sundry of the principals of the town prepared to declare unto us (as they presently did) that their king had given by his cowl or firman the privilege of the whole trade of that town to the Hollanders without whose leave we English nor other strangers might intermeddle, and the said Van Berghen added that it was not in his power to give leave. These speeches having heard and knowing that Mr Floris had been in the like manner put off, conceive that the King of Velour (Vellore, i.e. Venkata II) must be dealt withal with the King s Majesty s letters which no doubt at any time will prevail. But the king being within the land at war few factors of us and our two principal ports to be furnished being Musulpatam (Masulipatam) and Pettapoly (Petapoli) we having that night following received very kind entertainment of the Dutch, we prepared in the morning to embark, at which time the parties aforesaid returned to parley again and making the same conclusion as before, they added that we ought to pay anchorage. Our answer was that we knew it to be their hearty desire that we should stay and trade with them if we could have sufferance from the Hollander but now we could neither accept of liberty nor stay to trade, neither would we give them anchorage. Whereat without more ado they gave us betel to chew as their manner of courtesy is and bade us farewell desiring us to be good to Gentiles if we met them at sea [1]
We do not know of other attempts of the first English traders to establish a commercial settlement at Pulicat. At this time the Portuguese had already started their campaign against the Dutch settlement

1. From John Gourney to the E. I. C., Patani July 28th, 1614, *Letters Received by the E.I C* II, p 83-4.

18 The most intrepid adventurer who carried into execution the capture of Pulicat from the Dutch was the Bishop of Sao Thome de Meliapor, Frey Sebastiao de Sao Pedro His Majesty the King of Spain addressed the Viceroy regarding the intrepid Bishop's adventure in the following terms "They wrote to me about the efforts of the Bishop of Meliapore to destroy the factory of the Dutch at Paleacate"[1] The erection of a fort in the neighbourhood of Pulicat whence the Portuguese could batter the walls of the Dutch fortification was a premeditated plan of the Bishop, which had already been proposed to the Viceroy[2] We have not come across any further details about this scheme The fact is that the Dutch factory was actually captured by the Portuguese We are made aware of this by the King of Spain in a letter dated January 31st, 1614 The King himself was informed of it by the Viceroy in a previous mail[3] Considering the length of time occupied in a journey from India to the metropolis in those days of difficult navigation, we can place this event in the beginning of 1613, or perhaps at the end of 1612 The King's message records the valiant deeds done by the Captain and inhabitants of St Thome[4], but to the Bishop of Mylapore was supposed to be the hero of the day on account of his intrepidity and boldness In a letter from the Spanish monarch dated 1614, mention is made of the Bishop of Meliapor "in capturing the fort the Dutch had at Paleacate"[5] In another letter of 1615, the King of Spain mentions again the capture of the Dutch fortress at Pulicat by this Prelate[6] He commanded a force of 130 Portuguese who took the fort by surprise setting on fire the buildings of the Dutch traders The latter defended their properties very

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1 From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, February 28th, 1613, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 314

2 Ibid

3 From the same to the same, Lisbon, January 31st, 1614, Bulhao Pato, o c, III, p 31

4 Ibid

5 From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap B, No XI

6 From the same to the same, Lisbon, March 5th, 1615, Bulhao Pato, o c, III, p 302

valiantly till many of them were slain by the invaders. The booty captured by the Portuguese seems to have been considerable [1]

With the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat the fortress was razed to the ground [2] The Portuguese however were not destined to enjoy their success for long. For in the beginning of 1614 Pulicat had again fallen into the hands of the Dutch In his letter dated February 6th 1615 the King of Spain tells us that after the Dutch fortress was levelled to the ground two Dutch ships weighed anchor at Pulicat harbour to negotiate with King Venkata to re-establish themselves there and for this purpose had made munificent gifts to the monarch. Through the influence of the latter's brother in law who openly favoured them they obtained permission from the monarch to build a new fortress. They lost no time. They set about work at once. The new fortress was erected on a different spot which commanded greater facility for defence than the former It was further fortified" says Philip III, "by the erection of several bastions round the walls and the picketing of artillery and soldiers" [3] This was the fort which was called later on Castel Geldria" [4]

This dealt a death blow to Portuguese commercial enterprise. Dutch commerce got the ascendancy again it flourished now just as it did prior to the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat. The Dutch made a roaring trade with the famous Pulicat cloth and amassed enormous profits [5] This excited the jealousy of the Spanish sovereign who ordered his Viceroy to try the re-capture of Pulicat a thing which at this time appeared easy and would not brook delay—for delay meant that the Portuguese would have to encounter a formidable enemy after the lapse of even a few years By all means" says the King "cause this second fortress built by the Dutch at Paleacate to be

1. *Ragguagli d Alcune Missioni* p. 151

2. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 6th, 1615 Ibid., p. 190

3 Ibid., p. 189

4 Mandelslo *Voyages and Travels* p. 94.

5 From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeromymo d Azevedo Lisbon, February 6th 1615 Bulhao Pato, o c., p. 190

destroyed, for attaining which you may accept the overtures made by Bishop Frey Sebastiao de Sao Pedro" [1] The Bishop's desire was none other than to sieze again the Dutch factory as he had done previously All he needed to give effect to his plan was some money and a number of soldiers, "Let this be done as soon as possible", adds the King "Do not allow the Dutch to fortify it (the fortress) more, for if they do so, their expulsion from there will be extremely difficult" [2] In fact the Bishop himself had also urged the Viceroy to send a governor to St Thome who could take charge, among other things, of the capture of "the fortress the Dutch have made at Paleacate" [3] The Viceroy's purpose was obvious One of the reasons why he had wished to send Dom Bernardo de Noronha as captain of St Thome was that "he might be able to attack Paleacate" [4] The re-capture of Pulicat was beyond doubt the fervent wish of Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo In one of his letters he says "I trust in God that the fortress of Paleacate will be soon captured by the fleet I have decided to send there" [5]

The re-capture of Pulicat was never effected Nothing was heard of any second attempt being made by the warrior-like Bishop To all intents the cause of this apparent stagnation was most likely due, to the death of Venkata II During the disturbances that followed this event, the Portuguese at St Thome had to prepare themselves for further eventualities, the recounting of which shall be the scope of the second volume When things had settled, circumstances had changed, and the Portuguese realised that to attempt alone the re-capture of Pulicat would be folly Hence they could not carry out their adventurous plan to do so they had first to gain the Vijayanagara Emperor to their cause

1 Ibid

1 From the same to the same, Lisbon, March 5th, 1616, Ibid, p 302

2 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Philip III, Goa, December 31st, 1614, Ap B, No XVIII

3 From the same to the same, Goa December 26th, 1613, Ibid, No XV

4 From the same to the same, 1613, Ibid, No XII. See Ap B, No. XVII.

CHAPTER XXII

THE JESUITS AT THE COURT OF VENKATA II

SUMMARY—1 First idea of establishing a mission at Chandragiri. Frs. de Sa and Ricio proceed to the Court.—2. Their relations with Venkata and his father-in law —3 Frs. Veiga and Ricio settle at Chandragiri. Their house.—4 The income given them by the Emperor and its withdrawal in 1603 —5 Venkata's good will towards the Fathers. His letter to Fr Pimenta.—6 Fr Veiga leaves the court. New missionaries. Their interviews with Venkata —7 Fr Laerzio Provincial of the Province of Malabar pays a visit to Venkata at Vellore. His impressions.—8 Venkata's *opposition to the Jesuits. They* leave the court. Their further settlement at Vellore.—9 The Jesuits build a church next to Venkata's palace The King defends them against Tatacharya.—10 Sundry events from 1608 to 1611.—11. Withdrawal of the Jesuits from Venkata's court. The end of the mission.—12. Practical fruits of the Jesuit mission at Chandragiri and Vellore

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1 Jesuit Letters.—2. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives) —3 Du Jarric Guerreiro

WE have hitherto made frequent mention of the Jesuits at Venkata's court while narrating events of which they had been eye-witnesses and in which they had at times even actively participated. We shall now collect all the available information about their influence at Venkata's court and the way they acquired it it will help us to appreciate the character of this monarch and the whole history of the South of India.

In 1597 Fr Nicolas Pimenta, as Visitor on behalf of the General of the Society of Jesus visited all the Jesuit houses and missions in the South of India. While he was at St. Thome, he recommended the Fathers of that College to try all possible means to establish a mission at the capital of the Emperor of Vijayanagara then at Chandragiri. It was suggested by Fr Pimenta that a Father should go there to present his respect to the sovereign from whom he might

obtain sanction to establish a house in his capital All the Fathers approved of the idea Accordingly "I appointed Fr Simon (de) Sa, Rector of the Colledge of Saint Thomas," says Fr Pimenta himself, "to begin a Mission thither as soone as hee could" [1] Fr de Sa at once got in touch with a Christian merchant, a native of Chandragiri, who was then living at St Thome, this person wrote about the matter to one of his relations, a servent of Oba Raya, the Emperor's father-in-law, to whom he praised the wisdom and holiness of the Jesuits of St Thome so highly that Oba Raya became anxious to make their acquaintance Accordingly the latter wrote to the Fathers, inviting them to proceed to Chativerum (Kanchivaram), where he used to reside in a fortress of some importance [2] Fr de Sa replied that he would go after the monsoon was over In the meantime Oba Raya, having been called to Chandragiri by the Emperor invited the Rector of St Thome to proceed to that court, where he expected to be for a long period Accordingly on October 10th, 1598, Fr de Sa together with Fr Francesco Ricio left St Thome for the capital of the Empire A nephew of Oba Raya, a boy aged 13, came forward to meet and salute the Fathers with a considerable retinue of elephants and horses When a league away from Chandragiri they sent a message to Oba Raya, who next morning despatched a general accompanied by many nobles and soldiers riding either elephants or horses to receive and usher them into the city A great reception was given them in Oba Raya's palace, they handed over their presents to that chief, who offered them in their first interview any town they desired to stay in and build a church, moreover, he promised to defray the expenses of the missionaries who stayed in the town He also presented them with rich silk cloths and inquired eagerly about the King of Portugal and his Viceroy in India, and after some days he personally introduced the Fathers into the presence of Venkata II

1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, December, 1597, Purchas, X, p 210, Du Jarric, I, p 638 and 654 Cf Ap C, No I

2 Fr Ricio says that 'Hoburaja wrote two *ollas* to the Fathers' From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1610, Ap C, No. I.

2. On the day appointed they were kindly received by the Emperor The sovereign" says du Jarric, was sitting in a narrow vestibule built for himself alone that was to be reached by several stairs. He was seated on a mat and leaning against a pillow Next to the King just at the edge of the mat, the crown prince was also seated he was a young man of white complexion and handsome face. On the other side of the King, opposite the Prince, Obo (Oba Raya) and his brother were seated too The King was dressed in yellow After the usual salutations the Fathers stood before him as the other nobles did, excepting those mentioned they were so near the throne that some times they touched the border of the King's dress. The Monarch said that he had enjoyed our coming (here du Jarric probably quotes a letter of de Sa) as much as the world enjoys the rising of the sun hence he will send us away full of honours and gifts he knew of us from the things related by Obo (Oba Raya) They having thanked him offered him some presents which were kindly accepted there was among these presents a golden glass heart-shaped jewel brought over from Portugal the King asked what it was for was it perhaps some thing eatable. They answered that it was nothing else but a symbol of the human heart made with silver and gold which they offered him as a sign of their sincere love, their loyalty and thankfulness towards His Majesty Then he thanked them in his mother tongue saying—

"*Maha Santo Seam*" that is, I am extremely glad.

"Then he also gave some gifts to the Fathers four pieces of silk cloth to Fr Rector and two to Fr Francis Ricio." After this a long talk ensued in which Venkata asked about the life they led and after having heard their account addressing his nobles he said —

"They are like our *sannyasis* but these moreover are Gurupi (*i e* learned Priests)"

The audience had been long enough at the end, after a detailed explanation of the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance, that washed away the sins from our soul very much better than the Brahmanical ablutions, which clean only the body but not the soul Venkata asked the Brahmans, who were present —

"What do you think of it ?"

And they, struck with admiration,-exclaimed

"*Suami, Suami*" (Lord, Lord)

Finally Oba Raya told the Fathers that the King had determined to give them two villages, for their expenses and for the construction of the temple, and then a golden palankin, which is only permitted to the grandees and gurupis Finally he allowed them to build as many temples as they wished throughout his dominions Before their departure the King granted another audience to them, in which, at his request, they declared many of the tenets of the Christian faith, and were granted permission to build a church in Chandragiri itself After this they returned to St Thome [1] It was at this time that Venkata's friendship with the Jesuits began [2]

3, On reaching St Thome, Fr de Sa wrote to Fr Pimenta, then at Goa, about the success of the expedition, and demanded more priests for opening the new mission Many Fathers and Brothers offered themselves to the Visitor who was desirous of commencing that holy enterprise Pimenta however selected, from amongst those who were either in Goa or in St Thome, six Fathers, namely Manoel de Veiga who was to be the Superior, Gaspar Estevao, Francesco Ricio, Joao da Costa, Petro Euticio and Belchior Coutinho [3] No mention is found in further documents of three of the above mentioned Fathers, *viz* Estevao, Costa and Euticio, perhaps they never reached St Thome

The first to arrive at this town was Fr Veiga who, accompanied by Fr Ricio, left for Chandragiri on August 12th, 1599, reaching the capital four days later. "Thus", says Fr Ricio, "we went to Oburaja (Oba Raya), who after having paid us the highest respects, introduced us to the King He welcomed our arrival Oburaja, on behalf of the King, gave us a very good place for building a little church and house, we also constructed a wall around, we put up in the church two images

1 Du Jarric, I, p 654-77, Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p 61 Cf Ap C, No I

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap C, No XIII

3 Du Jarric, I, p 677-8

one of our Saviour and one of our Lady Very many heathens go continuously to this church and they make bows and prostrate themselves before the images and ask for some temporal rewards many have already come to thank (God) for those they have received. We preach to them about the mysteries of our faith and convince them of their error since the things they believe in are nothing else but evident lies and sins nobody knows what to answer and all remain in great confusion though reverencing the tenets of our faith We have often declared the tenets of our faith to the King himself showing him several pictures he liked very much to see; and he, though possessing such a clear intellect does the same" *viz* does not know what to answer [1] Another letter of Ricio s states that they were allowed by the King to build a Church, erect Crosses, and convert men insomuch that fifty families were to give place and depart from the ground thereto assigned us [2] Fr Coutinho who arrived at Chandragiri some months after describes their house and compound as follows "Our little house has large premises exposed to a healthy breeze; they are good enough for building up a church and residence, and far from the crowded streets of the town. In the meantime, we have constructed a small church on the spot, large enough for the present, until we shall have money enough for building a larger one [3]

4. The income of the villages which Venkata had promised to the Jesuits at his court, was, according to a Jesuit letter of 1602, never settled, because of the chief governor and some grandees of that court who claimed that the revenue of the villages belonged to them Hence the King, continues the MS., "gave them yearly a thousand *pagodas* out of the tribute paid by one of the Naiques (Nayaks) who are his subjects

1. From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601 Ap. C, No I. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 685-90 Du Jarric I, p. 689 says that the spot where the Fathers built the church was given them by the Queen, daughter of Oba Raya.

2 Purchas, X, p 221.

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap. C No V

until some lands should be vacant, from which the maintenance of the Fathers could be taken without objection For this purpose he issued the necessary *ollas*, and one of our Fathers went to Cangeuaram (Kanchivaram) to see the *Polle* (an officer of the imperial treasury), through whom such a rent had to be received He was entertained and honoured by this *Polle*, who gave him as great proofs of his love as any of those princes who are friends of the Society would have done in Europe When he was aware of the coming of the Father, he used to send him every day a messenger with congratulatory letters, that were, he said, like daily salvoes to cheer him He promised to pay diligently the first part of the rent in the following January, that is one fourth of the whole, and, as a matter of fact, he has already given us five hundred pardaos"[1]

In connection with this story of their revenue the Jesuit sources narrate a case not known hitherto, and one which undoubtedly reflects on the integrity of the nobles of Venkata's court "The case was striking in this", says Guerreiro, "that it should happen to the chief Governor of the Empire, who so earnestly opposed the grant ordered by the King from the revenue of those villages for the ministers of the Church It was just he who was accused before the King of having robbed the royal rents and treasure, he was disgracefully deprived of his functions and dignity And when asked by the King for one of his rings that had cost fifty thousand *pagodas*, he denied the charge and swore on his parents he had never taken the ring By many witnesses he was declared guilty of the theft of the ring and of three hundred thousand *pagodas*, so he is now imprisoned The new Governor, his successor, is a very good friend of the Fathers"[2]

Thus the Fathers enjoyed from that time an annual income of one thousand gold pieces[3] This constituted the main source of the revenue of the College at St Thome, and on it

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1 *Litterae Annuae* of Eastern India, 1601, Ap C, No VI

2 Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601*, p 137

3 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap C, No VII

the Chandragiri mission depended[1] The rest of the College revenue was paid by the *adigar* of Mylapore, who was himself a very good friend of the Jesuits he gave them annually three hundred gold pieces out of the tribute the inhabitants of St. Thome paid to the Nayak of Tanjore[2] But from the year 1603 this yearly income, so kindly made over to the Fathers by order of Venkata ceased as we gather from a letter of Fr M. Roiz written in 1606[3] and from another of Fr A. Rubino of 1609[4] The reason of this change may be gathered from a letter of the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo who writing to Philip III said that the lands that had yielded the income had been destroyed[5] And it seems that no other source of revenue was assigned by Venkata for the maintenance of the Fathers in the following years

5 We learn from a Jesuit letter of 1600 that in the mission of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) there are three priests and one Lay Brother'[6] These four Jesuits were Frs. Veiga and Ricio who had arrived at Chandragiri in the previous year and Fr Belchior Coutinho and the English Lay Brother Alexander Frey a painter who reached the court in 1600. Another letter says that the three Fathers and Bro Alexander did excellent pioneer work a great deal for the improvement of the Bisnagara (Vijayanagara) mission The King' adds the letter "is very well disposed towards them"[7]

This good will of Venkata towards the Fathers is recorded in

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1. From Fr M. de Veiga to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin December 10th 1601, Ap. C No. III

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604 1606 Ap C No XXII

3 From Fr M Roiz to Fr J Alvarez, St Thome, November 1st 1606 Ap C No XII.

4. From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609 Ibid. No XXVII.

5 From Philip III to his Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap. B No XI.

6 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa 1600 Ap. C, No. II.

7 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr N Pimenta December 21st 1602, Ibid., No. V

all the letters in our possession, dated the same year "The King is kind to the priests", we read in one, "and granted them many favours" [1] "He received us with special kindness and love", says another [2] Venkata's regard for the Fathers grew when he learned from the Mughal ambassador in what high esteem they were held by Akbar [3] On one occasion, Coutinho relates, "as the King was taking a walk in this neighbourhood a few days ago, he asked his attendants where our house was. When we knew that the King was coming, we proceeded to the door to receive him respectfully The attendants of the King were exclaiming.—

"*Paicco Parangolu*", that is, let His Highness see the Portuguese Priests.

"He (the King) talked to us affably and cheerfully" [4]

Another testimony of his esteem for the Fathers was the letter he wrote to Fr Pimenta that year Purchas published only the first part of it [5] But we were fortunate enough to unearth its original kept in the Jesuit Archives It runs as follows —

"The King of kings, the great Lord, the Knight of knights, Vencapati (*sic*), King after God, sends the following letter to Fr Nicolao Pimenta who is at Goa I was filled with joy on receipt of your letter during a personal interview with Fr Manoel de Veiga, Superior of the Fathers who reside here I gave them permission to erect a church and house in my own town of Chandegri I have allotted the revenue of the village called Elamur, which is in the vicinity of St Thome, for the expenses of the Fathers, and I shall confer not only on these but also on their successors extraordinary privileges and endowments Moreover I have allowed them complete freedom to preach the

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1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ibid, No II

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ap C, No II Cf Ibid, No V

4 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap C, No V

5 Purchas, X, p 221

law of God so that anyone who wishes may become a Christian without being deprived of his previous position My old love for the Portuguese is by now well known in Goa. The fathers themselves will write to you about the honours they have received from my hands. I have resolved to send the Viceroy a ring and some other presents which I shall charge my interpreter Condoquor to deliver I wish Your Paternity to inform the Viceroy of this so that our old friendly relations may be renewed. Fr Manoel de Veiga will inform you about the new occurrences. I have myself nothing else to say [1]

6. The year 1600 witnessed a great loss to the recently founded mission of Chandragiri Fr Manoel de Veiga, who is justly called its founder [2] was called to St. Thome and appointed Visitor of the Jesuit houses of the South [3] with a view to separating them from the Province-of Goa. We find him accordingly in 1601 visiting the Jesuit stations on the Fishery Coast [4] and after a while, in the month of December at Cochin [5] It seems that Fr Veiga s opinion was not favourable to the separation of the Vice Province of Malabar [6] Nevertheless without his concurrence it was effected shortly after and Fr Veiga was then appointed Provincial of the Province of Goa [7]

After his departure three Jesuits remained at Chandragiri. Fr B Coutinho, who was appointed Superior Fr F Ricio and the Lay Brother Alexander Frey [8] Fr Ricio writing in the year 1603 gives the following information regarding their relations with Venkata When we converse with him he not only shows us marks of great friendship but also lends a very willing ear

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr N Pimenta Goa, December 21st 1602, Ap. O No V

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa 1601 written by Fr N Pimenta January 1602 Ap. O No. IV

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri July 17th, 1600 Ap O, No V

4. Guerrero (*sic*) *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601* p. 108.

5 See Ap. O, No III.

6. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva Cochin, January 12th, 1605 Ap O No XI.

7 Ibid.

8. From Fr F Ricio to Fr C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri October 20th, 1601 Ap. O, No. I.

to the exposition of our doctrine, especially when the topic under discussion is Jesus Our Saviour, and the Blessed Virgin And after he has heard us, he approves of, and repeats our sayings to others The same willingness is shown to us by very many others, distinguished both by birth and learning On hearing our exposition they are filled with joy, and acknowledge that there is only one faith and one God (a point we lay stress on in all our arguments) But though in every doctrine which we propound they show great joy, their happiness when we enumerate and explain the ten commandments of the divine law is so great, that it is easier for one to imagine it than for me to describe it to you in a letter They confess that this law is divine and very sound, and that theirs is teeming with error, and for this very reason they very often come to us and attend our church and willingly hear the divine precepts and all that pertains to the salvation of our souls with great reverence and devotion And not only those who dwell in this imperial city flock to our church, but also a large number from many different towns of this kingdom, and on reaching it they prostrate themselves on the bare floor, and with sincerest humility beg assistance from God in their needs "[1]

7 Such was the life of the Jesuits at the court of Venkata II while he ruled at Chandragiri After his conquest of Vellore in the beginning of 1604, and during his short stay at that place, Fr Ricio went there to pay him his respects[2], and shortly after Fr Alberto Laerzio, the Superior of the Vice-Province of Malabar, who had visited him at Chandragiri in the preceding year,[3] also went to Vellore to do homage to him Venkata, on hearing of his coming, gave orders to prepare and adorn a house next to the palace for him and his companion. " As soon as they arrived ", says a Jesuit letter, " several nobles paid a visit to them, and congratulated them on their arrival

1 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap C, No VII

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 15th, 1604, Ap C, No. IX.

on behalf of the king Then Ramana the son of the King's sister a very good friend of ours also sent to the Fathers some nobles of his household through whom he presented to the Fathers some good dishes of his own table as he had previously done to Fathers Nicolao Levanto and Francesco Ricio. Father Provincial answered that he and his companions would like to cook their food themselves at home then the prince sent them a large number of wethers and hens, besides butter rice, and other uncooked eatables moreover a while after he again sent them a wild boar brought by his brother from a hunting expedition finally he came himself, and gave the Fathers many proofs of his sincere friendship and esteem"

"On the same day continues the same letter "the King sent a message to Fr Provincial, to know when he would like to visit him The Father replied he was expecting an elephant he had left resting a little at Kanchivaram. When the beast reached Vellore the Provincial sent word to the sovereign The latter despatched his private secretary who is also a very good friend of the Fathers with a large retinue to fetch the Fathers. They reached the entrance of the palace in a coach. The King came down to the entrance-lobby to receive Fr Provincial, as well as to see the elephant, the hound and the other presents. Then he took the Father to the audience hall and ordered him to sit down next to the royal throne the grandees of the kingdom standing round. When the Provincial asked for permission to leave, he did not grant it for to dismiss him on the first meeting would be offensive to the dignity of both." As a matter of fact, Fr Laerzio prolonged his stay at Vellore some days and was finally dismissed with great honours and tokens of sincere attachment[1]

Shortly after this visit Venkata wrote to the General of the Society of Jesus then Fr Claudio Aquaviva. Two years later in 1607 Fr Coutinho points out that the King was awaiting the answer[2] We suppose it came in due course, but no further

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606 Ap. C, No. XXII.

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva, Vellore November 5th, 1607 Ap. C, No. XV

mention of this letter has been found In the meantime the nobles of the court and kingdom still showed respect and admiration for the Fathers "All of them are very good friends of the Fathers", says Laerzio, "very polite and kind and many request us to build churches and houses in their towns, and also offer rent for the Father's maintenance" [1]

In the month of July, 1606, Fr. Francesco Ricio passed away [2], he was the first missionary to die in the Vijayanagara mission Fortunately his successor came out in the same year This was another Italian, Fr Antonio Rubino Fr Ricio himself had, when writing to Fr General in 1603, asked for Fr Rubino for this mission [3] He was a great mathematician and a profound theologian, moreover he was a very good preacher and a virtuous priest [4] He reached Chandragiri in the beginning of 1606, and from there he wrote to Fr Genneral of the Society of Jesus in the following year as follows "Last year I wrote to Your Paternity an account of this mission in the kingdom of Bisnaga, in which I am now by Your Paternity's command with great consolation on my part I hope in our Lord that I shall end the rest of my life, which will not last very long, in this mission" [5]

8 But shortly after his arrival a great storm burst over the heads of the missionaries It was then that the conflict between the inhabitants of St Thome and the soldiers of the *adigar* took place, ending with the partial destruction of Madras and Mylapore, as we have related in one of the preceding chapters [6] When news of the disaster reached Venkata's

1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, January 8th, 1604, Ap C, No X

2 Fr Ricio's death is announced in a letter of Fr Coutinho, dated November 4th, 1606, preserved in the Archives of the Society

3 From Fr A Rubino to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap C, No VII

4 From Fr B Countinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap C, No XIII, From the same to the same, same date, Ibid, No XIV

5 From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607, Ibid, No XVII

6 Cf Ch XXI, No 9.

ears inflamed with anger he exclaimed among other things that he did not want the Fathers in his kingdom any more'[1] For this reason the Provincial did not proceed to Venkata s court on his annual visit and the Fathers were recalled to St. Thome to see their Superior there Laerzio ordered them not to go back to Venkata s court till peace had been restored[2]

Towards the close of 1606 as related above peace was finally made, and in the first days of January 1607 the missionaries were back at their posts in the mission of Vijayanagara Fr Rubino at Chandragiri and Fr Coutinho with the Lay Brother Bartolomeo Fontebona at the new residence of Vellore[3] where the capital of the Empire had just been transferred. In the month of January" says Fr Coutinho "we came over here, Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebona and myself Among other things that we offered to the King was a pot full of cakes, one out of a dozen pots we had received in the college on the feast of Jesus (January 1st). This pot was a work of fine art, showing a pelican with its young ones around. I told him at the time (when presenting this pot) that the people of St. Thome were like dead because His Highness had been unfavourable to them but in the course of time, when he had showed from the bottom of his heart his love towards them they as his children, had returned to life, as it had happened to that bird etc. He was very glad to hear this, for they are men who like comparisons In the same letter Coutinho relates that Fr Rubino also went to Vellore to pay a visit to the King He brought him as a present a nice map of the world with Telugu inscriptions the principal kingdoms and the four elements and the twelve skies were described there the King enjoyed very much seeing and reading all these things he questioned Rubino about some difficult problems of mathematics, and the missionary showed himself to

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606 Ap C No XIV

2. From Fr M Rois to Fr J Alvares, St. Thome November 1st, 1606 Ap. C No. XII.

3. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607 Ap. C No. XV Cf. Ibid., No XIII.

be an excellent mathematician[1]. Rubino himself adds that on this occasion he also gave the King a treatise on astronomy, "and the King caused it to be read before him and in the presence of all the learned men of his court These people were greatly astonished at the difference that lies between our science and theirs"[2]

9 Venkata gave the Jesuits at Vellore a site next to his own palace to build a house and church "The King", says Coutinho, "gave us a house and church within the first enclosure of the fortress; and I put up the Holy Cross over the gate It is situated in a beautiful street running from North to South and leaning against the walls of the palace The Church is visited by many of the King's relations, who are our friends and neighbours, they enjoy our conversations about God"[3] This proves that, after that temporary storm of hatred against the Portuguese, the love of Venkata for the Jesuits was renewed once more "He (Venkata)" says Fontebona, "shows us as much love as we can desire"[4] And in another letter he says "It is surprising to see how he loves us"[5] Fr Antonio

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1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XVIII

2 From Fr A Rubino to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607, Ap C, No XVII

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap C, No XIII, From the same to the same, same date, Ibid, No XIV When I visited the place in January, 1924, as soon as I entered the fort, I noticed through the green trees a small white cross over the facade of a church towering above all the other edifices I remembered at once the above quoted passage of Coutinho Then I realized that the aforesaid church was built next to the walls of the Mahal still standing and in the street running from North to South The coincidence was amazing I could not however get more information about that church, as there was no priest then at the parish house I wrote lately to a Catholic Priest of Vellore, Rev J Trideau, and I was informed by him that, according to local tradition, there is no recollection of a Catholic Church inside the fort I realized then that the church I had seen must be the Anglican Church, but nevertheless the spot where it is built seems to be the same as that of the ancient church of the Jesuits at Venkata's court Cf Penny, *The Church in Madras*, I, p 624-9

4 From Bro B Fontebona to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap C, No XVI

5 From the same to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XIX

Vico writing from Cochin at about the same time, informs us that "the King of Bisnaga is daily growing fonder of the things of God [1] while Fontebona says elsewhere that Venkata "likes to talk about our things and specially about our holy faith" [2]

One of these talks with Venkata about the Christian tenets is related in a letter of Fr Coutinho The other day" he says "we were talking about the things of God and His Majesty heard at length the explanation of the ten commandments When in explaining the first we said that there was only one God and that the others were false gods idols (Devils), the King did not say anything The Brahmans, however asked him what was the use of hearing such things to which the King replied that it was a very good thing and so worthy of notice. He was also pleased to see the album of holy pictures which the Brother showed him drawing his attention especially to the ones by Fr Nadal [3] He saw them one by one and at the same time inquired minutely about their meaning in so doing he was very glad to know of these high mysteries. But the King's religious preceptor (viz. Tatacharya) wished to convince us of the falsehood of the passion (of Jesus Christ) He was one of those whom St. Paul represents to us as saying that our doctrine was folly he tried to convince him of the stories of their false gods who are so unworthy of divinity but we declared to him how perfect was the love of Jesus Christ, who came to the world for our salvation The King heard everything in silence, and was by no means angry when at what we said against his idols and temples" [4] The same letter records that once when the King was praising the Fathers for being

1. From Fr A. Vico to Fr P A. Spinelli Cochin, December 9th, 1607 Ap. C, No XXI

2. From Bro B Fontebona to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore November 11th, 1607 Ap. C No XIX.

3 For the history of these pictures, see Heras, *La Dinastia Manchu en China*, I, p 412-4, and *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*, Q J M S., XIV p. 136, n. 26.

4 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607 Ap. C, No. XVIII.

friend of ours as he was before The cause of it are those accursed Brahmans who are the chief foes of our Holy Faith the King is more than a slave before them"[1] Another Jesuit letter of 1600 shows what kind of slavery the King was subjected to "The King is not allowed to talk to anybody we read there before he has seen the face of two Brahmans"[2]

In the month of June, 1611 we find Rubino in Colombo. He had preached on Fridays in Lent his preaching pleased everybody and was fruitful The reason for his going there was that Venkata had requested him to accompany the ambassadors whom he was sending to the Portuguese Governor of Ceylon, and whom he had deputed to sell several elephants to the Portuguese[3]

11 By the end of the same year 1611 no Jesuit houses were found any more either at Vellore or at Chandragiri. What was the cause of their withdrawal from Venkata s court?

Some years before, a document full of slanders against all the Jesuits of the South but especially against those who where at Venkata s court had been presented to Philip III. The accusations may be reduced to the following four heads 1 The Jesuits residing at Venkata s court have no interest at all in the conversion of infidels and only preach according to the will of the Brahmans and other Hindu ascetics 2 All their efforts are reduced to making money and to accumulating enormous amounts of money in order to increase their income and to attain this purpose they always do whatever the King likes 3. Bro Fontebona is busy painting indecent pictures to please the sovereign and 4. They

1. From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore September 30th, 1609 Ap C No. XXVII.

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C No. V

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin November 25th 1611 Ap. C, No. XXXI. This is the last time we hear of Rubino in connection with Vijayanagara. In 1613 he became Rector of the College at St. Thome as recorded in a letter of 1615 which will be published in Vol. II. Rubino died martyr in Japan on March 17th, 1643

forged letters of the King of Spain to Venkata and of Venkata to the King of Spain, and bribed the ministers of the former to obtain the royal seal[1].

No doubt, these charges created great resentment in the suspicious character of Philip III On March 9th, 1610, he wrote about them to his Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora to this effect "From the note I am sending you herewith, you may see the things which were communicated to me about the conduct of the Jesuits who reside in the Empire of Bisnaga, hence I recommend to you, first, to request from their Superior the immediate withdrawal of these Religious (from that Empire) to any other house of their Order, they may be, if necessary, replaced by others of good conduct, whose efforts must be only devoted to the conversion of the gentiles Then you will secretly inquire from impartial persons about the accusations as contained in the said note"[2] No person can defend this strange and imprudent order of the Spanish King He ought first to have ordered an inquiry, and then to proceeded to the expulsion of the guilty, if any The Provincial of the Malabar Province, to avoid any suspicion of covetousness on their part, on receiving the Viceroys's order promptly withdrew his subordinates from Venkata's court "As soon as their Superiors were aware of what Your Majesty wrote about them, they caused them to be removed at once to their own province", wrote Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to his sovereign, in 1613[3] No other Fathers were sent there

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1 Memorial against the Jesuits, Ap C, No XXXVIII

1 "Por hum papel que ira com esta vereis o que se diz do procedimento dos religiosos da companhia que residem no reino de Bisnaga, e parecemme remettervolo e encomendarvos, como faco, que trateis com o superior daquella religiao que recolha logo estes religiosos a algua outra casa da sua ordem e sendo necessario enviar alli outros, o faca, escolhendo para isso pessoas de satisfaccao e que attendam somente a conversao dos gentios d'aquelle reino, e que do mais que contem o dito papel tomeis informacao em todo o segredo por pessoas sem suspeita" From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, Lisbon, March 9th, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 372 Cf another letter from the same King to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, February 28th, 1610, Ibid., II, p 184

3 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Philip III, 1613, Ap B, No XII

This removal of the Jesuits from the court of Vijayanagara caused a great deal of harm to the Portuguese influence in India. According to the Viceroy the settlement of the Dutch at Pulicat as well as Venkata's war against St Thome were due to this fact [1] "Consequently" the Viceroy adds "I have to say that it is not only absolutely necessary to have them (the Jesuits) at Chandegri (Chandragiri) close to the King, who loves them but even in Paleacate (Pulicat) after the capture of this fortress from the Dutch and in other places of that coast" The Viceroy's wishes were never fulfilled. Venkata died soon after the turbulent period that followed was not conducive to the re-establishment of the suspended mission but Fr Rubino in a letter dated from St. Thome November 29th 1617 says that there were hopes that the mission of Vellore would be renewed after the end of the civil war [3] Nevertheless as far as we know there were no more Jesuits permanently residing either at Vellore or at Chandragiri during the supremacy of the Emperors of Vijayanagara.

12 What was the real character of the Jesuit mission at the court of Venkata? Their stay first at Chandragiri and then at Vellore was not prompted by a desire for temporal advantages Though they sometimes inclined Venkata in favour of the Portuguese this was not the main purpose of their mission Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo, in the above quoted letter spoke of them only from this political point of view But Fr Pimenta had ordered the establishment of this mission "in order to preach here the doctrine of Jesus Christ" as Ricio says in one of his letters [4] du Jarric says likewise that Pimenta's purpose was

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1. Cf. Ch. XXI, Nos. 13 and 15

2. From the same letter of the Viceroy to Philip III. These extracts of the Viceroy's letter to his sovereign do not agree at all with the accusations of Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* II, p XXXII and of Rangachari *History of the Nayak Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLV p. 181.

3 This letter will be published in Vol. II.

4. From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C No I. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p 638.

"to make known the Christian faith in the kingdom of Bisnagar (Vijayanagara)" [1]

The importance of this enterprise is frequently emphasised in the Jesuit letters of those days "There are in this kingdom such extensive regions and populous cities", Ricio again wrote in 1603, "that if God calls them to the faith (as we hope), numberless labourers will be needed for working in this vineyard" [2] Again, in January, 1604, the Provincial Laerzio informed Fr General that "the Residence of Chandragiri in the kingdom of Bisnagar (Vijayanagara) was an enterprise of great importance We expect many conversions there If but one of those chiefs wishes to be baptised, the rest, it seems, will follow his example" [3] Laerzio repeats the same in 1605 [4] Such were the hopes of the Jesuits of those days that the King of Spain, Philip III, evinced much interest in the affairs of this mission, not precisely for political motives, but on account of his zeal for the propagation of the faith Accordingly on December 23rd, 1604, he wrote to his Viceroy "I expect you will inform me about the results obtained by those (Jesuits) who reside next to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)" [5]

The first conversion is recorded by Ricio in a letter of 1601, not perhaps a real conversion, since Ricio says that the person baptised was a child (*menino*), [6], who might have died soon after As a matter of fact Laerzio says in 1604 that "no conversions were made till now" [7] In 1606, Fr Roiz wrote from

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1 Du Jarric, I, p 654

2 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap C, No VII

3 From Fr A Laercio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap C, No X

4 From the same to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap C, No XI

5 From Philip III to his Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604, Ap B, No VII.

6 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 29th, 1601, Ap C, No I

7 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap C, No X

St. Thome that in Chandragiri the Fathers had baptised six persons who were their servants at the same time he says that "there is no hope of more conversions, because these negroes (*sic*) are very obstinate in their diabolic doctrines, about which I have before written to Your Reverence they certainly acknowledge that our doctrine is good, but they say that theirs is also good and that they can obtain salvation by professing it Hence they want to keep it since it is according to their own customs and received from their ancestors [1] At the end of the same year 1606, Coutinho announces that besides the six Christians of Chandragiri there are five more in Vellore [2] In 1607 Laerzio informs Fr General that Fr Rubino has made some Christians in Chandragiri [3] But Fr Rubino himself writes that the persons converted were only four there were besides eight others who were then being instructed. We are working as much as possible to propagate our holy faith" he says "but *janua clausa est* (the gate is shut) and great grace of God is required to open it we must incessantly knock at it again till it be opened. Our knocking however from outside will be nothing if God does not from the inside knock with his divine inspirations, as we hope He will do" [4] In the following year 1608 the few Christians of Chandragiri were persecuted by the governor of the town [5] while Coutinho baptised an old man at Vellore [6]

No more conversions are mentioned in the letters of those missionaries. It is a matter of great sorrow to see the door

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1. From Fr M. Bois to Fr J Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st 1606, Ap. C, No. XII.

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C No. XIII.

3. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva Cochin, November 20th, 1607 Ap C, No XX.

4. From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607 Ap C, No XVII.

5 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva Cochin, December 30th, 1608 Ap. C, No XXV

6. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva Vellore October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.

so closed to the Gospel", writes Rubino in 1609 [1]. And Laerzio himself says in 1611 We shall try every possible means to get the expected harvest from this mission, this (fruit) was very much diminished this year" [2] With this good hope the Vijayanagara mission met with its end, that very year, as has been related, the Jesuits were withdrawn from their posts [3]

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1 From Fr A Rubino to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap C, No XXVII

2 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap C, No. XXXI

3 It has been supposed that the Jesuits were also established in the very city of Vijayanagara during the time of its splendour, or perhaps during Sadasiva's reign Cf Slater, *Where Religions Meet*, *Q J M S*, VIII, p 307-8 We are sure that no Jesuit was ever established in the city near the Tunghabadra, nor do we even know of any other missionary settled there The only information we have is that in the year 1542 Fr Antonio Patrao or Petronio, a Franciscan Friar, converted 1300 Hindus in the kingdom of Vijayanagara (not in the City) and built a church dedicated to St Anthony, which was afterwards converted into a monastery The place where this missionary obtained this harvest is not given Cf *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p 86

CHAPTER XXIII

VENKATA II AND THE ART OF PAINTING

SUMMARY —1 Indian painters at Venkata's court.—2. Venkata's interest in the art of painting shown in his first audience to the Jesuits —3 Bro Alexander Frey painter to the Emperor —4. Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebona called for the mission of Vijayanagara.—5 His introduction to Venkata His paintings.—6 Venkata's kindness to Fontebona.—7 The Provincial of Malabar wishes to promote Fontebona to the Priesthood.—8 Fontebona's removal from the Court. His death in Bengal.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Jesuit letters.—2. Du Jarric.

VENKATA II'S predilection for the art of painting deserves a special chapter on his relations with the painters at his court.

Unfortunately we know nothing about the Indian painters employed in his capital their very existence is only known to us through a European source. Fr du Jarric states that there were several native painters at Chandragiri but these artists could not have approached the standard of the European paintings presented to the King by the Jesuits [1]

About the two European painters who resided for some years at Chandragiri and at Vellore, our store of information is considerable. Hence we are able to trace the course of Venkata's relations with them Incidentally the subject will serve to give to our readers a hitherto unknown aspect of the character of that monarch

2. In the course of the first audience given by Venkata to Frs. de Sa and Ricio, the sovereign asked them about the King of Portugal. They happened to have with them several small portraits of Dom Sebastiao and his predecessors and showed them to the King Venkata was amazed at seeing them. He scrutinised them carefully and passed them on for examination to the attendant nobles. They too were astonished at the per

1. Du Jarric, I p 669

fection of these European paintings Then Venkata inquired of his visitors whether there was at St Thome a good painter The Fathers replied that there was indeed one, and as a proof of their statement, offered to the sovereign another painting recently done at St Thome It represented the Gospel parable of the rich Epulon and the beggar Lazarus Venkata asked for the explanation of this subject, which was courteously given in Telugu by Fr Ricio His explanation, according to du Jarric, resolved itself into a sermon on hell, Ricio was prepared with the subject-matter before leaving St Thome, but now he was so carried away with his declamation that his pronunciation was often faulty, and occasionally made the nobles laugh [1]

At the farewell audience some days later, Venkata questioned the Fathers once more about the painter they had at St. Thome [2] From these facts de Sa and Ricio reasonably inferred that it would be of great importance for the future mission to have such a painter in the residence which was to be established at Chandragiri, and the idea was most likely communicated to Fr Pimenta

3 This painter was the Jesuit Lay Brother Alexander Frey We know nothing more about him except that he was an Englishman, as the letters of those days often record [3]

In spite of the King's wishes, Bro Alexander, as he is commonly called, was not among the Jesuits who reached Chandragiri in 1599 But in the following year we find him installed at Venkata's court A Jesuit letter of 1600 gives some interesting information about his work at the imperial palace It runs as follows "Bro Alexander showed to the King one of his paintings that represents the three Magi adoring our Saviour recently born and put in the manger He offered besides to the sovereign another painting, showing the Blessed Virgin with Her Child in her arms The King bowed before it and placed it in one of the rooms of his palace The Brother is now painting another one of Christ's descent into hell He

1 Ibid, p 665

2 Ibid, p 670

3 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap C, No. I

(the King) is eagerly waiting for it because out of many pictures previously shown he selected this and the preceding one to be reproduced. He talks quite unreservedly with the Brother It happened once that the King was looking on while the Brother was painting the latter happened to say that some of the colours required for his work were some times lacking then the sovereign returned to his apartment and came out bringing in his own hands a hundred gold pieces, which he gave to the Brother in order to get all the necessary things " [1]

Fr Ricio informs us that at the end of 1601 Bro. Alexander was still working at Chandragiri and was a great favourite with the King In the same letter he asks the General of the Society permission to give a beautiful painting to Venkata on the General s behalf [2]

No further mention of Bro Alexander Frey is discoverable in the Jesuit letters from Chandragiri. He probably left the court in 1602 We cannot assign any reason for his departure, though some years later we find his name among the missionaries of Malabar

4. No doubt Frey's departure from Chandragiri was a blow to the recently founded mission. This enterprise required the support of the powerful sovereign and the presence of a painter among the missionaries was conducive to this support. Hence the Provincial Fr Laerzio, who probably before leaving Italy had made the acquaintance of an Italian Lay Brother also a good painter wrote to Fr General in 1003 requesting a man of his type for the mission of Vijayanagara [3] and repeated his petition in the following year [4]

This Lay Brother s name was Bartolomeo Fontebona or Fontebuone. Owing to his artistic talent he became one of the most intimate friends of Venkata. It would seem that Fr

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th 1600 Ap. O No V

2 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C. Aquaviva Chandragiri October 20th 1611, Ap O No I.

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvares, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C No. X.

4. Ibid.

General sent him to India immediately upon the first petition of Laerzio, for Laerzio himself, in January of the year 1605, wrote to Aquaviva that Fontebona had already been in Goa for two years[1], but that the Provincial of Goa, Fr Manoel de Veiga, had retained him in that city, in order to paint the new church of the Professed House[2] Five years later, in 1607, Fontebona wrote from Vellore "I have been told that a Flemish Lay Brother, himself a very good painter, was coming (to India), I was very glad, indeed, for he will be able to finish the painting of the new church of the Professed House, started by me"[3]

The Provincial of Malabar wrote again to the General in 1605, pressing for the services of Fontebona in the Vijayanagara mission "We are very much in need of Bro Bartolomeo, the painter, for this Christendom", he said, "but Fr Provincial (of Goa) will not allow him to leave Goa, if Your Paternity do not order him to do so When in Rome I asked Your Paternity for this Brother for this Christendom, he has already been at Goa for two years, I should think that they must be quite satisfied"[4]

Most likely the General sent his order to the Provincial of Goa, in accordance with Laerzio's wishes, because at the end of 1606, Fontebona was already at St Thome waiting for an opportunity to go to Venkata's court He happened to arrive there when the Jesuits had retired from the capital of the Empire, owing to the sudden storm occasioned by the fight of the inhabitants of St Thome with the soldiers of the *adigar* Hence Fr Coutinho, in November, 1606, wrote from St Thome that "Bro Bartolomeo Fontebuone is here painting while waiting for a chance to proceed to the court with us, for we hope the

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1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap C, No XI

2 This was the house and the church of the Bom Jesus, which had been started in 1589 Cf Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, p 279-80

3 From Bro B Fontebona to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap C, No XVI, From the same to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ibid, No XIX

4 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap C, No XI

King will renew our previous relations for this purpose he was sent to us by our Father (General)" [1]

5 Finally in January 1607 the Fathers were allowed to return to Chandragiri and even to establish a new residence at Vellore, the recently created capital. Fontebona was naturally sent there to be in readiness for the King's orders [2] He was introduced to Venkata by Fr Coutinho who thus describes the audience held on this occasion "I introduced the Brother (to the King), saying that he had come from far away by order of our Fr General, in order to paint before His Highness. He praised this highly and asked the Brother at once whether he had at that time a good painting to show to him. The Brother had nothing else but the two portraits of our Blessed Fathers (Ignatius and Francis Xavier) The King on seeing them was astonished and could not persuade himself that the Brother had painted them I told him I had witnessed his work. Hence he (the King) asked him (Fontebona) to paint others like them in his presence. He replied that he would and began at once by his order to sketch them on a big panel. The King was surprised to see how quickly the Brother worked. In fact the painting was finished in an hour and a half He retouched the face of Bl. Father Ignatius. The King on seeing that was greatly astonished and going back to his lodging sent him according to his custom a rich golden cloth. He went on with his painting while we took the opportunity to relate to him the main facts and the miracles and virtues of Bl Father Ignatius and of Bl. Father Francis (Xavier). The King was much pleased on hearing those things. He (Fontebona) painted also his (the King's) own portrait He (the King) is a very grave man, on this occasion however he changed the place where he was sitting and moved to another which was selected by the Brother He remained there until the portrait was completed Furthermore, to please the King he painted a panel of the Bl. Virgin Our Lady

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St. Thome November 4th 1606 Ap. C No. XIII.

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1606-1607 Ap. C No. XXVI.

with the child Jesus in her arms and the holy child, the Baptist, at her side, and St Joseph in the rear, copying it from a small picture The panel was finished to perfection, and the King ordered it to be hung in a prominent place in the room of the assembly, opposite his royal throne, where he reads with his learned Brahmans These asked the King why that painting made by the Christians was there, and so on The King replied —

'This carpet on which I am sitting, and you also, came from their country If we are nevertheless sitting on it, why cannot that painting be there? Did not this velvet cap you have on your head come from their country too?' Such discussions were repeated several times'' [1]

By the same letter of Fr Coutinho we are made aware that Fontebona showed to the King several books and albums of pictures, one of them being that of Fr Nadal This especially was liked very much by the King [2] Then Venkata told the Brother that he was greatly pleased to see him painting those small pictures Accordingly Fontebona spent a good length of time in this work, and 'has been praised very highly by the King' [3] The Provincial Laerzio confirms this news, while stating that 'Fontebona is loved by the King and by all' [4] Fontebona himself at the same time reports "I am at Vellore at present My daily occupation consists in painting several things in the palace and in the King's presence His Majesty is as much pleased by watching me paint painting, as I am pleased by gratifying him" [5]

6 As a result of this continual work, Fontebona fell sick at the end of the same year, 1607 On the occasion of this sickness, Venkata's love towards the Brother was openly shown

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1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XVIII

2 Cf Ch XXII, No 9

3 Letter mentioned in note 1

4 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap C, No XX

5 From Bro B Fontebona to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XIX

Fontebona himself gives an interesting account of his relations with the monarch at this time. His letter runs as follows I once heard while sick, that the King was going to leave the palace (for a walk) I went to the palace gate in order to greet him while passing. When he went out I presented myself to him and offered him a crystal cup full of rose water He stopped and received the cup with his own hands saying at the same time how sorry he was to see me so lean and pale from my sick ness. On the following day my sickness grew worse it was necessary to go to St. Thome to recover I have been there for almost two months The King on learning that I could not get rid of my disease sent a message through the Queen instruct ing me in the way I could be cured I came back to Vellore after my recovery and began to paint a panel of Our Lady

"He (the King) offered me many gifts but since the Provincial forbade us to receive money we declined his offerings this made a great impression on him so much so that he said to his courtiers that we had never asked for anything I have also painted several small pictures specially one of Our Saviour I once showed to him a painting of Our Lady which I had made presentation to one of our Fathers He was greatly surprised at the sight of it and took it to his apartments to show it to the Queen the picture never came back to my hands. Later on we were given to understand that the King had preserved it in a box where he keeps the jewellery very well covered we were told moreover that he used to open this box and look at the picture every day " [1]

Fontebona continued his work in the presence of Venkata, who was every day more pleased with the skill of the Italian Jesuit. Fr Rubino wrote of the latter in the year 1609, that he was still often busy painting before the King and later on the same writer adds that Venkata had given the Brother two hundred gold coins (scudi) for buying colours [2]

1. From Bro B Fontebona to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore November 11th 1607 Ap O No. XIX From the same to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore November 7th, 1607 Ibid., No XVI.

2 From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore September 30th, 1609 Ap. O No XXVII.

7 So great was the help given to the mission by the humble painter, who knew how to keep alive the good-will of Venkata towards the Fathers, that the Provincial Fr Laerzio, contrary to the custom of the Society of Jesus, thought seriously of promoting him to the sacred priesthood This would have given Fontebona a better opportunity to work for the propagation of the faith

Laerzio in a letter to Fr General dated November 20th, 1607, after paying tribute to Fontebona's virtue, example and goodness, adds "It seems to me that he would help us still more in that kingdom if he were a priest, he knows Latin pretty well It is true that he never manifested to me any wish in any way, nor did other persons speak to me about this Probably he never thought of this, it is only an idea growing upon me for some years past, that as a priest, he would be of more profit to the service of God In case my idea is approved of by Your Paternity, kindly send me your permission I feel sure it will be for the glory of God and for the greater profit of the souls of that kingdom" [1]

8 Apparently the General's permission never came Fontebona was removed from Venkata's court with the rest of the missionaries at the end of 1611, when the missions of Chandragiri and Vellore were definitely abandoned

The Superior of Malabar, Fr Laerzio, after realizing that Bro Fontebona's work would not be required any more at the court of Vijayanagara, as hopes of re-establishing the mission were groundless, sent him in the company of Frs Stefano Cacella and Joao Cabral on an expedition to Tibet, that was to start from Bengal They left Cochin on April 30th, 1626 Having set out on their journey from Hugli, on one of the branches of the Ganges, Fontebona (who was then fifty) was sent back to Hugli from Siripur on account of the difficulties of the enterprise He fell ill shortly after his arrival, and died there on December 26th, 1626 [2]

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1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap C, No XX

2 Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, p 121-2.

CHAPTER XXIV

FAMILY AFFAIRS DEATH OF VENKATA II

SUMMARY —1 The wives of Venkata II.—2 The King gives a garden party to his wives.—3 Oba Raya s influence at Venkata s court. —4. Great power of Queen Pedobamamba —5 Story of the putative son of Venkata —6 Relations between the King and his two nephews Tirumala and Ranga.—7 Venkata s last illness. Appointment of Ranga as his successor —8. Death of Venkata II —9 Venkata judged by his contemporaries.—10 Final criticism of this sovereign.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1 Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3 Letters to the E. I. C.—4. Du Jarric Guer reiro Queyroz.—5 Anquetil du Perron, Floris —6. *Ramarajiyamu*

VENKATA II s family life was far from pleasant, and the private affairs of his relations hastened the downfall of the Empire itself. This chapter is a narrative of those unfortunate events which precipitated the civil war related in the following volume.

Considerable discussion has arisen concerning the wives of Venkata II because the contemporary sources agree neither as to their number or their names. Our own opinion is that such differences spring from the obvious fact that these con temporary sources give the number of Venkata s wives at the time of their composition and could by no means give the names of all the wives of this monarch. In the light of this fact there is really no discrepancy among the different documents and indeed there is a perfect agreement between the indigenous and the foreign sources.

According to one of Venkata s grants of 1586 he had four wives Venkatamba, Raghavamba, Pedobamamba and Pinavobamamba [1] But in the Dalavay Agraharam plates, which were issued the same year the name of Pinavobamamba is replaced by that of Krishnamba [2] This would mean that

1. *Ep Ind.*, XIII, p 231 note 7
2. Ibid., XII p. 186 vv 27-39

Pinavobamamba had died the same year, and that a new wife called Krishnamba filled her place [1] These four names, *viz.* Venkatamba, Raghavamba, Pedobamamba and Krishnamba are again mentioned both in the Vellangudi plates [2] and in the Padmaneri grant of the same Venkata II [3], both issued in 1598 But in 1601 the Vilapaka grant mentions five wives the four just spoken of, plus Kondambika [4], thus showing that between 1598 and 1601 Venkata married another wife named Kondambika Raghavamba however did not live long The *Ramarajiyamu*, which seems to have been written towards the close of Venkata's reign, gives only four names Venkatamma, (Venkatamba), Obamma (Pedobamamba), Krishnamma (Krishnamba), and Kondamma (Kondambika) [5] The same four names are repeated in a grant of 1633 [6] One of them however must have died early, for when the death of Venkata occurred at the end of the following year, 1614, only three wives committed *sati*, according to both Fr Barradas and Floris, who will be quoted later on We cannot ascertain which of these four consorts of Venkata died previous to his death, but we may affirm that the question lies between Krishnamba and Kondambika This we shall discuss while narrating Venkata's demise

According to this explanation Venkata had altogether six wives Of them Obamma or Pedobamamba was the daughter of Jillella Ranga Raja, Krishnamma or Krishnamba was the daughter of Jillella Krishna Raju, and Kondamma or Kondam-

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1 There are, however, two grants of Venkata inconsistent with this opinion one is of 1587, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83, the other of 1589, Ibid, XII, Ck, 39 In both documents the names of Venkata's Queens are the following Venkatamba, Raghavamba Ped-Obamamba, and Pin-Obamamba Is this simply a mistake on the part of the engraver, or perhaps Krishnamba and Pin-Obamamba (Pinavobamamba) are two different names of the same person? In the latter supposition Venkata's wives would have been in all only five in number

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 31-35

3 Ibid, p 297, v 30

4 Ibid, IV, p 270

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 243.

6. *Ep Ind.*, XIII, p 231

mbika was the daughter of Gobburi Oba[1] This Gobburi Oba or Oba Raya had, moreover another daughter who was married to Venkata. We are inclined to believe that she was Raghavamba. This information comes from the Jesuit sources of 1598-9, when the first Jesuits visited Venkata s court "The King" says du Jarric, had married two of his (Oba Raya s) daughters"[2] and the same author says later on that Oba Raya had "two *daughters married to the King*"[3] Now we know the names of the fathers of the other three of Venkata s wives at that time. Raghavamba s father is unknown to us It is true that the first mention of Kondambika is found in 1601 but she might have been married to Venkata a little earlier Thus the explanation *holds good that when the Jesuits first visited* Venkta s court two of Venkata s wives were daughters of Oba Raya.

The *Ramarajiyamu* makes no reference to the family of Venkatamba. She is the only one whose father is not mentioned. Hence she must be the one spoken of by Fr Barradas as the *daughter of Jaga Raya, by the name of Bayamma*,[4] as any lady could be called Bayamma in Telugu to quote Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar[5] She appears to have been the first Queen as she is always mentioned first, and may be identified with the one said by Barradas to be of the same age as the *King*[6]

2 Fr du Jarric relying invariably on the contemporary Jesuit letters gives interesting details of a feast prepared by Venkata for his Queens in 1698.

"One of those days (during the Jesuits first stay at Chandragiri) the King invited the Queens to a garden outside the city to enjoy themselves there The retinue which accompanied them proceeded as follows in the van there was a good cavalry detachment headed by a captain, who was a Muhammadan surrounded by four or five knights there were several silk

1. *Ramarajiyamu* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 243.
2. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.
3. Ibid., p. 674.
4. Sewell p 223.
5. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar o. c., p. 20.
6. Sewell, p. 224.

standards in this company, after this there came a flute and a vinaband, the players rode several camels, many foot soldiers were also to be seen Then the Delenais (Dalavays), or chief captains followed, they proceeded on foot and were fully armed, in their rear walked one of the royal elephants, over which the imperial standard was carried there were several court nobles around Next, a huge iron gong was carried by four porters, and four soldiers were continuously striking it [1], the King himself then advanced on a gold sedan-chair, with many courtiers and servants around, who carried four very handsome umbrellas, then the royal insignia were to be seen on the top of picks, the hairy tail of a white wild cow, which is very much appreciated in the East, a big representation of a fish and another of a lion and finally another standard After this there came the chief Delevay (Dalavay) of the kingdom, and at last the Prince (Ranga) with the King's wives, accompanied by very many women carried in silver and gold sedan-chairs, with great pomp, the Queens were carried in shinning gold litters, covered with rich golden drapery adorned with precious stones, next to every litter two umbrelas were carried to keep off the glare of the sun, there were besides many handmaids, moving their fans to and fro on each side of their mistresses Such was the order of his state procession when the King went to the garden in the suburbs of the city to spend a holiday He came back on the same day after sunset, so many torches illuminated his way that it seemed day in spite of the hour" [2]

3 Up to the year 1606 the influence exerted by Oba Raya and his family at the court of Venkata may be seen both from the Hindu inscriptions and from the Jesuit sources An inscription of Venkata at Narasingapuram mentions Gobburi Oba Raya and the gifts of sixty-five gold pieces called Venkatarayavarahans Oba Raya seems to have regulated the festivals

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1 This gong was '*longitudine duorum doliorum*', according to du Jarric I cannot estimate its size, since the name *doliorum* means quite a different thing in Latin It is possibly a mistake

2 Du Jarric, I, p 673–4.

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right of succession'[1] And King Philip III of Spain was informed before 1610 that there were three candidates to the crown of Venkata[2] Hence even the supposed mother of the boy Queen Venkatamba, realized that her son would not be acknowledged as a king (by the nobles)" to quote Fr Queyroz "and persuaded him (Venkata) to resign the kingdom in favour of his nephew Chica Raj son of Rama Raju"[3]

6. We know of the existence of three nephews of Venkata. One was called Ramana. He was the son of one of the sisters of the King, and was living at court at least in 1604 1606[4] The other two were the sons of Rama the Viceroy of Seringapatam of whom we have often spoken before. Queen Venkatamba ceased to champion the cause of the boy apparently in 1599 In this year according to Anquetil du Perron, "Venkata s nephew Chima Ragion (Ranga) was the heir apparent to the crown" in spite of the more grounded rights of his elder brother Tirumala[5] Ranga therefore was the Prince who in the same year was sitting on the same mat as Venkata, when the Jesuit Fathers were received at his court[6] And du Jarric relates that after this audience with the King, the Jesuits received several visits of the grandees and among these visitors one was "a nephew of the king, called Chimaragu (Ranga) who is the first after the King and his heir"[7] "He was a very handsome and prudent man" says Queyroz[8]

Nevertheless at this time Ranga was not yet appointed Chikka Raya or crown prince. Anquetil du Perron tells us

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 160? Ap. O No XVIII.

2. From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora Lisbon, February 21st, 1610 Bulhao Pato *Documentos* I p. 459

3. Queyroz, o.c., p 309

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606, Ap. O No XXII.

5 Anquetil du Perron l. c., p. 167

6. Du Jarric, I p. 688 Cf. Ch. XXII, No 3

7 Ibid., p. 689

8. Queyroz, l. c.

that the trouble about the succession began in 1600, and was caused by the two brothers Tirumala and Ranga[1] Most likely both had partisans at court But the chief cause of this trouble was the King himself Fr Coutinho, in his letter of the 17th July of same year, 1600, says "Although the King prefers the younger brother (Ranga) who is being brought up in his very palace, nevertheless people say the elder one (Tirumala) will be the King, because he is liked by more numerous and powerful chiefs"[2] Ranga then had only the King's predilection in his favour, while the right of birth and the esteem of the subjects were on the side of Tirumala

As a mater of fact, Fr Countinho in the same letter calls Tirumala 'the heir of this kingdom'[3] Again Tirumala is called 'the crown prince' by Fr Guerreiro in 1604[4], and Fr Coutinho once more calls him 'the Prince', in a letter of 1608[5], although in the same letter he states that Venkata 'does not want either to name or to hear anybody talk of Tirumala'[6] Such was the hatred of the sovereign for the elder of his two nephews Thereupon prince Tirumala retired from Seringapatam, as already narrated, according to the wishes of Venkata himself

Tirumala, being thus disgraced in the eyes of the nobles on account of his shameful retreat from Seringapatam, was no longer supported by the nobility against the designs of Venkata It was most probably then that Ranga was publicly adopted by his uncle, and became consequently the heir-apparent, according to the *Ramarajiyamu*[7]

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1 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 170

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr. N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

3 Ibid

4 Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601*, p 137

5 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIII

6 Ibid

7 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 213-4 It is very strange that Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 122, calls Rama Deva the grandson of Venkata, naturally supposing that Ranga II was his son,

7 In the meantime Venkata II was getting too old to rule over turbulent feudatory chiefs such as the Nayak of Vellore especially when family intrigues were contributing to the work of subverting the kingdom. In a letter of 1607 Fr Coutinho tells us that the King is very old and is apparently at the end of his life [1] Laerzio in 1608 also says that Venkata is very old [2] and again makes the same statement in 1611 [3] Another Jesuit letter of 1611 states that "the King is too old and dotes at times hence those who govern the kingdom do always what they like" [4] In 1610 Philip III of Spain wrote to Ruy Lourenco de Tavora I have been informed that the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) is very old' [5] Three years later the same Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, wrote to Philip III that Venkata "is so old that every body expects his death at any moment and naturally dissensions will ensue" [6]

His death however did not occur till the end of the following year Venkata, [illegible] his end drew near renewed the appointment of prince [illegible]ga as his successor This scene is marvellously described by Fr Barradas as follows —

Three days before his death the King [illegible] aside, as

Perhaps this pedigree is founded on the adoption of Ranga by his uncle. We think however that this mistake of Rice is based on a grant of Venkata III, 1639 according to which Rama Deva is the grandson of Venkata II. Cf. *Ep Carn* III, Nj 198. Mr S V Visvanatha also seems to believe that Tirumala and Ranga the sons of Rama of Seringapatam were sons of Venkata II. Viswanatha *The Jambukesvaram Grant Ep Ind* XVI, p 91.

1. From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore November 11th 1607 Ap. C No XVIII.

2 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva Cochin December 30th 1608 Ap C, No XXV

3 From the same to the same Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C No XXXII

4. *Litterae Annuae* of Province of Malabar 1611 Ap. C No XXXV

5 From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora Lisbon, February 21st, 1610 Bulhao Pato, *Documentos* I, p. 359

6 From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, Ap B, No XIII.

I say, this putative son, called for his nephew Chica Raya (Ranga), in presence of several of the nobles of the kingdom, and extended towards him his right hand on which was the ring of state, and put it close to him, so that he should take it and should become his successor in the kingdom With this the nephew, bursting into tears, begged the King to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be king, and he bent low, weeping at the feet of the old man The King made a sign to those around him that they should raise the prince up, and they did so, and they then placed him on the King's right hand, and the King extended his own hand so that he might take the ring But the prince lifted his hands above his head, as if he already had divined how much ill fortune the ring would bring him, and begged the King to pardon him if he wished not to take it The old man then took the ring and held it on the point of his finger, offering it the second time to Chica Raya, who by the advice of the captains present took it, and placed it on his head and then on his finger, shedding many tears Then the King sent for his robe, valued at 200,000 cruzados, the great diamond which was in his ear, and was worth more than 600,000 cruzados, his earrings, valued at more than 200,000, and his great pearls, which are of the highest price All these royal insignia he gave to his nephew Chica Raya as being his successor, and as such he was at once proclaimed" [1]

8 Barradas says that Venkata died six days after the proclamation of Ranga But there is nothing in his narrative to show the exact date of his death We may however aproximately calculate it with the aid of other sources referring to this event

The Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jerónymo d' Azevedo, first announced the death of Venkata II to his sovereign on December 31st, 1614 [2], but the traveller Floris heard of it whilst at

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1 Sewell, p 223-4

2 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III, Ilhas, December 31st, 1614, Ap B, No XVII Again on January 21st, 1615, the same news is communicated to the King by Dom Jeronymo. Cf Ap B, No XIII

Masulipatam on October 25th 1614 "On the five and twentieth (of October)" says he came newes of the death of Wencata drapa"[1] Anquetil du Perron says that news of Venkata's end was received on October 28th but he does not say where such information was received[2] Consequently we may safely affirm that Venkata II died about the middle of October 1614. He died most likely in his palace of Vellore, where he resided John Gourney a servant of the East India Company in a letter of July 18th 1614, calls him the King of Vellour'[3] Floris also while speaking of his death, refers to him as King of Velur[4] According to Barradas he was then sixty-seven years old[5]

His body continues Barradas was burned in his own garden with sweet-scented woods sandal, aloes, and such like and immediately afterwards three Queens burned themselves one of whom was of the same age as the King and the other two aged thirty five years They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity"[6] Floris confirms the whole of this account and adds that one of the three wives burned with Venkata's corpse was Obyama (Pedobamamba) Queene of Paleacatte (Pulicat)[7]

9. Venkata II's character was exceedingly attractive if we are to believe his contemporaries Du Jarric says that he

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1. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* III p. 338.
2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.
3. From John Gourney to the E. I. C., Patania, July 28th 1614 *Letters Received by the E I C.*, II, p 83.
4. Purchas, l. c.
5. Sewell p. 224.
6. Ibid.
7. Purchas, l.c.

was a 'most affectionate King' [1] Coutinho testifies that 'his character was sweet and meek' [2] Laerzio mentions 'his natural goodness and great qualities' [3], Fontebona states that he was 'a lord of great authority, prudence and understanding, as much as any European' [4]. Finally his Mangalampad grant records that he was 'indifferent to other men's wives' [5]

These great personal qualities made him an exceptionally great monarch All the Hindu sources of his time or posterior to his death unanimously praise him as one of the greatest sovereigns of the Vijaynagara Empire, 'a great and pious sovereign', as recorded in the *Prapannamrtam* [6] According to the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III 'the wise glorious Venkatapatidevaraya ruled the earth, illumining the ten regions by (his) fame' [7]. The Utsur grant of Ranga III calls him 'brilliant in polity' [8] Another grant of Venkata III styles Venkata a King 'of brilliant policy, his fame illumining the ten cardinal points' [9] A grant of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura records that Venkata ruled 'in wisdom' [10], and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata himself state that 'he ruled the earth with justice', and that, 'as Rama governed the world, he ruled the earth' [11] The Dalavay Agraharam plates (of the same Venkata) describe him as a good ruler both in peace and in war "He was a wishing tree to the poor", they say, "he was like the

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1 Du Jarric, I, p 665

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ap C, No XXV

4 From Br B Fontebona to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XIX

5 Butterworth, I, p 33, v 37

6 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 251

7 *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 20

8 Butterworth, I, p 46, v 23

9 *Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60

10 Ibid, VI, Cm, 79

11. *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 31-35.

central gem of the necklace (which is) the city of Aravidu he was the best of (the) kings, the foremost of the kings of the race of Atri a munificent giver like Kubera, was broad armed like Kubera a Ramabhadra in battle [1] The Mangalampad grant describes the liberality of this monarch even more poetically It runs "Behaving like a grand-father to friends and foes, intent on giving refuge to enemies who bowed to him his splendour was eulogized by all men" [2] Venkata s generosity was one of his outstanding features as Fr Coutinho remarks he was very liberal [3]

As regards the territory ruled over by Venkata exaggerations too obviously poetic to be misleading are found in these and similar sources. According to the Vellangudi plates he ruled the earth from the Himalayas to Setu [4] or he defeated his enemies from the bridge (Rameswaram) to the Himalayas according to the Mangalampad grant [5] If we are to believe the Vilapaka grant the whole of India was under him [6] and consequently he boasts of having had as vassals the Rattas, the Magadas the Kambojas, the Bhojas the Kalingas and the Kings of these countries were his doorkeepers and used to praise him Such are the extravagant expressions of the contemporary grants [7] these boastful phrases are copied from the old grants of Venkata s predecessors. Truth is stated once in the Vilapaka grant, where Venkata is said to have ruled over the country of Karnata [8]

10 Impartial history however must admit that Venkatapati Raya II was by far the most illustrious, and beyond doubt

1. Ibid., XII p. 186 7., vv 27-39
2 Butterworth I p 32, v 27
3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore, October 11th, 1608 Ap. C, No XXII.
4. *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 300
5. Butterworth, I, p 34 v 40.
6 *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 371.
7 Vilapaka grant, *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 270- Vellangudi plates, Ibid., XVI, p. 319 v 31, Mangalampad grant Butterworth I, p 34, v 39; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII p. 125
8. *Ep Ind.* IV p. 270

the most powerful King of the Aravidu dynasty. He checked with an iron hand the adventurous expeditions of the Golkonda Sultan, and recovered extensive territories which had been lost in the reigns of both his father and his brother Ranga Bijapur, agitated with internal dissensions, and the Portuguese Viceroy, mistrusting the friendship with Akbar, formed an alliance with Venkata against the imperialistic plans of that Mughal sovereign Both events imply great success in foreign policy

As to the internal welfare of the country, the twenty-nine years of Venkata's reign[1] were years of prosperity and comparative peace Certainly he had to subdue many chiefs, not only in the beginning of his reign but even in his last years, but it was necessary to proceed in this matter without hesitation had he done otherwise, the Empire would have come to an end fifty years earlier Venkata's action in these sad affairs was always crowned with the greatest success The country immediately subject to him is described by the Jesuits passing through or living at his court, as prosperous and well administered, except during the last years of his reign, when he took very little direct part in the government His broadmindedness is evident both in his admission of the Jesuits to his court, and in his friendly diplomatic relations with foreign nations The privileges enjoyed by the citizens of St Thome and Negapatam and the concession made to the Dutch of the port of Pulicat were the best measures for fostering industry and commerce in the country They may be considered as the preliminary steps towards the concession of a spot near the city of Madarasa to the English traders by one of his successors, Ranga III

Moreover Venkata was a great patron of literature, as we shall see in the following chapter Fine arts were likewise fostered by him, a fact which gives an aesthetic side-light on his interesting character

Three flaws however stand out conspicuously in the long and glorious life of Venkata The first is the part he took in the extinction of the Tuluva dynasty There is now little doubt, that the murder of Sadasiva was committed by him The

1 The Pandyan Chronicle erroneously assigns 39 years to the reign of Venkata II, See Taylor, *O, H MSS*, I, p 32.

imprisonment of this unfortunate sovereign by Rama Raya might be in some way justified but his assassination cannot be vindicated by either private rivalry or public policy

The second blot in his public character is his retirement from government during the last years of his life. The rule of his favourite wife and her relatives was fatal to the Empire if we are to believe the Jesuit letters. The discontent of the nobles sprang from this uxorious helplessness, as is recorded by these same witnesses it most likely prepared the ground for the out break of the civil war that followed the death of the sovereign.

But the greatest defect of Venkata as ruler of the Empire of Vijayanagara was his predilection for his second nephew Ranga. The love which actuated the Emperor when he appoint ed Ranga his successor in spite of the latter's protestations was no doubt the immediate cause of the subsequent civil war Its purpose was indeed to place the putative son of Venkata on the throne but most likely Jaga Raya would not then have found supporters among the nobles for his enterprise in favour of his so-called grandson Venkata alienated the good will of many grandees and feudatory chiefs of the Empire by the repudiation of Tirumala. This prince was loved by more and stronger chieftains, as stated in the Jesuit letters and when they saw Tirumala displaced by his younger brother they naturally showed their disgust of the appointment made by Venkata by joining the rival party Barradas himself after recounting Venkata s death-bed appointment of Ranga, adds "While some rejoiced, others were displeased"[1] That was the first cry of rebellion against the newly appointed Emperor Ranga II It is for this reason that Floris says that, after receiving the news of the death of Venkata, great troubles are feared the Hollanders are afraid of their Castle now built in Palecatte"[2] The subsequent civil war was evidently a foregone conclusion.

Venkata II ought no doubt to be credited with the temporary restoration of the old glory of Vijayanagara but as the uncon scious cause of the civil war that followed his demise he must be said to have weakened the imperial authority and hastened the ruin of the Empire.

1 Sewell, p 224.

2. According to Sewell, II, p 251.

CHAPTER XXV

LITERARY ACTIVITY UNDER THE FIRST ARAVIDU SOVEREIGNS

SUMMARY —1 General remarks on Southern Indian Literature during this period —2 Sadasiva and Rama Raya, as patrons of literature —3 Ramarajabushana Bhattu Murti and his works —4 Learned people that gathered round Tirumala and Ranga I —5 Venkata II the greatest patron of literature of the Aravidu Dynasty —6 Philosophers patronized by Venkata II —7 Poets and grammarians favoured by the same monarch —8 Learned people at the court of Tanjore —9 Other contemporary writers throughout the Empire —10 The 'grant' poets of the Aravidu family —11 The University of Madura —12 Course of Philosophy at the Madura University a criticism —13 Minor schools founded by the Jesuits —14 Progress of the Jesuits in the study of Southern Indian languages —15 First printed works in Tamil —16 Extinction of the Nandinagari alphabet

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Hindu inscriptions and grants —2 *Raghavendravijaya, Lakshmivilasam, Charuchandrodayam, Chandrabhanu Charitram* —3 Jesuit letters —4 Du Jarric

IT is not our purpose here to write the history of the Literature in Southern India during the period covered by this volume Our aim is merely to give an outline of the literary activity under the first monarchs of the Aravidu Dynasty, showing especially their relations with the poets, philosophers and other writers that flourished round the royal throne as well as under several of the feudatory chiefs of the Empire Learning was liberally encouraged under the regime of the Aravidu Dynasty, and consequently was highly developed under the kindly shade of royal patronage According to Prof Julien Venson, this period is marked out from the others by the publication of the prolific Vaishnava literature As Mr M Srinivasa Aiyangar calls the time extending from 1450 to 1850 the Modern Period of Literature, the different authors and works we propose to enumerate fall under this denomination During this Modern Period, " the works produced were not confined to

any one subject or department of literature" says Mr Srinivasa Aiyangar "They embraced Hindu theology philosophy ethics, traditions and grammar Islamism and Christianity also added their contributions to the Tamil literature of this period [1] The majority of the works however were written in Telugu another proof of the dominating power of the Telugu race and language.

2. Literary patronage did not belong exclusively to the Aravidu Dynasty Several of the preceding sovereigns of Vijayanagara were declared patrons of the literary activity of their subjects and Sadasiva, the last representative of the Tuluva family favoured several learned people during the first stage of his Regent's rule. In 1545 the young Emperor granted two villages, one to Srimat Talapaka Tirumalayagaru called the establisher of the two schools of the Vedanta [2] and another to Tiruvengalanatha, styled the establisher of the path of the Vedas [3] Again in 1549-50 Sadasiva granted the village of Mamidipundi to Acharayya, a learned Brahman who is said to be a lion to the elephants which are his controversialists [4]

Sadasiva's Regent, the powerful Rama Raya was also a patron of learned men more especially of poets and was perhaps even a poet himself. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva state that Rama Raya is a King Bhoja in exercising imperial sway over the sentiments of poetry [5] One of the protégés of Rama Raya was the great sage Ramanuja, to whom the grant recorded in the British Museum plates was made by Sadasiva at the request of Rama Raya [6] His guru Tatacharya, who lived with them for some time at Chandragiri [7] wrote a work entitled *Panchamatabhanjanam* [8] The Madhva

1. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamil Studies* p. 224.
2 Rangacharya II, p. 783 337
3 Ibid. p 784, 343
4. Butterworth, I, p. 100 vv 45-49
5 *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 4.
6 Ibid., p. 2.
7 Cf. Ch. III, No. 9
8 Gopinatha Rao, *The Arivilimangalam Plates Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 347

teacher Vijayindra, the successor of Surendra, was also patronized by Sadasiva's Regent, he was well versed in several arts and wrote works on various religious subjects. Rama Raya honoured him with 'jewel baths' and presented him with several villages[1] Shashta Parankusa of the Ahobala *matha*, was also prominent among Rama Raya's attendants, he wrote a number of works, such as the *Siddhantamanidipam*, *Panchakaladipika*, *Prapattiprayoga*, and *Nrisimhastava*[2] This Vaishnava teacher was for a time the agent of Rama Raya[3] But the highest literary authority of the court of Rama Raya was the poet Bhattu Murti, who received the title of Ramarajabushana, 'the ornament of the court of Rama Raya'

3 There has been much controversy about the identity of this person Some maintain that he is not actually one person, but that the name discloses two different poets, one called Bhattu Murti and the other Ramarajabushana The *Vasucharitramu* is mentioned as the work of the former, and the *Narasabhupaliyamu* assigned to the latter There can however be no doubt about their identity, the commentators of the *Vasucharitramu*, who flourished shortly after him, say that he wrote the *Narasabhupaliyamu* to illustrate the figures of speech used in his former work, the *Vasucharitramu* He appears to have been born at Battupalli during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, though he did not begin to write before 1560 He acquired such fame in the six years that Rama Raya's life was still to last, that in so short a period he earned the most flattering title of 'the ornament of his court' His great works however were written after his patron's death He continued to be the court-poet during the reign of Tirumala, to whom his great work, the *Vasucharitramu*, is dedicated This poem reproduces the story of Vasu, King of Pratishtana, who fell in love with Girikanyaka, supposed to be the daughter of the mountain Kolahala. She had been found by Vasu in the forest while hunting The work is full of poetical exaggerations, but it was

1 *Raghavendravijaya*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 252

2 Rangacharya, II, p 971

3. 65 of 1915

nevertheless much admired by its contemporaries, and even became a model for later poets. As a matter of fact the descriptions of nature are excellent and the diction of the poem undeniably good

His second work, the *Narasabhupaliyamu* is dedicated to Narasaraya a nephew of Rama Raya and Tirumala. This work is a Telugu translation of the Sanskrit *Prataparudriya.* The examples and the portion dealing with the drama were omitted and substituted by other examples prepared by the poet himself Another work of his the *Harischandra-Nalopakhyana* was composed in his ripe old age probably during the reign of Venkata II [1]

4. We have already mentioned Tirumala as a patron of Battu Murti He was indeed a lover of learning It would seem he was a poet himself this the title of Bhoja given him in the Krishnapuram plates would imply [2] He enjoyed the company of poets once Tirumala asked those who were assembled at his court to compose verses describing him charging them at the same time to be true to nature and not to exaggerate It was then that Battu Murti compared the one-eyed King with Vishnu [3] He flattered Tirumala, though at the same time he was true to nature [4]

Tirumala has been supposed to be the author of the commentary entitled *Srutiranjani* on the *Gita Govinda* but one of the copies possessed by the Maharaja Sarfoji s Saraswati Mahal Library Tanjore, professes to have been composed by Lakshmanasuri a worshipper of Dakshinamurti and a younger brother of Kondubhatta of Cherukuru Dr Hultzsch seems to believe that this was the actual author of the commentary and Tirumala his patron [5] Lakshmanasuri called also Ramanandasrama and Lakshmidhara was a *sannyasi* pupil of

1 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p 295, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 221 Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks Ind. Ant* XXVII, p. 332-5

2. *Ep Ind.,* IX, p. 338, v 9?

3. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 221.

4. Cf. Ch. XI, No. 1.

5. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS.,* III, p VIII.

Krishnasrama, whose family came from Cherukuru on the Krishna river He is the author of the *Anargharaghava* and the Prakrit grammar *Shadbashachandrika*, based on the grammars of Trivikrama, Hemachandra and Bhamaja [1]

Together with his two eldest brothers, Venkatadri is said in the Kallakursi grant to have been patron of poets like King Bhoja [2] He patronized Tallapaka Tiruvengalanatha, the author of the *Paramayogivilasamu* The *Svaramelakalanidhi* of Ramamatya was written by Rama Raya's order at the instance of Venkatadri [3]

Ranga I also was a patron of poets His court poet was Rayasam Venkatapati, an officer of his court, who wrote the Telugu poem *Lakshmivilasam* [4] Another of his ministers, named Rayasa Ahobala, wrote a Sanskrit drama entitled *Kuvalaya Vilasa* [5], while Bhattakalanka wrote the *Sara-traya* at the request of the same King [6]

5 But the great patron of literature among the first monarchs of the Aravidu family was Venkata II He himself was considered one of the wisest men of his kingdom We read in the Dalavay Agraharam plates that 'he was comparable to the ocean in the profundity of his learning' [7], and in the Mangalampad grant he is said to be 'a very moon to the lotuses, which are scholars' [8] Accordingly Fr Ricio tells us in one of his letters that "the King has disputations on God, Philosophy, and Mathemetics with the teachers or philosophers almost every day" Sanskrit was the medium in these disputations Hence Ricio says that though they were present several

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1 Ibid, p VIII-IX.

2 *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 157

3 H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 179

4 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 230

5 Ibid, note

6 R Narasimachar, *The Karnataka Country*, *Q J M S*, X, p 256

7 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, vv 27-39

8 Butterworth, I, p 36, v 59

times they could not join in the debate since they understood nothing [1]

Again the Mangalampad grant says that Venkata was devoted to the protection of the learned [2] An inscription of 1612 at Kommaddi Cuddapah records a grant of Venkata II to the learned people of Vuputur [3] In 1602-3 the same King granted the village of Mangolampad to Sri Rangaraja, son of Jagganatharaya the foremost of the students of the Yajus Sakha a descendant of the cook of the great Ramanujacharya. This cook had himself been famous for his learning in all the scriptures [4] The Vilapaka grant was also made to a learned man of Urputur named Tiruvengalanatharaya he is said to be conversant with the eighteen Puranas [5]

6 Naturally a great number of scholars always crowded the outer halls of the imperial palace, first at Chandragiri and then at Vellore. One of the philosophers favoured by Venkata was the Madhava teacher Sudhindra. He had travelled over the country refuting the teachings of the other religious sects. He defeated all his opponents at the court of Venkata and was presented by the sovereign with the conch and other emblems of victory He lived at the town of Kumbhakonam and was also honoured by Raghunatha of Tanjore with the ceremony of bathing in gold [6]

A contemporary of Venkata also was the great *guru* Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram, a disciple of the great Chidambaram *guru*, Guhainamasivaya. He was the author of *Paramarahasyamalai Chidambara venba Annamalai venba* and other works [7] An inscription of 1592 at Virinjipuram North Arcot states that Periya Errama Naik of Punnarrur

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1. From Fr F Ricio to Fr Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th 1603 Ap. O No. VII.

2 Butterworth, I, p. 31, v 23

3 Rangacharya, I, p. 612 448

4. Buttterworth, I, p 34-6

5. *Ep Ind.*, IV p 270 vv 47-8

6 *Raghavendravijaya*, 8 Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 252.

7 Rangacharya, I, p 105

granted a house for the establishment of a *matha* to this Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram [1]. His work seems to have been to supervise the offerings to be distributed among the Saiva mendicants in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram [2]

But the great philospher of Venkata's court was his own *guru* Tatacharya, called, as previously noted, 'the ornament of the wise' [3]. The philosophical work he wrote was entitled *Sattvikabrahmavidyavilasa* He composed also a legendary account of a shrine of Vishnu as Panduranga, who is supposed to have sanctified by his presence in this form the town of Pandharpur, on the left bank of the Bhima, this work is named *Panduranga mahatmya* [4] We have previously spoken of this man and shall return to him in the following chapter, when reviewing the progress of Vaishnavism during the reign of Venkata II

7 Among the poets of his court we must mention Chennamaraju, who was patronized by the genaral Pemmasani Timma Once the poet carried from the Emperor to his patron the various insignia of his position Out of these Pemmasani Timma presented the poet with the white turban, the white chauks, the palankin, and Talichankattu [5]

Another poet of fame was Tenali Ramalinga He was first introduced to the court of Krishna Deva Raya, and was still one of the court poets during the reign of Venkata II In order to please this sovereign he became a Vaishnava in his old days, and then changed his name to Tenali Ramakrishna His *Lingapurana* was written in the early years of his life He was born, it seems, in the village of Tenali in the Krishna district, and he studied Telugu so earnestly from his boyhood that he

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1 61 of 1887

2 349 of 1913

3 Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, v 27-39

4 Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind Ant*, XXVII, p 327

5. *Charuchandrodayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 242.

became a perfect master of this language. His wit and humour are praised even today by students of Telugu literature [1]

1. Subramiah Pantulu o c., p. 324-6. This author relates the the following humorous anecdote of the life of this poet "He was of a humorous character and loved to play practical jokes. The *guru* Tatacharya was a very orthodox man and was in the habit of visiting a cow stall every morning as soon as he rose from bed, being taken to the place blind folded in order to view the cow's excrement as the first object seen during the day thinking it to be a very meritorious act. His habit was to keep his eyes shut and laying hold of a cow's tail to wait till she evacuated when he opened his eyes to behold the excrement. One morning Ramakrishna got up early and removing the cow from the stall stood in its place stark naked. The guru came as usual and instead of the cow's tail he found a man His rage knew no bounds, and running up to the King he laid a complaint against Ramakrishna. The King became exceedingly angry and ordered the poet to be forthwith executed. The executioners carried him to a plain and buried him in the earth as far as the neck leaving only his head above ground, agreeable to the sentence passed on him. They left him thus, intending to return with a certain number of elephants to trample him to death. It so chanced that a hump-backed washerman was passing by and asked the poet how he came to be in such a predicament. My good friend said he I was born a hump-back like yourself and having long suffered the scorn of ill mannered individuals, I applied to a sage who had great knowledge of the occult sciences, and begged of him to relieve me from my misfortune. He informed me that if I should consent to be buried up to my neck in this identical spot, I should be entirely cured of my deformity In pursuance of his directions, I got some of my friends to bury me here and as I really believe that I am cured already I shall be very thankful to you if you will verify my statement The washerman did as the poet requested and to his utter amazement found him a well-made man and as he was a credulous fellow he believed in all that the poet had said. As one good deed deserves another said the washerman to the poet I now ask you to bury me in this place that I may be cured of my bodily deformity as you have been Ramakrishna with a grave countenance buried the poor washerman up to the neck, and after the lapse of an hour went to the King to inform him that by the personal interposition of a god, he had been restored to life. The executioners in the interim had executed the washerman, and were making their report to the King that they had killed the poet according to the royal commands. The whole court were consequently astonished to see Ramakrishna, and as the King really believed that the poet had been killed and restored to life by some god, he promised to forgive him the first hundred crimes that he should commit in future

The famous general of Venkata Matla Ananta, was another of his favourite poets. The Sidhout inscription records that he is the author of the well-known Telugu poem *Kakusthavijayam* He also composed several other works, which were highly praised by scholars[1]

Tarigoppula Datta Mantri, another of Venkata's officers, was a patron of poets His brother Tarigoppula Mallana was one of the court-poets, he gives this information about Datta Mantri in the *Chandrabhanu Charitram*[2].

Ayalu Bhascara was likewise another of his court poets Once he was asked by the King to produce some poem This request he complied with by translating from the Hala Kanada language into Telugu, the work of a man named Retta This work, entitled *Retta Matam*, is a most heterogeneous medley of different topics, as much related to one author as the rain is to the science of divination, the devils to the sun, moon and planets and the rainbow to the familiar spirits[3]

We must not omit the names of two grammarians who lived at Venkata's court One of them was Erramadhavarya, who wrote a grammatical work called *Tripadadyotini* and was one of the *pandits* of this sovereign[4]. The other was Battalanka, the author of a work entitled *Sabdanusasana*[5]

8 The example of the Emperors of Vijayanagara in protecting learned people was followed by many of their feudatory chiefs From Sevvappa Nayaka, the founder of the dynasty, all the Nayaks of Tanjore were most prominent as patrons of philosophers and poets Sevvappa's greatest protégé seems to have been the famous Madhva *acharya* Vijayaindra Tirtha He was the disciple, first of Vyasaraya Tirtha of the Vyasaraya *matha*, and then of Surendra Tirtha of the Sumatindra *matha*, from whom he received the robes of *sannyasi*, and whom he succeeded as the thirteenth *guru* and *swami* of the *matha* He

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1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 248, *M A D 1915-1916*, p 42, No 19 Cf *M E R*, *1916*, p 148

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 247

3 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnée*, III, p 169-70

4 Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS*, I, p VIII.

5 Narasimachar, *The Karnataka Country*, *Q J M S*, X, p. 256.

spent the last days of his life at Kumbhakonam. He earnestly defended the Madhva philosophy against the accusations of Apaiya Dikshita. He also wrote many commentaries on all the important Madhva works. His main books are the following The *Chakra Mimansa* the *Chandrikodahrita Nyaya Vivarana Nyayamrita-Vyakhya* and the *Appayyakapola-chepetika* [1] In 1576 Sevvapa Nayaka of Tanjore requested and obtained from Ranga I the village of Arivilimangalam as a grant to Vijayindra Tirtha. In the grant Vijayindra is said to be like a peacock roaming about the garden called the school of Madhvacharya' he is said moreover to be a bee delighting in the scent, the inner meaning of the flowers called the Sastras'[2]

Vadiraja Tirtha was the co-student of Vijayindra Tirtha under Vyasaraya Tirtha. Vadiraja was also a great controversialist and commentator of the Madhva works. The account of his many pilgrimages is embodied in his *Tirtha prabandha* [3]

Sevvappa s son and successor Achyutappa Nayaka, was likewise a patron of learning In 1595 he made a gift of money for the merit of Appaiya Dikshita [4] This was a good scholar of his court. But the most famous philosopher of his time was his minister Govinda Dikshita. He composed a long epic poem called *Harivamsasaracharitram* in three cantos. There exists a commentary on it written by Appaiya Dikshita. Govinda Dikshita also wrote a musical work entitled *Sangithasudhanidhi* By order of Achyutappa Nayaka, at the instance of his minister the *Tiruvaiyarru Puranam* was translated from Sanskrit into Tamil [5]

9. Surappa Nayaka of Jinji was the patron of the famous poet Srinivasa Dikshita, on whom was bestowed the title of Ratnakheta Dikshita, on account of his excellent poetry He wrote 18 dramas, the most famous among them being the *Bhavanapurushottama.* Besides he composed 60 epics such as

1. Gopinatha Rao *The Arivilimangalam Plates Ep Ind.,* XII, p 344-6.

2 *Ep Ind.,* XII, p. 357 vv 27-44.

3 Gopinatha Rao o. c., p. 346.

4. 710 of 1904.

5 Kuppuswami Sastri *A Short History* p. 7 and 10

the *Sathakandavijayamu*, several works on rhetoric, and many commentaries [1]

We have already mentioned Appaiya Dikshita as a protégé of Sevvappa Nayaka Tanjore. He was a Tamil Brahman, who has left more than a hundred works [2] He was also patronized by the Emperor Venkata II at whose instance he wrote a work on Alankata, called *Kuvalyananda* [3] But this famous Saiva-Advaita philosopher enjoyed the special favour of Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore In the colophon of his *Sivadityamar dipika* he mentions Chinna Bomma as his patron [4]. This chief performed the ceremony of bathing in gold to honour the scholarship of Appaiya Dikshita. He is said to have with his own hands poured the gold coins out of the vessel [5] An inscription of Chinna Bomma, of 1582, in North Arcot, records that this scholar constructed the Kalakantheswara temple at Adaipalam [6].

In the petty state of Gandikota we find another poet named Pingali Surana He was one of the poets of Nandyala Krishnaraja, to whom the work *Kalapurnodayamu* is dedicated. Krishnaraja's successor, Nandyala Timmaya, who as an inscription of 1544 shows [7], was likewise a patron of learned men, also patronized this poet, the author of the *Raghavapandaviya*, the *Garudapurana* and several other works Mr Subramiah Pantulu thinks that Pingali Surana 'is by far the best of mediaeval poets' [8].

In the state of Ikeri we must mention Sankanna Nayaka, who composed several literary works [9], and Vadiraja, a man

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1. Ibid., p. 11-2.
2. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind Ant.*, XXVII, p 326
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 250. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271.
4. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS*, II, p. XII-XIII.
5. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 251.
6. 395 of 1911.
7. Rangacharya, I, p. 580, 60.
8. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 328-32.
9. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 339.

of great erudition and author of several works one of his pupils is mentioned in a grant of Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikeri in the year 1614 [1]

The Viceroy Tirumala of Seringapatam was also a patron of learning From an inscription of 1610 we may deduce that Ramanujayya called the establisher of the path of the Vedas, follower of both Vedanta was one of his officers [2] In 1614 the same Tirumala made a grant of a village to Vengadeyya Bhatta, styled also an establisher of the path of the Vedas [3]

Prince Chinna Timmayadeva the brother of Rama Raya Vitthala must also be mentioned among the patrons of literature during this period In 1544 he granted twelve *puttis* of land in the village of Tirumalapuram to its learned Brahmans [4] In the same year he gave the village of Annavaram to the poet Anantaraja [5] He was also the patron of Dosuri Koneru kavi, the author of the *Balabhagavatamu* [6]

10. Besides all the poets hitherto mentioned as living around the Emperors of Vijayanagara, there was a family of poets who always accompanied them first from Vijayanagara to Penukonda and later on from Punukonda to Chandragiri and Vellore. We refer to the composers of the imperial grants which task seems to have been hereditary in a family The British Museum plates of Sadasiva were composed by one Sabhapati [7] the same who had formerly composed the Unamanjeri grant of Achyuta Raya [8] But another grant of the same sovereign, of the year 1558, is written by Sabhapati s son, Svayambhu [9] The P nuguluru grant [10] and the Tumkur plates of Tirumala [11] were also written by

1 110 of 1901.
2 *Ep Carn.*, IV, Gu, 40.
3 Ibid., 13.
4 Rangacharya II, p. 915 67
5 Ibid., p. 915, 63.
6 Ibid., I, p. 402; II, p. 915
7 *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 2.
8 Ibid., III, p. 151.
9 *Ep Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186
10 *Ep Ind.*, XVI p. 237 v 177 178.
11 *Ep Carn.*, XII, Tm, 7,

Svayambhu, who is said to be the son of Sabhapati. The same Svayambhu was the composer of the Arivilimangalam plates [1] and the Naredapalli grant of Ranga I [2]. This Svayambhu had probably no sons, because almost all the grants of Venkata II were composed by a certain Krishnakavi, who seems to be a nephew of Svayambhu, for he professes to be the son of Kamakoti and grandson of Sabhapati. He is the author of the Dalavay Agraharam plates [3], of the Vellangudi plates [4], of the Padmaneri grant [5], and of two grants of 1586 [6] and of 1589 [7]. The Vilapaka grant of the same monarch is written by a brother of Krishnakavi, named Rama [8]. We know of only two grants of this sovereign composed by a person who seems not to belong to the family of Sabhabati; these are the Mangalampad grant [9] and a grant of 1613 [10]. The author of both is called Chidambarakavi, the nephew of Sivasurya-kavi.

11. We have not spoken of the literary activity in the city of Madura, which was nevertheless a centre of learning in the South of India. The famous *Sangams* always attracted hundreds of students to the old city of the Pandyas. Fr. de Nobili, an impartial eye-witness, in a letter of 1610, says that there were then in Madura more than ten thousand students. There was not, it seems, a body of professors, corresponding to the staff of our Colleges and Universities; but the students selected the teacher they liked, and under him they were trained to pass their final examination before the *Sangam*. Fr. de Nobili only says that those ten thousand students 'go to different professors'. The same missionary informs us that Venkata II and the

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1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 65.
2. Ibid., XI, p. 329.
3. Ibid., XII, p. 187, v. 200.
4. Ibid., XVI, p. 329.
5. Ibid., p. 297, vv. 152-153.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 225.
7. *M. A. D.*, *1921*, p. 31.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 272.
9. Butterworth, I, p. 36, v. 60.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 231.

Nayak of Madura probably Muttu Krishnappa had in order to foster study "royally endowed several Colleges for the *maintainance of professors and students while they are study ing* they are there supplied with victuals clothes and every thing they are in need of"

The Madura teachers lectured on Philosophy and Theology The philosophical lectures fell into four groups, correspon ding to the *four fold division of this science Argumentation* Knowledge, Evidence and Faith In their Theological lectures the teachers explained the Vedanta discussing the nature and attributes of God starting from his unity Fr de Nobili gives the full programme of the philosophical studies followed in his days at Madura.

12. Part first is on evidence, and deals with invocation or adoration i e. whether there be any God to be invoked at the beginning of the work. It contains these three sections —

1st. Certitude.

a. Perfect certitude (*Karana*)

b. Certitude of things which come into existence by generation or production

c. The formal aspect of certitude.

2nd. The various species of objective reality or objects that cause certitude.

a Local union or contiguity

b. Various kinds of union —substantial accidental and another which is not seen as not existing physi *cally*

c. Predicate and subject through negation (*Vipaksa*).

d. The object of sight.

3rd. The unity and indivisibility of human will, as able to co-ordinate the various perceptions received from the senses.

a. The brightness of gold (as an instance)

b Reflective act through which man knows and under stands himself.

Part second is on knowledge and deals with the following four sections —

1st Means of acquiring knowledge (*Pramanas*)
- a Terms of syllogism. (*Probans*)
- b The conclusion (*Paramarsa*)
- c. Induction
- d. Fallacies (*Hetvabhasas* · *viz.* *Asiddha*, *Viruddha*, *Anaikantika*, *Prakaranasama* and *Kalatyayapadista*)
- *e.* Causes of fallacy.
- *f* Its refutation.

2nd Process of knowledge.
- *a.* Subject (*Paksa*)
- *b* Discursive act
- *c* Causative signs.
- *d* Every kind of sophism

3rd. Relation (*Vyapti*)
- *a* On conjunction or relation subsisting between things that are separable or not intimate (*Samyoga*)
- *b* On privation
- *c* On the effect as proceeding from its cause
- *d* Conjunction in general (*Samyoga* and *Samavaya*)
- *e* Final certitude or consequence

4th Casuistry.
- *a* Cause. (*Karana*)
- *b* Proof by self-evidence
- *c.* Certitude from similarities (*Upamana*)
- *d* The multiplicity of causes (*Samavay*, material or constituent cause, *Asamavayi*, not constituent cause, *Nimitta*, efficient cause)
- *e* The natural power and strength of the cause.
- *f* The additional power of the cause by superaddition

5th Vicious states of mind (*Aprama*)
- *a* Error (*Bhrama*)
- *b.* Doubt (*Samsaya*)
- *c* The variation of supposition (*Tarka*)
- *d* False conclusion from true antecedents
- *e* The god Ruden (Ruthru) (as an instance)

Part third is on authority, and speaks of the following subjects —

1st Oral testimony.
- *a.* Adequation of words to thoughts (*Sakti*).
- *b.* Common or universal consent.

2nd. Truth.

a. The union of affections in relation to truth.

b Desire of truth.

c Corruption of the sounds

d Corruption of the whole world, *viz.* can the whole world be deceived as to a truth?

e The excellency of the form of verifying truth.

f Whether what is not actually, could be affirmed.

3rd. Falsehood.

a Novelty of opinion

b Annihilation

c Personal imposture, *viz.* lie.

d. How must the sign be.

Such was the programme of philosophy followed in Madura in the beginning of the 17th century according to Fr de Nobili. It was according to him a profound philosophy, but very different from scholastic philosophy [1] The course is properly a course of Logic a kind of Tarkabhasa or science of reasoning, though much confused with psychological and metaphysical notions This kind of Logic evidently belongs to the Syncretist school consequent upon the attempts of Sivaditya to amalgamate the earlier systems The influence of the *Tarkabhasa* of Kesava Misra is quite evident as well as that of the works of Annam Bhatta, who was at this time probably living [2]

13 There was moreover at Madura a small school commenced by Fr Fernandes. It was supposed to be a primary school for Hindus. A Brahman who finally became a Christian, was teaching the boys how to read and to write. Fr Pimenta, when passing through Madura, distributed some prizes among the best pupils of the school [3] Another similar school was erected in St. Thome at the same time by the same Fr Pimenta. A Seminarie was erected at Meliapor (Mylapor)" he says of the chiefe Children of the Badagades (Telugus) by the almes of Devout men, and a Schoole of the Malabars adjoyned, in which

1. From Fr R. de Nobili to Fr A. Laerzio Madura November 2nd, 1610 Ap C, No. XXXI. Cf. Ganganatha Jha *The Tarkabhasa.*

2. See Keith, *Indian Logic* p. 36-41

3. Du Jarric I p. 650

is taught the Tongue of Tamul (or vulgar) and the Badagan (Telugu) used by the Courtiers" [1] In 1567 Fr H Henriquez began a school of Tamil at Punnei Kayal for the young Goans who were sent there as catechists Fr Henriquez himself was teacher and a convert Brahman, named Luiz, was his assistant [2]

At the very court of Chandragiri the Jesuits started another school of this type It was supposed to be a school for the sons of the Telugu nobles who were living at the court There was in it a Hindu teacher under the direction of the missionaries, who besides defrayed the expenses of the institution [3] This school and that of Madura are mentioned again in another Jesuit letter of the following year 1607 [4], and we suppose they continued in the following years The Chandragiri school was perhaps transferred to Vellore when the capital was established there, and finally closed at the time of the final departure of the Jesuits

These were the first attempts of the Jesuits in the South of India to found the institutions of learning which were to have a marvellous development centuries after

14 The Jesuits had, moreover, earnestly studied the languages of the country, and some of them, as we have already seen in the case of Fr de Nobili at Madura, mastered them to the general admiration of scholars Among those who were working at the court of Venkata there were also some who became very proficient in speaking the vernaculars "In this country of (around) Sao Thome," wrote Fr Ricio in 1601, "two languages are spoken, one is the language of the country, the same that is spoken on the Fishery Coast and which was the first I learned, the other is the language of the Badaguas (Telugu), and since they are alike, I made quick progress in it, so much so that I was soon able to write a grammar of the same language as well as a summary of the Christian doctrine together

1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 210 Cf Du Jarric, I, p 638

2 Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p 393

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII

4 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid, No XXVII

with many mysteries of the life of Christ, all written in their own language [1] This summary of the Christian Faith was a translation of the one used in Konkani for the neophytes of the peninsula of Salsette, South of Goa as Fr Coutinho writes in a letter of the previous year [2]

It seems indeed, that Fr Ricio spoke Telugu to perfection a Jesuit letter of the year 1606 says that he was a good Telugu scholar [3] Nevertheless he did not venture to learn Sanskrit because of his age, as Fr Laerzio wrote in 1604 [4] In the same letter we read that Fr Coutinho had begun to learn Telugu. In another letter Fr Ricio himself informs us that Coutinho is making progress in the study of Telugu [5] He finally became master of it as is evident from his protractedly sojourn at the court where he had to transact business for the King

15 A special feature introduced by the Jesuit missionaries of the Empire of Vijayanagara in the literary activity of India, was the casting of Tamilian characters and consequently the printing of the first books in Tamil. According to Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo the first to cast Tamilian characters was the Jesuit Lay Brother Giovanni (Joao) Gonsalves. The same traveller affirms that the first book was printed in the year 1577 It was a summary of the Christian doctrine [6] Fra Paolino does not name the author of this book but it seems quite probable to us that Fr Henrique Henriquez, a zealous Jesuit on the Fishery Coast and a contemporary of St. Francis Xavier was

1. From Fr F Ricio to Fr C. Aquaviva Chandragiri October 20th 1601 Ap O No I.

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva Chandragiri July 17th, 1600 Ibid., No V

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604 1606 Ibid., No. XXII.

4. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ibid., No. X.

5 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri October 20th, 1601, Ibid., No I.

6 Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, *Viaggio*, p. 44. Cf. C. E. K. *Notes on Early-Printed Tamil Books Ind Ant* II p. 180 Cf. Houpert, *The Madura Mission Manual* p 171 Bro Gonsalves was a Spaniard. Cf. Souza *Oriente Conquistado* II p. 67

at least its translator Fr. du Jarric states that Henriquez wrote many books in the language of Malabar, *in lingua Malabarica,* viz in Tamil [1] Now we know for certain that one of these books was a translation of a Christian Doctrine written in Portuguese by Fr Marcos Jorge Sartorius, while in Tranquebar, saw a copy of this book printed in 1679 [2] This must be a later edition, for Fr Henriquez had died by that time Both editions of this little book were printed at Cochin in the Jesuit College of the *Madre de Deus* [3] Fra Paolino says, moreover, that a new Tamil book appeared in 1578 It was entitled *Flos Sanctorum,* from which title we may assume that it contained the lives of some Saints [4] This work seems to have been printed at Punnei Kayal with Tamil type cast by Fr Joao de Faria [5] Fr De Souza, speaking of these early printings adds —" Those countries were marvelling at the new invention, and pagans as well as Christians tried to obtain these printed books and prized them highly " [6]

16 Finally we must mention that the old South Indian Nandinagari alphabet disappeared during this period Its latest examples are dated 1600 It was the favourite alphabet of the Madhva sect from the 14th century onwards, especially for writing on palm-leaves The disciples of this sect were numerous in the Tamil country Kanchivaram, Kumbhakonam, Tanjore and their surroundings The characters had been formerly employed exclusively for writing on paper, but were latterly also used for writing on palm-leaves, Later on, after the Maratha conquest of Tanjore, the modern Nagari character was also introduced in the South [7]

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1 Du Jarric, I, p 627

2 *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore* p 106 The title of this Christian Doctrine, as given by Sartorius, runs as follows *Doctrina Christam, a maneira de Dialogo feita em Portugal pello P Marcos Jorge, da Companhia de Jesu Tresladada im lingua Malavar ou Tamul, pello P Anrique Anriquez da mesma Companhia Em Cochin, no Collegio da Madre ae Deus, a os quartoze de Novembro, de Anno de MDLXXIX*

3 Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, l c

4 Ibid

5 Cf Gomez Rodeles-Cardou, *Early Jesuit Printing in India, J A S B*, IX, p 164

6 Souza, *Oriente Conquistado,* II, p 67

7 Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p 56.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SRI VAISHNAVISM AND OTHER SECTS

SUMMARY.—1 Brahmanism Saivism and Vaishnavism.—2. Early life of Ramanuja Persecution of the Chola King.—3 Ramanuja in the Yadava kingdom and at Seringapatam.—4. Schism of Vaishnavism after the death of Ramanuja.—5 Bukkaraya I settles the differences between Jainas and Vaishnavas. Jain influence at the court of Vijayanagara.—6 Conversion of Emperor Virupaksha to Vaishnavism Religious conduct of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya.—7 Relations of Sadasiva Raya with Vaishnavism.—8 Devotion of Rama Raya and his ancestors to Vishnu.—9 Tirumala and Ranga I patrons of Vaishnavism.—10 Venkata II the greatest Vaishnava Emperor of Vijayanagara.—11. Vaishnavism professed by feudatory chiefs. Conversion of the royal house of Mysore.—12 Several manifestations of Saivism.—13 Influence of the Jains in Kanara.—14. Eclectic and tolerant religious character of Venkata and of some of his chiefs.—15 Religious controversies between Saivas and Vaishnavas.—16 Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji restores the temple of Govinda Raja at Chidambaram Suicide of the Saiva priests.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jain inscriptions in Mysore.—3 *Bhaskyakara Charitra Venkatesvara Mahatmya Kulotunga Cholan Ula Tiru Narayana Puram Prapannamritam, Varadambika Parinayam*.—4. Jesuit Letters.—5 Du Jarric.—6 Della Valle.

THE supreme god worshipped in India for a time during the pre Buddhist period seems to have been Brahma. Even the Buddhistic scriptures give Brahma preference over the other deities of the Hindu Parnassus [1] But later on another god, Siva, unexpectedly usurped his place of supremacy The Saiva system seems to have been introduced in the peninsula from

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1. Cf. Bhandarkar *Vaisnavism Saivism*, p 8 Hence the presiding deity of the pre-Buddhistic Hindu temple is Brahma. Cf. Praphullachandra Basu, *Art in Hindu Temple The Holkar College Magazine* XI 22.

abroad According to a legend, the first place in which it was practised was Benares. This was due to the efforts of King Divodasa[1] Siva's cult was later on fostered through the preaching of Sankaracharya Nevertheless the superiority of Siva was not to remain long undisputed A new rival arose in the person of the god Vishnu Vaishnavism was propagated early during the Scythian and Gupta periods[2] and finally with unusual vigour in the 11th century The struggle that naturally ensued between the two deities and their respective adherents during this first period of the Aravidu dynasty will be the subject of this chapter But we shall begin with a brief account of the Vaishnava movement, in order to make clear the position and the activity of the Aravidu Emperors in this religious conflict

2 The founder and propagator of Sri Vaishnavism in the later period was Ramanujacharya[3] According to tradition, he was born in Sri Permattur, near Madras[4], in 1016-7[5] and studied at Kanchivaram Thence he retired to Srirangam where he perfected his system and wrote his religious works[6]

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1 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnée*, II, p III-IV This author maintains that this system had its origin in Egypt, according to him Siva's bull is nothing but a replica of the bull Apis of the ancient Pharaohs The worship of the bull passed afterwards from Egypt to Palestine, in the time of the great national schism of Jeroboam (1000 B C), from Palestine it migrated to Mesopotamia and finally found its way to Benares in 700 or 800

2 Rayachaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p 98-177

3 Nevertheless in the works of Seven Pagodas (Mahavalipuram), executed by Pallava Princes, there are "mixtures of emblems, weapons and figures belonging to both the Saiva and Vaishnava phases of Hindu Faith" Cf Branfill, *Descriptive Remarks on the Seven Pagodas, The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1880, p 126

4 Perhaps, on account of this, the Sri Permattur temple is traditionally supposed to be the first Vaishnava temple in Southern India Cf Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p LXVI

5 Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism*, p 51

6 According to the account of the aiyangars, the fact that marked the starting point of the religious career of the new teacher is narrated as follows "One day, it is said, the

His chief work is his commentary on the *Bhagvat Gita*, entitled *Gita Bhasyam* [1] The *Upanishada Vacya Vivaram* by Sri Ranga Ramanuja, if it is not written by the same teacher is an exposition of the same system "The system of Ramanuja is shown to be consistent with the Vedas and their supplements. This book opposes the *advaita* notion of the non reality of the visible world, it maintains that it is real [2] On account of his subtle doctrine and his holy life, Ramanuja was called later on in a decree of Bukka I of Vijayanagara, the king of the kings of ascetics [3] He is also termed Bhashyakara from his explanations of the Vedas [4]

During his stay at Srirangam he made many disciples. One of the most prominent of them was Tiruvarangattamudanar the hereditary trustee of the Ranganatha temple [5] But Ramanuja could not live there long The Chola ruler Karikala probably the younger brother of Rejendra and father of Kalottunga who was then Viceroy at Uraiyur [6] himself a

Sankaracharya wanted to take an oil bath The pupils used to serve their master in turn and that day it was Ramanuja's. He was rubbing the oil over the bald head of the Sankaracharya and another student was taking lessons by his side. A stanza was read in which the face of Vishnu was represented to be as red as the lotus. The Sankaracharya at once exclaimed that it was a *hinopama*, or defective comparison, as there were objects surpassing the lotus in their redness which might have been used for the simile. As an example, he indicated the buttocks of the monkey Ramanuja who was a firm believer in Vishnu cried out. Tears from his eyes dropped on the thighs of the Sankaracharya and pierced them like molten lead. At once he ordered Ramanujacharya to leave the *matha* and he accordingly went. And now being a hater of Siva and a special worshipper of Vishnu he started the new religion" Natesa Sastri *The Origin of the Srivaishnavas, Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 252 The author explodes this legend.

1. Taylor *Catalogue Raisonnee* II p. 45
2. Ibid., p. 216
3. *Ep Carn.*, II, No. 344.
4. *Bhashyakara Cheritra* Wilson *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 314.
5. See Gopinatha Rao *Srirangam Plates Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 85.
6. Cf. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ancient India*, p. 332–3.

staunch Saiva, could not tolerate any longer the spreading of the new sect According to the Sri Vaishnava chronicles, "it was pointed out to this King that converting the common people by force was not in itself capable of augmenting the numbers to the Saiva faith, and if such a great leader as Ramanuja were to be made to subscribe to the Saiva faith, his followers would join that sect in a body Ramanuja was summonded before the King, Kurattalvan (Ramanuja's first disciple), apprehending danger to his master, assumed the garb of a *sanhyasi*, proceeded to the royal court and represented himself as the famous Vaishnava Acharya The King then compelled him to sign a declaration that no god was superior to Siva Kurattalvan boldly contradicted him by telling him that 'larger than Siva was Drona (words which also mean two different measures, of which the latter was the bigger) thus playing upon the double meaning of the words Siva and Drona The King, enraged at the behaviour of Kurattalvan, ordered both his eyes to be put out immediately, and the order was forthwith carried out So throughout the remaining part of his life he lived a blind man "[1]

3 Ramanuja himself had to fly from the Chola kingdom, and took shelter in Chandragiri, the stronghold of the Yadava Kings, whose capital was at Narayanvaram Toya Yadava was then the ruling sovereign He charitably entertained the exiled *guru* and declared himself the patron of his disciples and his doctrine[2] Under his patronage Ramanuja visited different holy places, and took from the Saivas several temples and shrines which he dedicated to the worship of different forms of Vishnu He also founded the temple of Terunarayana at Terunarayanapur One of the temples that he took from the Saivas was the famous one at Tirupati[3] The *Venkatesvara Mahatmya* narrates that, to effect this, Ramanuja agreed with

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1 *Ep Ind*, XIV, p 85

2 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 85

3 *Bhashyakara Cheritra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 214-5 Naturally the Vaishnava literature claims that all these holy places had formerly been Vaishnava temples Hence they say that Ramanuja recovered them from the Saivas,

the Saiva priests of the temple to leave in the temple at night a conch and a discus, which were the insignia of Vishnu and beside them a trident and a small drum which were the insignia of Siva The temple was subsequently closed for the night and on being re-opened next morning it was found that the image had assumed the conch and the discus. Since then Tirupati has been one of the most famous Vaishnava temples in the whole of India [1]

From there Ramanuja proceeded to Mysore. It seems that the prevailing religious faith in the old Karnataka country was Jainism According to an inscription on the summit of Indra giri at Sravana-Belgola, the Jains came to Mysore in an immigration from Ujjayini (Ujjain) under the leader Bhadra Bahu in order to escape a dreaful famine [2] The colossal monolithic statue of the Jain Saint Bhujabalin that crowns the rocky hill, is a dumb witness to the preaching of Rama nuja for it was erected between 977 and 984 A. D by Cha mundaraja the minister of the two Ganga Kings, Narasimha II and Rachamalla II [3] Many conversions were also effected

1. Wilson o c., p. 254. Cf. Ch. XV No 9 The conversion of Tirupati from a Saiva to a Vaishnava temple by Ramanuja has lately aroused much controversy Cf. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ancient India* p. 215-8. The Vaishnava chronicles are not impartial authorities. We really believe that the fact took place through a fraud most probably though formerly only Siva had been worshipped there Naturally Ramanuja declared that he had re-started the previous cult given there to Vishnu, in order to give solid ground to his desire of establishing the Vaishnava religion there An enormous amount of literature has been written on Tirupati. See for instance Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 254-5 349 Taylor *Catalogue Raisonne* I p. 587 588 589 etc

2 *Ind Ant* III p. 153-4 The inscript on may also be seen in *Q J M S.*, III, p 27-8. Jain tradition avers that the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta after resigning his crown, was one of those who ac companied Bhadra Bahu to the South. Cf Smith, *Early History of India*, p 154, Tabard, *Sravana Belgola*, *Q J M S.*, III, p. 12 F Deaville Walker *Ancient Jain Shrines Wonders of the Past* III p. 1034.

3 Hultzsch *Inscriptions on the Three Jaina Colossi*, *Ep. Ind.*, VII p. 108. Tabard, o. c p. 12-31. The statue is 57 feet high. Chamunda raja was not the founder of the present Jain religious settlement, as Rice, *Mysore* I, p. 461 says,

by his exhortations and disputes in the Karnataka country. One of the converts seems to have been King Vitthala Deva (1104-1141)[1] The *Sri Rangha Mahatmya*, that seems to refer to this period, states that Ramanuja "with his disciples visited the 108 Tripetis (Tirupatis or temples to Tirumal), and disputed with opponents He taught the Vaishnava creed with great success, visited many places, and at length returned to Seringapatam "[2]

Ramanuja returned from Mysore on the death of Kulottunga I, which seems to have occurred in 1118[3] The *Kulotunga Cholan Ula* relates that, during Ramanuja's second stay in the Chola country, Kulottunga II (1123–1146), 'a hater of the god Vishnu', removed the Govinda Raja temple at Chidambaram from the premises of the great Siva temple, and ordered the statue of Vishnu to be thrown into the ocean, 'his original shrine' Then Ramanuja and his disciples either brought back the same idol or made a new one, and enshrined it in a new temple at Tirupati, with a formal and solemn consecration ceremony[4]

4 After the death of the reformer, his disciples continued his work Besides the above mentioned Kurattalvan, the one who worked most for this cause was perhaps the famous Sri Vedanta Desika[5] The *Tiru Narayana Puram* mentions a Vaishnava Aluvar, named Yempramanar, who also made many conversions to his sect in the kingdom of Mysore[6]

Things however were not going too well Soon after the death of Ramanuja, there arose a schism in his sect Were the Sanskirit or the vernacular works to be the chief object of study for the Sri Vaishnavas? This question naturally gave origin to

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1 Bhandarkar o c, p 52

2 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p 589

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p 219

4 Cf Brahma Sri R Raghava Aiyangar, *Chelli Kulotungal Anapayan*, *Sen Tamil* VIII, p 301-2, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 299

5 Cf Rangachari, *The Life and Times of Sri Vedanta Desika*, *B B R A. S*, XXIV, p 277-312

6 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p 510-1

two different schools For some time the Sanskrit school prevailed, during which period Vaishnavism was almost restricted to erudite people. But finally the vernacular school came out victorious in the contest. Those were the palmy days of Sri Vaishnavism when its doctrines were easily spread among all classes of people [1]

5 Naturally the propagation of the new creed was the cause of differences between its adherents and the members of other religious denominations One of these religious disputes apparently in Mysore, was appeased by Bukka Raya I of Vijayanagara in 1368 Dispute having arisen between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (Vaishnavas)" says the royal decree, "the blessed people (the Jainas) having made petition to Bukka Raya about the justice done by the Bhaktas the King taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Sri Vaishnavas (here 48 representatives of the Sri Vaishnavas are mentioned who come from different places even from Tirupati Kanchivaram and Srirangam) and declaring at the same time that there was no difference between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas decreed as follows —

'This Jaina *darsana* is, as before entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalasa* (or vase) If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina *darsana* through the bhaktas the Vishnavas will kindly deem it as loss of advancement caused to their (own *darsana*) The Sri Vaishnavas will to this effect kindly set up a *sasana* in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and the moon endure the Vaishnava creed will continue to protect the Jaina *darsana*. The Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one they must not be viewed as different. Tatayya of Tirumula (Tirupati) by consent of the blessed people (the Jainas) of the whole kingdom will, out of the money levied at the rate of one anna a year for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom for the bodyguard to be appointed by Vaishnavas at the holy place Belugula (Sravana-Belgola) appoint twenty ser

1. Cf. Rangachari, *The Successors of Ramanuja* B B R A S., XXIV p. 126-8.

vants as bodyguard for the god, and with the remainder of the money have the dilapidated Jinalayas (the Jaina temples) white-washed In this manner, for as long as the sun and moon last, will they without failure pay every year and acquire fame and merit He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the kings, a traitor to the *sangha* and the *samudaya* If an ascetic or chief of a village destroys this charity, he shall incur the sin of having slaughtered a tawny cow and a Brahman on the banks of the Ganges" [1]

In this document preference seems to be given to the Jainas, although Bukka was not a Jain himself It shows, however, how the King was influenced by Jainism We know indeed from other lithic records that one of the ministers of Bukka was a fervent Jain his name was Baichappa He is mentioned in an inscription at Sravana-Belgola [2] According to an inscription of 1385 in Vijayanagara itself the same Baichappa and his son Irugappa, himself a Jain also, were ministers of Bukka's successor, Harihara II [3] Another inscription of 1387-8, in a Jain temple near Kanchivaram, records some donations of this Irugappa, mentioned as son of Vaichaya (Tamil form for Baichappa), General of Vijayanagara and follower of the Jain religion [4] Irugappa's two sons, named Baichappa and Irugappa, are also mentioned in another inscription of 1422, at Sravana-Belgola, as Jain Generals of Vijayanagara [5] during the reign of Vira Vijaya His successor, Deva Raya II, was also much inclined to Jainism, as is shown in an inscription of this King, of the year 1426, in Vijayanagara itself [6] Probably there was built during this period the Jain temple, the ruins of which, on the slopes of the rockey hill that protects the Pampapathi temple of Hampi, are one of the most interesting features of the glorious capital

1 *Ep Carn*, IX, Ma, 18 Cf Ibid, II, No 344

2 *Ep Carn*, II, SB, 253 Cf Luders, *Sravana-Belgola Inscription of Irugapa*, *Ep Ind*, VIII, p 17

3 Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p 161

4 *Ep Ind*, VII, p 115-6

5 Ibid, VIII, p 22

6. Hultzsch, o. c., p. 162.

6. In spite of this Jain influence, the Vijayynagara sovereigns remained faithful to the cult of Siva till they became disciples of Sri Vaishnavism towards the close of the 15th century

Their family god was then Virupaksha, the name under which Siva was worshiped in the celebrated temple of their capital But at that time it happened that two brothers from Ettur named Nrsimhacharya and Srirangacharya arrived at Vijayanagara. They were learned Vaishnava gurus and easily persuaded Virupaksha the then Emperor of the great Hindu Empire, that there was no other god higher than Vishnu [1] Accordingly the sovereign foreswore Saivism and became a

1 The *Prapannamrtam* which affords this information gives the following legendary account of Virupaksha s conversion to Sri Vaishnavism "Nrsimhacharya and his younger brother as they entered the city during night mistook this haunted palace for the King s residence and entered it, Ramayana in hand. At their approach the ghosts remained quiet and they were admitted into the palace Entering the palace they found the ghosts holding court with king council and attendants. On their approach all the ghosts bowed to them and showed them the respect due to scholarship and the ghost minister inquired who they were and for what purpose they had come there They narrated their whole story on which the king directed them to come secretly every night and read to them the Ramayana for which he promised to pay them at the rate of one *nishka* every day This they did for some time When they came to the end of the Ramayana Nrsimhacharya and the brother directed them to make due preparation for the celebration of the coronation of Rama as is usually the practice even now On the day of the reading of the coronation portion of the Ramayana, the brothers were presented with many thousands of gold coins and precious stones. After the reading was over the ghosts narrated to the brothers their story as follows We are all related to Virupaksha the present sovereign of the country and have been foully murdered by him in our sleep. This horrible death has forced us to haunt the palace It was on our account that Virupaksha left this palace and built another seeking to get rid of us by vows and charities. But all that was of no avail. You two holy people by coming here every night and reading to us the Ramayana have ridded us of our sins, and we now go to the heaven of Santanika They took

fervent Vaishnava. On this occasion the majority of his subjects also became followers of Vaishnavism [1].

Virupaksha's successors were also faithful devotees of Vishnu, without however excluding the devotion to Siva, the old protector god of the Empire. Krishna Deva Raya worshipped Vishnu, Siva and also Vithoba (an incarnation of Vishnu known only in Maharashtra) to whom he erected a temple in Vijayanagara [2] Achyuta Raya made in 1534 a gift of land with a house in the presence of Vitthalesvara and on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, to each of the two Vaishnava Brahmans who recited a *puranam* in the same temple [3] Then the same sovereign is said to have had a son by the favour of the god of Tirupati, hence the child is called Venkatadri [4] But the greatest achievement of Achyuta so far as the propagation of Vaishnavism is concerned, was

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leave of the two brothers thus, and went to heaven The palace became rid of the ghosts and the whole neighbourhood, to its great relief, was rid of the nightly disturbance They reported the matter to Virupaksha, and Virupaksha, on learning after inquiry what had taken place, summoned the two brothers before him He inquired who they were and why had gone to the haunted palace They told him that they belonged to the village Ettur, and were the descendants of the famous Srisailapurna whom the god Venkatesvara called 'grand father', and who explained the Ramayana in twenty-four different ways to Ramanuja They then gave a full account of their going to the haunted palace and of what had transpired there On hearing the whole story, King Virupaksha felt great reverence for the Ramayana, the god Rama and the preceptor Nrsimha The King was soon admitted into the Vaishnava faith by him, for before that time he was a Vira Saiva" S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 71-3

1 *Prapannamrtam*, l c, p 73 The poem says that all the subjects of Virupaksha became Vaishnavas This is evidently a poetical exaggeration

2 Cf Krishnamacharlu, *The Religion of the Vijayanagara House*, *Ind Ant*, XLIV, p 222

3 240 of 1910

4 *Varadambika-Parinayam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 172 Cf Ch I, No. 2

the foundation of the Nayakship of Madura. The Pandyas of those days had remained faithful Saivas, as the Tenkasi inscriptions of Arikesari Parakrama Pandya prove [1] The Telugu chiefs sent from Vijayanagara to the South were almost always Vaishnavas The final settlement of Vishvanatha and his successors as rulers of the Pandya kingdom naturally marked the commencement of a flourishing period of Vaishnavism in the southern dominions

7 Sadasiva, the last representative of the Tuluva family was also a fervent worshipper of Vishnu. In 1556 he granted 31 villages to the great sage Ramanuja *i e.*, to the sect founded by him—as Dr Kielhorn understands—to enable the devotees to carry on the regular worship of Vishnu with incense, lights oblations of food flowers dancing singing music, etc. In 1568, at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, he granted the villages of Krishnapuram to the temple of Tiruvenkatanatha at the same place, to keep up the cult of the god Vishnu who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvenkatanatha, by means of burning incense by lights and by the offering of good food cakes etc., by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights by means of dancing singing and music, with umbrellas *chauris* on days both ordinary and special for the car festival at the beginning of each year for the floating festival during the hot season and for the *ratrotsava* [2] For Sadasiva, to die is to attain the Vishnava seat as may be seen in a grant of his of the year 1558 [4] In his inscriptions several Vaishnava teachers are mentioned on different occasions Vallabhacharya whose eloquent panegyrics as a Vaishnava *guru* are described in an inscription of 1544 at Govada, Guntur [5] the *sanyasi* Emberumanaru Jiyyangaru, mentioned in another inscription of 1559 at Markapur Karnul [6] and finally Parankusa Van-Sathagopa

1. *T A S.* I, p. 93 and 98.
2. British Museum plates of Sadasiva *Ep Ind.*, IV p 5-10
3. *Ep Ind.*, IX, p. 341 vv 67-69
4. *Ep Carn.*, IX, Cp 186.
5. Rangacharya I, p. 841, 825
6. 158 of 1905

Jiyyangaru, spoken of in three inscriptions of Lower Ahobalam, Karnul, of 1555 [1], 1560 [2] and 1564 [3] Another inscription at the same place, of the year 1567, mentions a gift from a chief, consisting of some offerings to be distributed among twelve Sri Vaishnava mendicants [4]

Nevertheless, Sadasiva was not so staunch a devotee of Vishnu as to despise the other gods or to force people to join his own sect He sometimes invokes Siva, Vishnu and Ganesa in the beginning of his grants [5] Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, his feudatory, built a temple to Siva in his new city of Krishnapuram [6] The most characteristic feature of this tolerance is the fact that the Yelahanka Prabhu, Kempe Gowda I, on returning to his dominions from his captivity at Anegundi, adopted the worship of Siva, instead of the cult of Bhire Devar, his family god He thought, in changing his devotion, that it made no difference, as Bhire Devar was the son of Siva, his offerings and prayers however remained in the same family His broad and tolerant spirit is moreover shown in the fact that he built a temple to Vishnu at Bangalore [7]

8 Sadasiva's Regent, Rama Raya, was a no less fervent worshipper of Vishnu than his master The Aravidu family appears to have worshipped Vishnu from ancient times The names of the majority of its chiefs are names of Vishnu or of his *avataras* Moreover several of those chiefs are mentioned as staunch Vaishnavas such are Rajanarendra, called 'a devotee of Vishnu'; Vira Hemmaliraya, stated to be 'a devotee of Murari (Vishnu)', and Ramaraja (the grand father of the founders of the Aravidu dynasty) who 'was poisoned by his

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1 65 of 1915

2 75 of 1915

3 73 of 1915

4 69 of 1915

5 See for instance British Museum Plates of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind*, IV, p 12

6 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 23 Cf Ch XIII, No 2

7 Puttaiya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, *Q J M S*, XIII, p 728 Cf Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 21

relatives but by the grace of Vishnu whose devotee he was, suffered no harm "[1]

The most important act of Rama Raya in connection with Sri Vaishnavism is the restoration of the idol of Govinda raja to the temple of Chidambaram The *Prapannamrtam* relates that there was at that time a Vaishnava scholar named Mahacharya who lived in the sacred town of Ghatikachala (Sholighur) He had defeated all the Saiva scholars of Chitra kuta (Chidambaram) among whom was the celebrated Appaya Dikshita. After this victory he grew desirous of re-establishing the worship of Govindaraja in the temple of Chidambaram abolished since the time of the Chola King, Krimikantha (Kulottunga II)[2] Rama Raya seems to have been then at Chandragiri with his teacher Tatacharya. Mahacharya went there, and with the assistance of the Emperor and his *guru* succeeded in restoring Govindaraja s idol to its old place at Chidambaram[3]

It has been said by modern Saivas that the tremendous defeat of Raksas Tagdi was the punishment inflicted by Virupaksha on the house of Vijayanagara for going over from his cult to the cult of Vishnu We already find this idea in an old work of the Mackenzie Collection entitled *Jangama Kalajnyana* in which the defeat and death of Rama Raya are given in a prophetic strain by Sarvajna a Jangama priest, and his son Virupana, staunch devotees of Siva [4]

9. The immediate successors of Rama Raya, however did not abjure the cult of Vishnu. On the other hand, it seems their devotion even increased. Tirumala is called in his Penuguluru grant a repository of nectar like devotion to Hari (Vishnu) [5] According to the colophon of his supposed commentary on the

1 Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind.* XII p. 186 vv 5-6 and 9 12

2 Cf. above No 3

3 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o c., p. 208 Cf. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ancient India* p. 320

4. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 272

5 *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 245

Gita Govinda his favourite deity was Rama [1] In 1568 he made two grants to a Vaishnava temple at Khairuwalla, Karnul [2] In the same year he made another grant to another Vaishnava temple in the village of Gundala [3] The so-called '*three Swami pagoda*', introduced by Tirumala, displays three figures, the central one standing, and the other two seated, they are said to be either Lakshmana with Rama and Sita, or Venkatesvara with his two wives [4] In either case this coin proves Tirumala's Vaishnava devotion With Tirumala also a new Vaishnava feature appears in the royal grants Till the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the grants of the Emperors of Vijayanagara, even after their converson to Sri Vaishnavism, were as a general rule made in the presence of Virupaksha, but after the establishment of Tirumala at Penukonda, his grants were made in the presence of Ramachandra in the temple of its fort [5].

His devotion to Vishnu, nevertheless, was not that of a fanatic who despises all other deities His grants after the usual 'prostration to the blessed Ganadhipati' start with an invocation to Siva, Vishnu and Ganapati [6] One *vritti* of the Penuguluru grant was by his order given to the local shrines of Vishnu and Hara (Siva) [7] Tirumala moreover, in an inscription of 1571, mentions the Saiva teacher, Anantasivacharya, his pupil Ponnambala Dharmasivacharya, and the latter's pupil Immadi Dharmasivacharya [8] Another Saiva teacher is mentioned in another of Tirumala's inscriptions dated 1577, this *guru* is named Santabhiksha *vritti* Ayyavaru, and seems to have been a man of great influence in Karnul [9]

During Tirumala's reign we hear of two Vaishnava temples

1 Ibid

2 Sewell, I, p 93

3 Rangacharya, III, p 909, 10

4 Brown, *The Coins of India*, p 64

5 See for instance the Penuguluru grant, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 256, vv 44-62

6 See the same grant, Ibid, p 254, vv 1-3.

7. Ibid, p 245

8. 497 of 1905

9 43 of 1915.

which were improved through the munificence of the devotees One was the temple of Bhaktapala Venugopala Krishna at Holalakere, which had passed through different vicisssitudes referred to in the inscription The idol had been set up by one Janamejaya but owing perhaps to difficult circumstances the god was buried in the earth by a certain Vishnuvardha Raya till it was restored to its old shrine by Krishna Deva Raya. Rama Raya it seems enlarged or beautified the temple which after the wars with the Muhammadans was dilapidated and ruined. Then in 1568 Kamageti Kasturi Medakeri Nayaka set up the ruined god, and repaired the temple with the aid of the Brahmans of the place [1] Some years later Sri Van Sathagopa Swami established the idols of the Vaishnava *Alvars* at the temple of Purushtamam (Jaganath) [2]

Ranga I followed the example of his father in his devotion to Vishnu. He is said in the Maredapalli grant to have borne in his heart Sarngadhara, i e., his god Vihnu' [3] and in the Arivilimangalam plates he is called worshipper of Vishnu [4] Nevertheless Ranga, as much of an eclectic as Tirumala, invoked Siva, Vishnu and Ganesha at the beginning of his grants [5] During his time the Hande chiefs of Anantapur who were bigoted Saivites co-operated with Ibrahim Shah of Golkonda in the sack of the temple of Ahobalam [6]

10. Ranga's successor Venkata II was the great Vaishnava Emperor of the dynasty His fervent devotion to Vishnu was the cause of a great change introduced in the grants issued by him. During the third dynasty and even during the reigns of Tirumala and Ranga of the Aravidu family the Emperors had commenced the practice of invoking Vishnu together with Siva at the beginning of their grants,

1. *Ep Carn.*, IX, Ht, 7

2. Ahobalam inscription, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 233

3. *Ep Ind.*, XI, p. 328, v 35

4. Ibid., XII, p. 357 v 20.

5 See for instance the Maredapalli grant, *Ep Ind.*, XI, p. 327 vv 1-3 and the Arivilimangalam plates, Ibid., XII, p 356 vv 1-3

6 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 233-4.

but still they used to sign the same grants with the solitary word 'Sri Virupaksha', the name of the guardian god of the old Empire. "The Vijayanagara throne", says Mr Krishnamacharlu in this connection, "was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virupaksha"[1]. According to the *Prapannamrtam* the Emperor Virupaksha after his conversion "gave up the use of the old seal with the sign manual Virupaksha on it, and adopted a new one on which was inscribed the name 'Sri Rama'"[2]. But his successors had resumed the old seal of Virupaksha Venkata II broke this tradition for ever: Virupaksha was no longer the protector of the Empire, Vishnu had taken his place Accordingly all the grants of Venkata bear the following signature: 'Sri Venkatesa'[3], one of the forms of Vishnu worshipped at Tirupati The very beginning of his grants, moreover, shows more signs of the Vaishnava faith than the former grants The Padmaneri grant, for instance, starts with an invocation to Venkatesa, the feet of Rama Vishvaksena and the Moon[4] In the Vellangudi plates the invocation is addressed to Rama's feet, Vishvaksena and Vishnu[5] The beginning of the Mangalampad grant is as follows "I seek refuge in that pair of substances (Rama's feet), by virtue of whose touch a stone became the gem of women and which is deserving of worship by the gods"[6] Besides, almost all his grants are made in the presence of Venkatesa at Tirupati.

We have still several other instances of Venkata's devotion

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1 Krishnamacharlu, *The Religion of the Vijayanagara House, Ind Ant*, XLIV, p 221

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 73 We have not seen any grant of Virupaksha with the colophon mentioning *Sri Rama* His ordinary signature was, it seems, *Sri Harihara* Cf his Alampundi plate, *Ep Ind*, III p 229, and Sornikavur plates, Ibid, VIII, p 305

3 See for instance the Vellangudi plates, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 329, and the Pandmaneri grant, Ibid, p. 297, v 159

4. *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 296

5. Ibid, p 318

6. Butterworth, I, p. 26, v. 1.

to Vishnu. In 1590 he made a grant to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of one Krishna Das[1] In 1597 at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura he granted two villages in the Madura district to several Vaishnava Brahmans[2] On another occasion the King made arrangements for celebrating a festival in the temple of Alagiyarama Perumal[3] Venkata's gold coin called *Venkatapati pagoda* shows on the obverse Vishnu standing under an arch while the reverse bears this Nagari legend *Sri Venkatesvaraya Namah* adoration to the blessed Venkatesvara[4] Another coin of Venkata shows the figure of Hanuman advancing to the right with the same legend on the reverse[5]

11 Vaishnavism was also openly professed outside the royal palace. Venkata's nephew Tirumala, the Seringapatam Viceroy starts one of his decrees with the suggestive words Obeisance to Ramanuja[6] The poet Matla Ananta in the prologue of his works invokes the blessings of the god of Tirupati and in the colophon to the same work calls himself disciple of the Vaishnava teacher Tirumala Tolappa Acharya[7] In 1609 a gift of seven gold-gilt pinnacles for the big *gopura* of the Vira Narasimha temple at Diguva Tirupati and of two fly whisks and an umbrella of white silk with a gilt *kalasa* over it was made by some merchants of Aravidu[8]

But the most interesting event in connection with the propagation of Vaishnavism is the conversion to this sect of the royal house of Mysore. We do not know for certain when this conversion took place; we are only aware that the early Rajas

1. Ranghacharya, III, p 1497 457
2. Ibid., II, p. 1002, 91
3 385 of 1905
4 Hultzsch, *The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara Ind. Ant* XX, p. 308. Cf. Brown, *The Coins of India* p 64.
5 Rangachari *Some Inedite Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara Ind Ant.*, XXIII, p. 26.
6 *Ep Carn.*, IV Gu, 40
7 Cf. Krishnamacharlu *The Penugulur Grant Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 246.
8 67 of 1915

of Mysore were devotees of Siva, and that shortly after this period they appear as worshippers of Vishnu [1]. "But many circumstances afford room to conjecture", says Wilks, "that it was about this time (after Raja Wodeyar took possession of Seringapatam) that they adopted the insignia and ceremonies of the sect of Vishnu" [2]

12 The whole Empire however was not Vaishnava Several feudatory chiefs still adhered to their old family sect One instance is that of the Nayaks of Vellore, who with their families remained faithful to Siva Lingama Nayaka, the last known member of this dynasty, is said in the Vilapaka grant of Venkata II to 'be engaged in establishing lingas of Siva', 'his prize", says the same grant, "was the works relating to Siva' [3] Another family very faithful to Siva was that of the Nayaks of Ikeri Among their titles there are two that refer to their devotion they are called 'establishers of the pure Vaidika Advaita doctrine' and 'devoted to the faith in Siva and the *guru*' [4] In their zeal they seem to have converted many of the Jains to the Saiva creed [5] We know likewise of a grant of 1592 for the services of a *matha*, issued by Keladi Venkatappa Nayaka, son of Sadasiva Nayaka II and grandson of Sadasiva Raya Nayaka, the grantor is called in the grant 'feudatory of Venkatapatiraya, devoted to Siva and *gurus*' [6]. The chiefs of Ullal were likewise devotees of Siva, Pietro della Valle says that the family god of the Queen he met during his travels was Putia Somnata [7]

There exist moreover several other grants of petty chiefs announcing their liberality to the temples and to the mendi

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1 Cf Thompson, *Religion in the Mysore State, Q J M S*, I, p 135.

2 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p 43 Cf Krishna Row, *A Brief History of Mysore*, p 10, Rice, *Mysore*, I, p 364

3 *Ep Ind*, IV, p 271

4 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 157

5 Cf Burnell, *On the Colossal Jain Statue at Karkala, Ind Ant*, II, p 353, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 62

6 *M A.D*, *1923*, p 106-7

7 Della Valle, II, p. 341

cants of Siva. In 1612 Nanja Raja Odeyar made some offerings to Siva [1] In 1593 Immadi Rama Raja Nayaka, son of the chief of Hadinand-sima D vappa Gowda, made also a grant to Siva recorded in a stone charter he gave to Channa Basavaraja Deva disciple of Sivaratreya Deva [2] In 1588 Vaiyappa Krishnappa Nayaka ordered 30 rice offerings to be distributed among Saiva mendicants [3]

13 Furthermore the Jains were still powerful in the Kanarese Viceroyalty The gigantic statue of the Jain Saint, Bhujabalin set up at Enura (Venur) in 1603 4 is a clear proof of this. It was erected by the chief Timmaraya of the family of Chamunda the younger brother of Pandya son of Queen Pandyaka and nephew and son in-law of Rayakuvara. He is said to have made the image at the request of the Jain priest Charukirti, who was the pontiff of Belgula (Sravana Belgola) On the opposite side of the colossus there is another inscription according to which Timmaraya belonged to the lunar race and was ruling over the kingdom of Punjalike [4]

There are still other instances of the widespread influence of the Jains in the Kanarese country during the reign of Venkata II. In 1591 a Kanarese Prince named Kinniga Bhupala made a grant for the purpose of maintaining a Jain temple [5] In 1586 the Karkala chief Bhairava II built a Jain temple on the Chikkabetta hill at Karkala, set up the images of the three Tirthankaras, Ara Malli and Munisuvrata on each of the four faces of the temple, and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tirthankaras and those of the Jains together with those of Brahma and Padmavati. This temple, built at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakirti was called the temple of the three jewels [6] Its *chaturmukhabasti* indeed shows down to this day three nude statues of the

1. Ibid., 30.
2. *Ep Carn.*, IV Ch, 135
3. 339 of 1913
4. *Ep Ind.*, VII, p. 113-4. Cf. *Ind Ant.*, V p 37
5. Sewell II, p. 14.
6. Karkala inscription of Bhairava II, *Ep Ind.*, VIII, p. 124-5

Tirthankaras strongly resembling each other, carved in black stone, and surrounded by many other idols also naked

14 This variety of sects within the limits of the Empire shows the eclectic character of the Emperors of Vijayanagara, so inconsistent with the exclusive spirit of orthodox Vaishnavism [1]. The two most prominent representatives of this characteristic eclecticism of the Vijayanagara House are Krishna Deva Raya and Venkata II The latter was really a fervent dovotee of Vishnu, but he also favoured the cult of Siva when occasion arose. In 1588, for instance, he gave 20 offerings to be distributed among the Saiva mendicants in the Bhisesvara temple at Chidambaram [2] Similarly there is a plate of his of the year 1596 proceeding from Cuddalore, bearing a large number of mythological figures of both the Saiva and Vaishnava sects; such are for instance Ganesa, the lingam, Hanuman, Narasimha, etc [3]

The most striking specimen of this eclecticism is given in an edict issued some years before the accession of Venkata in 1561, by Krishnappa Nayaka, the feudatory chief of the North Kanara, when speaking of some differences between Saivas and Vaishnavas. It runs as follows "Obeisance to Ganadhipati May it be fortunate. Praise of Sambhu There being some who say that besides Hari (Vishnu) there is no god in the world and some who say that besides Hara (siva) there is no god in the world, to remove those doubts of mankind, they assumed with affection in Kudalur the glorious double form of Harihara may he protect us.

"Be it so. To the chief lord of all worlds, the chief god and supreme lord of the gods, destroyer of the contradictory statements of Saivas, Vaishnavas and others, the bestower of a boon on Markkandeya, the single incarnation of Hari and Hara, tearer asunder of the pride of Guhasura, his two lotus feet placed on the chest of Guhasura, worshipped by the three worlds of heaven, earth and hell, bestower of their desires on the faithful, granting the gift of being without fear to the

1. Cf Raychauduri, o. c, p. 116
2. 349 of 1913
3. Sewell, II, p. 9; Rangacharya, I, p. 154.

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1. Cf. Raychauduri, o. c, p. 116.
2. 349 of 1913.
3. Sewell, II, p. 9; Rangacharya, I, p. 154.

dwellers in the auspicious forest Guharanya residing on the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra boon lord of Manigapura the god Harihara [1]

15 In spite of this eclecticism and toleration we cannot doubt but that the reign of Venkata II marked a period of proselytism towards the spreading of Vaishnavism. The *Prapannamrtam* tells us that when Venkata became a disciple of Tatacharya a large number of the subjects became Vaishnavas" [2] Tatacharya indeed was an ardent Vaishnava missionary and under the patronage of Venkata contributed largely to the progress of his creed.

This proselytism produced warm disputes at the court itself of this sovereign among the Saiva and Vaishnava teachers One of these controversies took place between Tatacharya and the court poet Appaya Dikshita This scholar was a very fervent Saiva. He chanted four verses in honour of Siva wherever he went and by his zeal and preaching reconverted many Vaishnavas to their former faith in Siva. In the religious disputation with Tatacharya Appaya Dikshita was victorious Hence the royal *guru* cherished a mortal hatred against him and even they say actually plotted to put an end to his rival s life [3]

Another of these religious controversies took place in Kumbhakonam between the Vaishnava philosopher Vijayindra Tirtha and a famous Vira Saiva *guru* of that *matha* The condition under which it was held was that if the Saiva *guru* succeeded Vijayindra Tirtha would join his *matha* but if the latter triumphed the Saiva *guru* would make over his *matha* with all its belongings to his opponents. The discussion lasted eleven days at the end of which term the Saiva *guru* declared himself vanquished. Consequently Vijayindra Tirtha entered into possession of the *matha* at Kumbhakonam [4]

1. *Ep Carn.*, XI Dg 18 The edict evidently speaks of the temple at Harihara on the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 251.

3 Subramiah Pantulu *Discursive Remarks Ind. Ant.*, XXVII p. 326.

4. Gopinatha Rao, *Arivilimangalam Plates Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 346.

Vijayindra Tirtha had also several discussions with Appaya Dikshita When the latter wrote some works condemning the Madhva philosophy, Vijayindra Tirtha wrote several works against him refuting the Saiva arguments [1]

This antagonism between the two sects which existed in some quarters of the Empire and specially in the Tamil country, finds expression in a poem existing in the old library of Fort St George This work deals with the marriage of a Brahman's daughter with the god Ranganathaswami of Srirangam, but incidentally refers to the sectarian disputes between Saivas and Vaishnavas in the South of the Empire [2]

16. A notable instance of this struggle between the two sects is the lamentable event that took place at Chidambaram in the year 1597, while Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji, himself a staunch Vaishnava, was there superintending the improvements which he had ordered at the temple of Govinda Raja within the great Saiva temple Fr N. Pimenta, who passed through Chidambaram at this time, narrates in one of his letters that on this occasion a great controversy arose as to "whether it were lawful to place the Signe of Perimal in the Temple at Cidambaran Some refused, others by their Legats importunatly urged, and the Naichus of Gingi Decreed to erect it in the temple" These last words of Pimenta indicate that, after the restoration of the idol to the temple by Rama Raya, it had again been removed and its shrine probably destroyed In order to re-instal it with due honour, Krishnappa Nayaka ordered the old shrine to be repaired, and even perhaps enlarged.

This was the cause of the whole trouble "The Priests of the Temple which were the Treasurers", continues Pimenta, "(were) withstanding, and threatening if it were done, to cast down themselves from the top. The Brachmanes of the Temple, sware to doe the like after they buried the former, which yet after better advice they performed not" But Krishnappa Nayaka was unmoved by any such threat, the recon-

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1 Ibid

2 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p 646

struction of the shrine was carried on without hesitation Whereupon the priests climbing one of the high *gopurams* of the temple, started to cast themselves down while the Nayak was in the temple About twentie had perished in that precipitation on that day of our departure says Pimenta " whereat the Naichus angrie, caused his Gunners to shoot at the rest, which killed two of them the rest wandring in uncertaine places A Woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrel that shee cut her owne throat " Naturally Krishnappa Nayaka accomplished his purpose in spite of this opposition [1]

This brings us to a point in the history of Vaishnavism and Saivism where we see the opposition between them at fever heat. But the struggle between the two sects was practically over at the end of Venkata II s reign Although the sect of Siva still counted many adherents, Vaishnavism had won the victory

1. From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C. Aquaviva Purchas X, p. 208-9 Cf. Du Jarric, I, p 637 Anquetil du Perron L c., p. 169

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APPENDIX A

THREE CANTOS OF A PERSIAN POEM IN PRAISE OF HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH OF AHMADNAGAR

(P. P. P)

لشکر آراستن حسن شاه بعزم جنگ رای کاور و روان شدن کلب بیجانگر

۱ حسن شاه آن پادشاه دلیر   که بستی ز شمشیر پهلو شیر

۲ سر سروران و گردنکشان   که بر روی کند آفرین آسمان

۳ خداوند لشکر و تخت و کلاه   فرمانده ملک با فر و جاه

۴ بآن حشمت و جاه و فرهنگی   بآن بخت و دولت و فرزانگی

۵ نبود در ملکی در جهان   جهاندار پیروز با فر و شان

۶ جهان داشت لشکر زیاده ز بار   که در جهان بود از هزار

۷ بدل غصه زان آرزو بی نداشت   عروس ملکها در شهر بی باشد

۸ که با کاور راو بیجانگر   کند جنگ و بر کند بیخ و سر

۹ که اورنگ آن کافر نابکار   مسلمان شکن بود بد روزگار

۱۰ بفرمود تا میر لطف صفا   که او را بسی بود احسن عطا

۱۱ روان گشت العصا ازبهر جنگ   سوی ملک بیجانگر بیدرنگ

۱۲ بفرمود لشکر بعزم نبرد   بدانسان که کسی جمع لشکر نکرد

HUSAIN SHAH ORGANISES AN ARMY WITH THE INTENTION OF WAGING WAR AGAINST THE INFIDEL, AND HIS MARCH TOWARDS BIJANAGAR

1 & 2. Husain Shah, that brave king, before whom the lion is like the fox, is the chief of the exalted and mighty men, because on him men and genii bestow 'Afareen's (*i.e.* Bravo!)

3. Lord of the sword, the throne, and the crown; as resplendent as the sun, with honour and dignity.

4 & 5. With his pomp and grandeur and wisdom, with his awfulness and strength and bravery, none existed and never came into this world. World-possessor and victorious, with honour and respect.

6. He had such a sword and such a powerful arm, that on account of him there was a tumult and uproar in the world.

7 & 8. In heart he cherished no other desire, and his inclinations were bent towards no other direction, but to fight against the infidel Rao of Bijanagar and subdue sedition and wickedness.

9. Because many Moslems had suffered oppression at the hands of the wicked infidel.

10. He always asked of the kindness of God only to make him successful in the battle.

11. In short, without delay, he marched towards the kingdom of Bijanagar in order to fight.

12. He arrayed his army with the intention of fighting, in a manner that none had mustered army.

[illegible]

۱ [illegible] — [illegible]

۲ [illegible] — [illegible]

۳ [illegible] — [illegible]

۴ [illegible] — [illegible]

۵ [illegible] — [illegible]

۶ [illegible] — [illegible]

۷ [illegible] — [illegible]

۸ [illegible] — [illegible]

۹ [illegible] — [illegible]

۱۰ [illegible] — [illegible]

۱۱ [illegible] — [illegible]

۱۲ [illegible] — [illegible]

۱۳ [illegible] — [illegible]

۲۹ چو خصمان گرفتار خواری شدند · دلیران کافر بزاری شدند

۳۰ برمح سنان کافر از اسپ راح · سرش بر زمین خورد افتاد تاج

۳۱ ز افتادن کافر از زخم تیر · تو گفتی برآمد یکی شمشیر

۳۲ بیک اشارت چو آن شاه کرد · سرش را بریدند و پرکاه کرد

۳۳ ز بس کشته بر کشته مردان مرد · شده راه گشته بریده نورد

۳۴ ز بس غارت آوردن از شهر شاه · غنیمت نگنجید در عرصه گاه

۳۵ چو شاه آن متاع گران سنج دید · چو دریا یکی دشت پر گنج دید

۳۶ شد از رفتن لعل و تاراج گنج · خوشان و برآسوده از راه و رنج

۳۷ بعبرت در آن کشتگان بنگریست · بحدی پدیدا و پنهان گریست

۳۸ که چندین خلایق در این دار و گیر · چرا کشته باید بشمشیر و تیر

۳۹ گنه گر بر ایشان نهم ناروا ست · ور از خود خطا بینم این هم خطاست

۴۰ فلک را سر ابتدا حق شد سرشت · نشاید کشیدن سر از سرنوشت

۴۱ که داند که این خاک انگیخته · کز او چه دلهاست آمیخته

۴۲ بیا ساقی از می مرا مست کن · چو می در دهی نقل در دست کن

۴۳ از آن می که دل را بدان خوش کنم · بدو درج دریش مطلق آتش کنم

۱۴

۱۵ [illegible] [illegible]

۱۶ [illegible] [illegible]

۱۷ [illegible] [illegible]

۱۸ [illegible] [illegible]

۱۹ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۰ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۱ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۲ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۳ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۴ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۵ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۶ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۷ [illegible] [illegible]

۲۸ [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] ۱

HUSAIN SHAH'S WAR AGAINST RAM RAJ, THE KING OF BIJANAGAR, AND HIS VICTORY

1. Early morning when the bird stretched its wings, the brain of the sphere (*i. e.* sky) became void of pictures (*i. e* stars).
2. The cock shouted to the black demon (*i. e.* the night), the clamour of the drums began roaring.
3. When the infidel came to know that the army had approached, the world appeared dark to the eyes of the infidel.
4. He gathered an army (equipped) with arrow and sword. Its burning flash reached the clouds.
5. On account of the tramplings of the steel-shod animals, even the earth shook to its foundation.
6. On account of the excessive shouts that came from the ambush, the sky dropped down to the earth.
7. From the resurrection-like clamouring of noise, the beasts of the desert took to flight.
8. When their musical instrument was tuned for war, (or when their weapons were ready for battle) the devil ran away on account of their shouts.
9. Two clouds from two sides began clamouring, and two seas of fire came to ebullition.
10. From both the armies arose such a tumultuous noise that the horror of it made the brain of the devil mad.
11. When the armies stood facing each other, the hero came forward from both the sides.
12. The black cloud began to roar (the reference is to the army clad in iron). From the fish (in the sea) the flash of the sword reached the sky.
13. On account of the galloping which pressed the foot on the ground, the bones of the limbs of the

bullock got crushed. (The reference is to the belief that the earth stands on the back of the bullock that stands on the back of the fish which is in the sea)

14 The weapon shattering arrow, coming and going successively pierced through the limbs of steel devouring lions (warriors)

15 The twangs of the arm breaking bows made unconscious many a man.

16. The rows of bulky elephants as dreadful as war, entered the army like mountains.

17 Eye lashes like spear eyes cornelian like from trunk to tail immersed in iron

18 From the many rows of stout elephants, the earth became indigo coloured on account of their tramplings.

19 The clamour of the two armies passed through the sphere in such a way that the angel became deaf

20 But the number of persons killed was greater on the side of the infidels and the heart of Infidelity was more injured than Islam

21 & 22 Husain Shah that monarch of the world whom the fierce lion feared, decorated the market of battle, (and) stirred the flowing water

23 As a sword belt an Indian sword like water in lustre greater than the fountain of the sun.

24 A helmet of Indian steel on his head, so lustrous that (even) jewel was envying it

25 Seated on horseback like a mountain happy spiritual and cheerful.

26. When he caught hold of the sword of malice, there came about defeat in the market of the infidel.

27 The disgraceful infidel lost his heart as the heart of wax from the furnace.

foy delle recebido com muitas honrras, e mostras de amor, e como se fora hu dos Principes Europenses, amigos de Comp Sabendo q̃ uinha o Pe lhe mandaua cada dia ao caminho hua ola de comprimentos, q̃ seruiam como elle disia de Bombardadas hua apos outra pera festeiar o Pe pormeteo q̃ em tudo as compreria, e q̃ no Janeiro seguinte, faria logo a primeira Candaia q̃ he o q̃ quartel da paga, como na realidade fes q̃ montou quinhentos pardaos

VII

A LETTER OF Fr FRANCESCO RICIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(*Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603*)

Anno 1602 quatuor litteras plenas charitatis and amoris in Christo a Paternitate tua accepi quibus non solum uehementer gauisus sum, sed etiam in hac amplissima missione omnes uitae meae annos consumere et finire (nisi aliud mihi impositum fuerit) constitui. Est enim missio haec tam ampla ut uix litteris explicari possit sunt enim in hoc Regno tot regiones, et insignes ciuitates, ut si Deus (ut speramus) eos ad fidem uocauerit innumeri operarii ad excolendam uineam necesse fuerint Dixi spem esse Magnam, quia Rex hujus Regni eo nos prosequitur amore ut singulis annis mille auereorum numorum dare jusserit Cum loquimur cum illo, et ostendit erga nos signa grandis amoris et libenter nostram doctrinam audit presertim cum loquimur de Jesv saluatore, et de Beata Virgine Auditaque aliis singnificans, approbat. Sic etiam cum plures hujus Regni et sanguine et doctrina preclari, cum audiut res nostras gaudio replentur, et approbant unam esse legem anum Deum, ut nos omnibus explicamus, et licet in omni doctrina, quam docemus magnam accipiant laetitiam, presertim cum decem praecepta legis diuinae explicamus, est tam magna laetitia eorum ut uix litteris explicari possit cognoscut n legem hanc esse diuinam ac optimam et suam plenã erroribus, ac de causa saepissime ueniunt ad nos, et ad nostram Ecclesiam, et audiunt letanter praecepta diuina et omnia quae ad animarum salutem pertinent, maxima pietate, ac deuotione uenuit ad Ecclesiam nostram non solum ii qui morantr in hac Regia Ciuitate sed etiam ex multis partibus hujus Regni, et prostratis in terra maxima animi sumissione suis in necessitatibus a Deo auxilia poscut, deusque optimus maximus

eorum fidem intuẽs saepe miracula faciens iis auxiliari dignatus est. Miracula et alia cum in litteris annuis scribantur ad paternitatem tuam breuitatis causa scribere omitto. Cum haec uinea sit amplissima et maximi fructus nostri laboris sperentur, ad hanc uineam excolendam proprios operarios, ut mittat Paternitatem tuam uehemẽter rogamus, et quia sunt plures linguae ad discendae operari debent esse magni ingenii et adolescentes quia aliter consequi minime possunt est enim quaedam lingua in qua doctrina eorum est scripta et legis fundamenta, et fere singulis diebus Rex et ejus magistri seu Philosophi intense disputant de Deo, Philosophia et et mathematica et alii astantes fere nihil intelligunt, quia licet siatur lingua hujus Regni est alia lingua tanquam mater Indiae linguarum quae uocatr sanscratam ubi sunt quinque libri in quibus tractatur de eorum diis et de historiis et fabulis in quibus modis aparuerunt, ut aiunt dii hominibus. Sut atiam quatuor leges, et sex scienciae, et hunc librum at linguam paucissimi sciunt, Ego licet didiceri Duas linguas s Badaguẽsem, et Tamulẽsem, quia sexaginta annos natus, hanc consequi minime possum hac de causa cum uidemus Regem disputare de Deo, Philosophia et Mathematica nihil possumus loqui, quia nihil intelligimus, sed si Paternitas tua inter alios operarios quos huc erut missurii Antonium Rubinum fratrem nostrum qui Goa moratur huc nenire juserit, quia iste, ut dicut, est magni ingenii et ualde Doctus, in mathematica, magna erit spes, ut Rex et alii cognoscant, suos errores, et conuertantur, et ne ab aliis qui Goa morãtr., operari huc uenientes, impediãtr, ad ViceProuincialem si eos misserit, erit maxime expediens, sic etiam, ut solbantur multae difficultates haec V. Prouincia si Prouincia fuerit constituta, erit (ut mihi uidetur) maxime expediens dico hoc quia VProuincialem uideo esse magni amimi ad missiones faciendas Prouincialem uero tam difficile ad dondos operarios ut ex sexaginta operariis quos Pater Albertus adduxit sex tantum illi sunt dati, et ejus VProuincia est tam ampla ut uix litteris possit Est (haec) missio walde magna operarii uero pauci Et sut multi qui petut Patres et quia caremus istis dari non possut, ut mittat ergo rogamus Paternitatem tuam non solum ad ViceProuinciam multos Patres sed etiam ad hanc V. Prouinciam destinatos et jubeat ne ab aliis ne huc ueniãt impediãtr. Haec sunt quae hoc anno mihi uisa sut Paternitati tuae scribenda de lingua uero in litteris annuis scribentur uale iterum uale meque indignum seruum Paternitatis tuae flexum Paterna tua benedictione benedicat, uehementer rogo datum anno 1603. die decimo septembris.

haver quē saiba estas lingoas pouco se podo esperar, poi não he Ds de fazar milagros mas o pᵉ francisco Ricio aprende a vulgar was a velho e n̄o se atreve aprender a segunda o Pe Belchior Coutinho tinha començado aprender a primeira lingoa Tambem importa o Irmão Bertholameu Pintor pera esta Viceprovincia ia o anno passado o escrevey a V R

Cochim 18 de Janeiro de 1604 +

Alberto Laerzio

XI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr CLADIO AQUAVIVA

(*Cochin, January 12th 1605*)

Tenho este anno Visitado outra uez toda esta V Prouincia até sao Thome com m consolação minha, pollo bom procedimento e augmento que achey nos nossos todos e nas Christandades que temos a nossa conta, seja o Sor muito louuado e se o Pᵉ Manoel da Veiga Prouincial de Goa, não fora tão contrario a esta V Prouincia, por se ter feita esta separação contra o seu parecer, e traça, e querer tudo péra a sua Prouincia de Goa e nos acudira com alguas ajudas mais de sogeites aptos assy pera estes nossos estudos, como pera estas impresas, particularmente p às de Bisnagá que hé de muy grande importancia e esperanças Não duuido que estivera esta V Prouia em tudo muito mais adiante, e o negoçeo da Conuersão com muito mais augmento A necessidᵉ que temos do Irmão Bertolameu Pintor pera estas xptandades hè muy grande, mas o Pᵉ Prouāl o não largara de Goa, se V P lhe não mandar espressamente nolo dé sem hauer lugar a replica, nem a epiqueja, e afora que eu em Roma pedy a V P este Irmão so pera se occupar nestas Christandades parece que se deue contentar a Prouincia de Goa com hauer ja dous anos que lá está.

Cochym. 12. de Janᵒ de 1605 +

Alberto Laerzio

XII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr MANOEL ROIZ TO Fr JOAO ALVARES.

(*St Thome November 1st, 1606*)

Quando vim para esta terra, q̃ foi aos 3 de Setembro de 1606. a achei de brigas emtre os Portugueses, q̃ ha dous, ou 3 annos q̃ durão tambem ha poucos mezes q̃ brigarão os

mesmos Portugueses, q̃ aqui morão com os gentios q̃ estão fora da nossa cidade, porq̃ matando elles ha a hum Portugues aqui cazado, os Portugueses tomando disso grande paxão sayrão fora da cidade, e derão na pouoação dos gentios, q̃ estaua perto, Roubando tudo, e tambem em hua foratalesa do Rey gentio, q̃ he o Rey de Bisnaga, a qual esta iunto da nossa cidade, e lhe poserão a fogo, com q̃ o Rey, q̃ esta daqui a 18. ou 20. legoas, ficou m^{to} sentido, e se mostrou arrufado ainda com os nossos padres, sen lhe querer mais falar ate agora · mas esperamos q̃ o tempo cure tudo, e q façamos boms concertos com o Rey, com q̃ fiquemos em paz quanto as missoes deste Reino de Bisnagà, digo q̃ coforme a informação, q̃ tenho tomado dos padres q̃ la andarão ate agora, q̃ são os padres Belchior Coutinho e Simão de Saa, ha m^{to} poucas esperanças de conversão, por estarem estes negros muito obstinados naquelle diabolico fundam^{to} q̃ ia ha escreui a V. R. porq̃ aindaq̃ Reconhecem a nossa lei por boa, dizem q̃ tambẽ a sua he boa, e q̃ nella se poden saluar e q̃ nella querem Viuer, pois he conforme aos seus costumes, e de seus antepassados exct em Chandregri ha 6 christaos, q̃ os padres ali fizerão, gente pobriss^a de q̃ os mesmos padres se seruião, agora ao presente estão limitados pera continuarẽ com estas missoes os p. Belchior Coutinho, e Ant^o. Rubino, e o irmão Bertolameu fontebona, q̃ he pintor, porẽ todos estão ainda neste Collegio, e vierão de là os dous p^{es}. por accasião do p^e. Prouincial Alberto Laercio, q̃ uisitou este Collegio neste mez de Setembro, mas não foi visitar as missoes, ne el Rey de Bisnagá, por estar o mesmo Rey exasperado pollo q̃ aseima disse, e nem os padres irão atee se não fezerem os concertos, posto q̃ tambem ha outro impedim^{to}. a hirão, q̃ he não auer que gastar, porq̃ el Rey de Bisnagá ha 3. annos q̃ não lhes paga a ordinaria, q̃ costumaua darlhe os annos passados, e tem ja os padres das missoes m^{tas}. diuidas. ....

Deste Collegio da pouoacão de S. Thome oie prim^o. de Nouembro de 1606.

Seruo em X. +

MANOEL ROIZ.

XIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(*St. Thome, November, 4th 1066.*)

O p. An^{to}. Rubino q̃ esteue huns dias en Velur e veo p^a qua doente. O Ir. Bertolameo fonte buone q̃ esta aqui

pintando e experando conjunção p q̃ se o Rei tornar a com unicação q dantes co nosco tinha va tambem la assistir pois p este fim nosso p nos concedeo o p. Ant rubino e o Ir Bertolameo marauillosos soieitos esta mais o p' João fe q̃ tem cuidado da Igreia da Madredepi e o p P mexia que corre co a fabrica da Igreia noua da Sorã, o ha procurador do Colleg' Vinha taobem pa ir uisitar ao Rei mas não podeser pollo q̃ logo cortarei, leuoa taobem o p' co sigo o p simão de Sia q a todos nos deixou saudosos p q fors aqui R' e principiara a amizade co este Rei, esta missão do Bis naga Estaua o p ao presente no porto do Baleacate sete legoas daqui p a parte de norte e alli co gr' encontros de inimigos gentios e mouros traladado principio aq̃lla residen cia, ateq̃ finalm' achou o p' pr' q̃ couinha tirar lhe o p' p nao se fazer alli o frutu esperado, e pollas m' iniurias feitas aos xpãos e ao p' q̃ ultimam retiuerão hum dia com preja e aos xpãos, e nunca lhe derao sustentacao mais q ao principio e assim determino o p' pu' não lhe dar p' nenhum ate satis-fazerem as iniurias e comprirem as condicoes prometidas e pode ser q̃ tãobem se lhes procure algun castigo, pq̃ são tão inimigos q̃ ia por duas ueses indo p está a nao Olandeza alli a querião receber e os cometião p' desembarcarem e os meter em co o Rei mas aretiarãose q̃ daqui lho impedissem, e taobem en Velur co o Rei negoceamos ollas p q p nenhum caso lhe consentissem o sairem en terra fi se entao a nao a Muculo patao e alli deixou seus feitores e se partio p' as partes de malaqua, na moncao en q daqui forao em Setembro os nauios p' pegu e malaqua, queira Ds q̃ lhe não fosse algum cair nas nos.

Agora fuimos aqui p' cedo uoltar para terra adentro, P' An rubino p' Chamdregui, q̃ he hu P' de m.. ser exçellente mathematico e theologo m' bo pregador m' uirtuozo eu he dir p' Velur, onde este anno o Rei tornou a por sua Corte, e (eu) fui tambẽ lá por ordẽ q̃ p' isto tinha, e ( ) q̃ o Rei nos deu dentro da 1 çerca de fortaleza hu casa e Igreja e aruorei a Sa + Sobre a porta, he isto nu(a formo)sa rua que uai de norte a Sul entestar co as paredes do paço onde a Igreja he uisitada de m' parentes do Rei amigos e uezinhos nossos q folgao de ouuir as cousas de Deus Temos alli cinco xpãos ( ) dos onze q̃ auia em Chandregui. co elles me consolo no meo dos desgostos e offenças qual foi este anno a guerra q̃ o Rei teue co os portuguezes moradores desta terra e a occasião foi q̃ ẽ Iunho passado soçedeo matarẽ aqui os (gentios) de noite a hu portuguez honrado a qual sẽ ordo foi a buscar hua moça q̃ lhe tinha leuado de casa hu soldadẽ do adigar ou gorvernador gentio resistio o soldado, ac oderao

de sua fortaleza outros m^tos. ẽ seu fauor, alançearão ao portugueze matarão. e ferırao hu seu caınhado. E ısto ue a noua a cıd^e amutınãose os homẽs, tratão de logo de noıte dar na fortaleza, dıs ẽos o capıtão ate amanheçer en amanheçendo aıuntãose à do capıtão, ınsıstẽ q̃ saıão sobre elles, repugnão os velhos da cıd^e. dãolhe os P^es. conselho q̃ sobrestejão ate auızar ao Reı q̃ lhes ode dar satısfação. não estão de acorde a ısto, pualecẽ os mançebos, saıẽ co o capıtão q̃ mande ( ), poese todos em armas, saıẽ fora da cıd^e. queımão a pouoação e fortaleza dos gentıos, sendo ıa o seu adıgar de noıte acolhıdo tornãose a recolher a Cıd^e. Vão as queıxas do adıgar a Raınha faz elle mıl lastımas ao Reı, elle saıe fora poe se ẽ sua corte ( )

De. S. Thome 4. de nouembro de 606.

BELCH.^or COUTINHO.

XIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(St. Thome, November 4th, 1606.)

O Reı aı (ır) pera Velur co sua corte nos deu m^to. bom Sıtıo dentro na pr^a. cerca da fortaleza onde por nao ãdar como o anno atras mendıgando por casas ımprestadas fis casas, e Igreıa e aruorey a S.+sobre a Porta na frontaıra dua formosa Rua q̃ uay dınante a Sul p' enestar co as paredes do Paço e asy a Igreıa he uısıtada de m^tos. do Reı, amıgos, e uısınhos nossos e tèmos alı sınco dãq̃les onsexpãos q̃ tınhamos em Chandregui co os q̃' me consoleı no meıo da perturbacão q̃ dıgo q̃ o Dıabo aleuãtou a occasıão foı de hua brega que cá os Portuguezes tıuerão co os Gentıos orıgınada da morte de hu Portugues ao q̃ de noıte alancearão os Gentıos, aquı fora da Cıdade perto de sua fortaleza, e ueıo a noua a Cıdade amotınarão se os homẽs querıão ır de noıte dar na fortalesa detuue os o capıtão ate o dıa seguınte en amanhecıdo puserãose een armas forãose a porta do Capıtão e preualecerão maıs os conselhos dos mãcebos q̃ dos P^es. e ancıoes de Cıd mandou o Capıtão tocar o sıno saırão todos queımarão a pouoacão e fortaleza dos Gentıos mandou logo o dtto lugar o seu gouernador suas olas ou Cartas ao Reı muı falsas e a Raınha a qual por nossos peccados tè agora o Senhorıo desta tr . ella sobre ısto fes mıl lastımas ao

Rei 1 o qual saio fora pos so e sua Corte lerão se estas cartas, não quiso o Rei ouuir a do P R^{or} q̃ hia c̃ defesa da Cidade ficou tão embrauecido q̃ de cordeiro q̃ era na condicão ficou feito hu leão dizendo mil roncas q̃ auia asolar e destruir esta tr^a nomeou capitaes p este effeito disse q̃ não queria mais amisade co P^{es} nẽ Portuguesas, nẽ ter P^s em seu reino e q̃ auia de chamar os Olandezes etti De modo q̃ disserão os seus q̃ nuca o uirão tão agastado c̃ toda sua uida como neste caso e assi nẽ quis falar co nosco nẽ ler nossas cartas, nẽ deste Pouo, nẽ ouuir nenhuas resoes da parte dos Portu gueses posto q̃ por nosso respeito ate agora desistio de mãdar exercito sobre esta tr^a ja se trata de concerto quererá Ds q̃ seia como for p seu diuino seruiço. Co a uinda do P Prou^{al} nos aiutamos aqui co a occasião de uer ao P^e como p co nossa ausesa p^a algu tpo significaremos ao Rei q̃^{to} se sentio o q̃ fes ao padre Nicolao Leuãto Reitor q̃ então era em não querer ouuilo por espaço de dous meses q̃ ali esteue nẽ tomar o presente q̃ leuaua c̃ nome desta tr^a, se fora pollo Rei ia isto estiuera asabado mas he tão sogeito a negra Rainha. a q̃le tudo gouerna, q̃ por lhe não dar disgosto quebrara co todo o mudo e ella quis q̃ não teuessemos entrada ao Rei como dãtes ate cá de S Thome lhe não darẽ os intereses de dr^o e presentes q̃ ella espera em satisfacão do q̃ fizerão O P^e Prouincial escreueo ( ) ao Rei dandolhe disculpa de o não ir este anno uisitar, e fis bem o P^e Prouincial em não hir q̃ se ariscaua a não lhe falar tambẽ o P^e Nicolao Leuãto lhe escreueo de como esta aqui hu Caualo q̃ o Arcebpo Gouernador mãda q̃ leue o P^e a S A e como quer q̃ o Irmão desta Rainha ha te ia pedido ao Rei este Caualo p^a (si) fes co elle q̃ escreuesse ao P Prou^{al} e a o P Leuãto q̃ fossẽ co o Caualo, e assi iá escreueo duas Cartas sobre isto deixou o P^e Prou^{al} ordẽ q̃ fosse o P^e como ca a tr^a se concertasse co o Rei. Querera Ds q̃ seia luogo, e ẽtretãto temos pessoas de recado em velur e Chandrigui, p^a onde ha de ir o P^e Ant Rubino emp velur, e se o Rei tornar a comunicacão q̃ dãte tinha co nosco irá tambẽ o Irmão Bertholameu fuente buena pague N Sr a charidade de mandar p^a ca a taes sogeitos o P^e Rubino tão excellente mathematico e theologo e o Irmão tao excellente Pintor ambos cheos de m^{tas} uertudes e perfeicoes, as mais cousas, deixo & q̃ da Carta annua terá V P noticia de todas, e assy acabo pedindo a benção de V P naqual e nos s Sacrificios de V P peço ser encomendado. De S Thome 4 de nouem bro de 606

BELCH^{or} COUTINHO

XV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(*Vellore, November 5th, 1607.*)

Passandas as festas de Natal e JESVS, nos tornamos p^{a}. a missão, o P^{e}. An^{to}. Rubino pera a de Chandegri; e o irmão Berthalemeo fonte bona e eu para esta de Velur onde agora este Rei tẽ Sua Corte ... .(Fr. Coutinho relates here the different signs of the royal friendship as they are already related in the preceding letters.) Agora faz 2. annos escreueo El Rei a V. P. nestas naos esperamos a reposta p^{a}. lhe ãpsentar, pode ser q̃ a traga o P^{e}. Prouincial q̃ detremina passar en o fevereiro.... ....

De Velur 5. de nouembro de 607.

Minimo e xto. de V. P. Belch^{or}. Coutinho.

XVI

A LETTER OF Bro. BARTOLOMEO FONTEBONA TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(*Vellore, November, 7th 1607.*)

Pax xpi

Não quis deixar de dar nouas de minha saude a V. P. e como estamos nesta Corte com m^{ta}, minha consolação vendo este Rei q̃ nos mostra tanto amor q.^{to} se pode desejar. Não mando a V. P. nouas desta Residencia pq̃ o p^{e} Belc^{or}. Cout^{o}. com o qual estou juntamente soube q̃ tinha escrito na Carta anoa tudo meudam^{te} como V. P, vera, eu me ccupo cada dia pintando algua couza diante do mesmo Rei o qual gosta tanto de uer que não pode ser mais, e tenho lhe fe^{to}. alguãs imagẽs hu painel dua nossa Senra donde sobre a mesma Imagẽ passaiãosse m^{tas} praticas Como o p^{e} Belc^{or}. Cout^{o} tera escrito, e fasendo m^{to} oferecim^{tos}. de dadiuas não quisemos nunca aceitar nada pq̃ o p^{e} proul nas proibio que não tomassemos dr^{o}. donde ficou tão espantado disendo pubricamente diante de todos os grandes que hu oficial tam grande que nuca lhe pedimos nada mas disse depois pubricamente que me queria faser homrras, e dise que Mandou faser hu par de manilhas douro Com pedrarias p^{a} me dar, e cuido que me dara no fim dua lamina q̃ actualmente estou fasendo em sua presença, e tambẽ lhe tenho f^{to} alguãs laminas pequenas

m[to] bem acabadasem particular hua do Saluador, e outra dua N Snora o qual estimou m[to] e discemme q̃ o tem m[to] bem guardada, e cada dia esta olhando por ellas m[to] tempo aquelle mesmo Sor, e Snora lhe queira abrir os olhos do coração p[a] que lo adore, e lo reuerẽcie Como o merecẽ discrñome como este anno vinha hu Irmão pintor m[to] bom eu folguei m[to] porque veyo a m[to] bom tempo p acabar a casa professa de goa q̃ eu tinha comecada o acabada a quarta parte e se se acabar será hua das fermosas Igrejas que se poçã ver as cousas da India uão sempre pior em pior, e não faltão persegulcoes m[to] grande Deos seja aquelle que ponha a mão nas suas obras porque os homẽs do mundo parece que la querẽ mais apaguar q̃ manter Encomendo m[to] a V P o meu Irmão e que lhe faça faser algu bom lauor porque sei q la de faser tam bem quanto qualquer outro q estejão em Roma. não serei mais comprido encomẽdado me m[to] a V P e nos seus sanctos sacrif[os] e deuotas oracoes m[to] me encomedo Etc de Velur oss sete de Novenbro 1607

f e seruo em xpo de V P

+

I Bertalomeo fonte Bona.

XVII

A LETTER OF Fr ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Chandragiri, November, 8th, 1607)

M[to] R[do] in Chro Prẽ nro

Pax Chro.

L ano passato scrissi à V P e li diedi noua di esta missione dil regno di Bisnagá nella quale mi ritrouo p ordine di V P com molta consolat[e] dell anima mia, sperãdo nel Signore di finire i miei pochi ani, che mi restano di uita in qsta missione s i miei molti peccati no me i impediranno Doppo che sto in qsto Chãdregui, che sono gia 10 mesi, battelai quatro, il primo de quali è um figliuolo di 12 ani il qual ha prese tat odio a quest Idoli che fa ( ) e confonde tutti qsti letterati e mi dà moltiss cosola A detto sto catechizando 8 p battearli questo natale col fiume diuino, e cosi andaremo facẽdo a poco à poco quello che po tremo, aiutati della diuina gratia. e spero che doppo i pochi uerrano molti Jome ne sto solo in qsto Chãdregu II P Belchor Coutigno et il frllo Pittore Bartholomeo fontebona, se ne

stãno in Vellur doue al presente stà il Re, se bene jia di camino p qsto Chãdregui. faciamo quello, che potiamo p dilattare nra sãta fede, sed janua clausa est, et é necess^{a}.molta gratia di Dio p poterl' aperire, il nosrro officio sarà bettere, e no cessare di battere insin' a todo isto s' apra, ma poco ualerà il nostro battere esteriore, se Dio Benedetto no batte interiormẽte co le sue diuine inpsirati, como speriamo nella sua diuina misericordia, che farà. Jo he fatto un mappa molto grãde in lingua badagà co una longua dichiarat^{e}. nella stessa loro lingua ditt^{e}. le parti, prouicie, regni, e città pricipali di tt^{o}. il mudo e lo diede al Re, il quale resto stupito. feci ãche un breue tratato del numero, monumẽti, distãze, e grossezze de cieli. e lo diedi pur anche all' istesso Re, il quale lo uolse udir' a legere co molta attet^{e}. in presẽza di tt^{i}. i suoi letterati, i quali restorono co la bocca aperta uedẽdo la grãde differẽza che n' è tra la nra dottrina, e la loro, e la uerità della nra, e la falsitè de la loro. e cosi pian piano andaremo facẽdo uarie cose co la gratia diuina p alletarli piu in isto modo alle cose di nra sãta fede. Piaccia al Signore illuminarli gl'intelletti accio che si saluino, tutti No m' occurre pa detto, se no dimãdar humil^{te} la sua sãta beneditt^{e}. Di Chãdregui città del regno di. Bisnaga alli 8. di nouẽbro 1607.

D. VP

Indignisso^{o}. figlio in Chro

Ant^{o}. Rubino.

XVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr, JOAO ALVAREZ

(Vellore, November 11th, 1607.)

Causarão m^{to}. sentim^{to}. as nouas q̃ o anno passado escreuimos das dezauenças q̃ ouve antre este Rei e a cid^{e} de são Thome, da paixão q̃ tomãra polla queima de sua fortaleza, e pollo conseguinte de nossa estada na mesma tr^{a}. ate auer comodid . pera tornarmos esta. Mudouse esta tempestade em bonãca, pq̃ depois q̃ soubemos estar aplacado segundo nostra em mandar hu nouo adigar e gouernador a São Thome, tirando dali aquelle q̃ com a morte do portugues fora causa das inquietacoes passadas, viemos emtão p cà em Janeiro o Irmão Bertolameu fontebona e eu, entre as mais cousas que demos de presente al Rei, asertou de uir hua Bacia de bollo de doce q̃ tinha Ido ao Coleg^{o} na festa de JESV, hera obra

engenhosa hu pilicano, e os f^os^ entao lho disse eu na lingoa que ate antão os moradores do São Thome estauão como mortos por não terẽ por si a graça de S.A Depois q̃ Como pai mostrara do peito ( ) q lhes, tornarão Como f^os^ a uiuer a semelhança dequella aue eti festejou isto pq̃ são homẽs de Comparacoes. Apresentei o Irmão disendolhe como vieia de longo mandado por N P gerão p pintar a uista de S A estimou isto m^to^ pedio logo ao Irmão q̃ lhe mostrasse algua Cousa de sua mão não tinha por emtão mais q̃ os 2 retratos de nossos BB PP quando el Rei os uios, ficou pasmado não pode crer q̃ o Irmão os fizera, a que lhe eu disse ser testemunho perguntou se a sua uista poderia faser ou tros Como aquelles respondeo que sim possẽ efeito nu painel grande por sua ordẽ os foi debuxando gostando o Rei de uer a ligereza com que o Irmão o fasia quando foi a pintura em obra de hora e m Repatou o Rosto do B P Ignacio ficou pasmado el Rei e indose pa dentro lhe mandou logo hu Rico pano dourado ao modo de suas honrras custa madas foi cotinuãdo com a pintura e com esta ocasião lhe fomos disendo as principãis cousas e maraiulhas, e uirtudes do B P ignacio i do B P fr^co^ os quais folgaua m^to^ de ouuir e ficara os sus conhecidos nesta Corte este dous S^tos^, queirão ser intersessores p sua conuersão fez tambe o seu retratoe com ser elle e si m^to^ graue todauia pera este efeito se mudou do seu lugar e pos no q̃ hera mais conforme p o irmão o ir Retratando—Depois tambẽ a sua uista, e petição fes hu painel de Virgẽ N Senora com seu Diuino f^o^ nos peitos e da outra parte o s^to^ menino Bap^ta^ e detras o s^to^ Josept comforme a estampa q̃ tinha uista ficou o painel perfeitiss^o^ e esta posto nu alto de fronte do lugar onde cada dia el Rei fala com os seus, ou le com os bramenes letrados, os quais lhe quisera diser que p^a^ que era estar ali aquelle painel f^os^ pollos xpãos eti. a o q̃ Respondeo o Rei esta alcatifa em que eu estou asentado e uos tambem, não ueola das tr^as^ delles pois porque se estamos nela não pode estar ali aquelle painel esse veludo de uos tendes na Cabeca essa Culaya q̃ he a seu modo Gal teiras não ueo tambe de sua tr^a^ ? m^tos^ outros passos ouue semelhantes em que mostrou o amor q̃ nos tem. Como foi hu em que estando falando com o Se tatachare q̃ emtre elles he como Sumo Sacerdote diante de quem o Rei estira por tr^a^ postoque que he indigno Deste officio por seus vicios. foi o Re louuando os p^es^ de serẽ Sanlaces religiosos e castos a o que o tatachare como ministro do Diabo Respondeo se os p^s^ são Religiosos porque resão comẽ carne ? ainda q̃ comẽ carne, disse o Rei, todauia são castos, e não tem molheres Resposta que se a elle quisesem tomar por al, lhe quadraua

mto. bem, porque tem mtos em caza, e he daquelles que engolião o camello em xotando os mosquitos—outro dia se oferesceo larga pratica de cousas de Ds q̃ el Rei foi ouuindo mto. de uagar os 10. Mandamtos. e a explicacão delles, disendo o noso lingoa tratando do pro. Como so auia hu Ds verdro , e todos os mais herão Diabos, calouse El Rei nada Disse. porẽ os bramenes lhe dizião p. que era ouuir isto? ao que Respondeo que hera couza boa e era bem ouuila—tambem se alegrou mto. de uer os liuros de Imagẽs q̃ o Irmão lhe mostrou specialmte.o do pe nadal uendo huã ẽ huã todas as folhas perguntando meudamte. o q̃ hera, e folguando de ouuir tão altos mistos. e pque o seu mestre bramene quis embicar nos da paixão sendo hu daquelles a q̃ S, Paulo dizia que parecia stultitia o nosso lingoa o foi conuencendo com histas. de seus falsos tão indignos de Diuinide. e lhe declaramos como aquelo era extremo de amor o que Deus humanado chegou por nas saluar. E Rei ouuia tudo e calauasse, não se tomãdo de ouuir falar mal de seos idolhos e pagodes. Deus os alumie e todos p que se saluẽ—a o presente a sua petição lhe uai o Irmão pintando em laminas E são infinitos os louuores q̃ tem deto do Irmão.—Deixo outras couzas e cazos particulares que aqui acontecerão, porque por extenso o puzemos nos apontamentos q̃ aqui forão p carta annua—Em Chandrigri esta o pe. Anto. Rubino fazendo mto. seruico a Deos, o Pa. e o Irmão ca Ambos mto. uirtuosos continuamte. me emfundẽ tem o pe. Baptizado algus e uay seguindo o selho e feruor do bom pe. Frco. Ricio q̃ Deos tẽ Ca ueo o pe Antonio Rubino e uisitar a El Rei dandolhe de presente hu mapa escrito en letras Badegas e ali huã descripcão por extenso dos Reinos principaes, e dos 4 elementos, e dos doze Ceos q̃ folgou mto. de ouvir ler, e preguntou mtas. couzas curiosas de mathematica o que o Pe Respondeo excelentemte., Estes dias teria o pe. que fazer com o cometa q̃ apareceo ẽ outubro p aparte do ponente mouendose ad motum primi mobilis, aja Deos misericordia de nos, e deste Reino q̃ esta perdendo da uida del Rei ja mte velho, e con mtos sobrinhos q̃ pretendẽ soceder...

De Velur 11 de nouembro de 607. De. V. R. indigno em Christo filho.

Belchor. Coutinho.

XIX

A LETTER OF Bro BARTOLOMEO FONTEBONA TO Fr JOAO ALVARES

(Velore, November 11, 1607)

Pax xpi

Queria escreuer a V R algumas nouas deste Rey de bisnaga mas como sube que o p[e] Belc[or] Cout tinha escrito a V R, e dado relação de tudo não tocarei nisto senão dando nouas demim, e de minha saude A Deos louuores, estou ao presente neste Velur jontamente com o p Belchior Cout ocupandome em pintar alguãs cousas cada dia no paço diante do Rei oqual mostra tanto gosto em uer me pintar q[to] q̃ eu tenho desejo de lhe dar gosto porque he hu Sor de grande respeito, prudencia, intendimento Como qualquer coropeo, E mostranos tanto amor que he espanto Muito curioso de praticar de nossas cousas, e imparticular de Nossa sancta fé Como V R sabera nas carta anoas q̃ o p[e] la mãda Desta Residencia, e Nos tem tanto amor e respeito e nos homrra que os seus vassalhos espantão Como foi em particular hu dia estando eu doente soubi q̃ o Rei auia de sair fora do paço fui a uisitar antes q̃ saisse, e saido pera fora me opresentei diante dandolhe de minha mão hu vidrianto Cheyo de Agoa Rosada parou, e tomou o vidro na mão & comecou a praticar Comigo disendo Como eu estaua m[to] magro e amarilho e ou nas palauras mostrando sentimento de minha doença. O dia seguinte indo correguandome mais a doença fuime nec[o] ir p São Thome p me curar aonde estiue quasi dous meses, e a doenca hera do fasti(go) m[to] grande Sobindo o Rei que eu não mi lhoraua nada mandoume hu regimento como me auia de curar, e soubimos tambẽ q̃ uiyo por uia da Rainha. Depois de sanar tornei p[a] este Velur comecei a pintar hu painel duã N Snora donde sobre a mesma Imagẽ pasarãose m[tas] praticas Como o p[e] Bh[or] Cout[o] tera escrito e fasendome m[tas] ofere cim[tos] de dadiuas mas como o proul nos proibio q̃ não tomas semos dr[o] nao quisemos aceitar donde ficou tam espantado que pubricam[te] disia parate os seus gra[des] q̃ nunca lhe pedimos nada e sindo q̃ esta gente he tam inclinado a pedir q̃ he cousa pasmosa. tambem tenho feito ao Rei alguãs pinturas em laminas em particular du *Saluadr* e *N Snora* que *tinho* f[e] p mim p[a] dar algum padre leuamos lhe a mostrar folgou m[to] de uer e leuou p[a] dentro a mostrar a Rainha, e nunca mas tornou soubemos depois q̃ o tinha guardado num Caixão. donde tem as suas joyas m[to] bem cubertas e cada dia o tiraua

fora olhando m^to^ tempo por ellas queira aquelle mesmo Snor e Senora que tudo pode, abrirlhe os olhos do coração p^a^ que lho reuerencie e adore como o merecẽ. a o presente disem q̃ o Rei fas faser Duas manilhas douro com pedrerias p^a^ me dar q̃ he aos seus modos faser grande honrras dar manilhas, joyas Culares o outras cousas semelhantes. estou agora fasendolhe outra lamina diante delle que me pidio q̃ lhe fisesse porque me queria uer pintar cousas pequenas, por isto peço a V R q̃ me mande algum pinceis daquelles pequeninos q̃ sejão m^to^ bos. Diserãome q̃ uinha hu irmão pintor framẽgo m^to^ bom com oqual folguei porque hira acabando a Igreja Noua de Caza professa q̃ eu tinha comecada que si se acabar a de ser hua das bellas Igrejas q se poça uer mas duuido que se acabara tam depressa por que a obra he tão grande que não podera acabar hu so em quinza anos. não mos faltão enfad^o^ m^tos^. e perseseguicoes. Deos seja aquelle que ponha a mão na sua obra porque os homẽs do mudo parece que la querẽ mais apagar q̃ manter não me estenderei mais Nisto porque o sabera mais meudam^te^. Encomẽdo m^to^ a VR o meu Irmão, e o ajude fazerlhe dar algua obra boa pq̃ sei q̃ o sabera fazer perfeitam^te^ como qquer outros. não se ofrece mais Destas partes. Rogo m^to^ a VR. que me encomende a o p^e^ Joseph de fano, e a todos os p^e^ e Irmãos e emparticular a o Irmão Juliano pasagnano a la su deuota oraciom. nos sanctos sacrif^os^, e deuotas oracoes de De V R m^to^ me encomẽdo. de Velur aos onse de Nouẽbro de 1607.

Minimo Seruo em xpo de V R

+

I BARTOLOMEO FONTE BONA

XX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVIA

(*Cochin, November 20th, 1607*).

Nas Residencias de Bisnagá se uay contimuando co a couersão, q̃ o bo P. Fr^co^. Ricio tinha comẽçado, e o p. Antonio Rubino em Chandrigry tẽ ja feito algus xpãos de nouo, como elle escreuera a V P. E pera o p. Belchor Coutinho fallar, e tratar as cousas de nossa s^a^. fè co el Rey, foy grande meo o Ir. Pintor Fontebona, q̃ he a el Rey e a todos muy aceito, e uiue là co m^ta^. edificação e exemplo, e merece p sua m^ta^. bondade tudo. A my pareciame poderia ajudar na

qlles Reynos muito mais se fosse jutam" Sacerdote, elle sabe latim q̃ basta verdade he q̃ nuca elle me fallou nisto nẽ directe nẽ indirecte, nẽ nhua outra pessoa p elle, nẽ exerguey nelle q̃ disto tiuesse imaginção nhua mas eu som cuidey nisto ha ja algus anos, p me parecer fara co isto m mais serviço a Nosso Sor, e na Prouin cuido não auerà disto nhum escandalo nos outros Ios coadjutores p estar elle na qlles terras tã separado dos outros, e co tã differente ministerio, e não seberẽ por uentura em q̃ estado seja recebido na Com Se a V P parece bẽ mandar esta licença, pera my tenho serà pera gloria de Nosso Sor, e mayor bẽ dqllas almas

Al P Roberto Nobili mandamos p' a Residencia de Madure agora faz ano e meo, pera se perfecoar na lingoa dqllas partes e prouarmos se se podia dar algu principio a algua conuersão na qlles Reynos

Cochim 20 de Nouebro de 607

D V P

Inutil filho e S" em Chro

+

Alberto Laercio

XXI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ANTONIO VICO TO Fr PIETRO ANT SPINELLI

(*Cochin December 9th, 1607*)

Il Re di Bisnagà ogni giorno piu s affectio na alle cose di Dio et da licenza a nri che si deuidono i altre città del suo Regno di Cocci li 9 di xmbro. 1607

D V R. Seru idigni i Cho.

Ant Vico.

XXII

LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR 1604-1606.

(*1607*)

Ex his (*Nayaks of Madura Tanjore and Jinji*) Gingensis qui proxime regiam ditionem attingit regnum in alios minores Naiches sub-diviserat. Horum unus cui Lingama naiche nomen est, paucarum urbium dominus, adeo divitiis pollebat ac viribus, ut Gingensis ac Bisnagrensis impetum

sustinere se posse ratus, fisus Volurensis arcis munitionibus, diu neutri parere voluerit.

Itaque Rex Bisnagrensis Adelaraio suo (is est dux exercitus maximus) dederat in mandatis ut rediens in hyberna Ciandegirinum, Volurum inopinatam aggrederetur. Adelarayus non procul ab ea urbe cum exercitu iter habens, prima nocte aberrase se ab itinire simulans, cum tatam noctem maxima celeritate praecurisset, non potuit tamen ante lucem Velurum ita cum omni exercitu opprimere, ut detectis portis exclusus et globorum ferreorum imbre e tormentis exploso, moenibus amotus non sit. Dous menses, ruente imbribus coelo, sine ulla spe urbis potiundae, Velurum obsedit. Cum ecce tibi quadam die duobus adelarai militum praefectis qui Lingamanaiche amicitia, nescio etiam an sanguine conjuncti erant, Velurum ad colloquium ingressis, in reditu Linguamanaiche urbanitatis ergo, amicos extra portas deducens, ab adelarai militibus capitur, atque in castra vinctus adducitur, ibique amicis custodiendus traditur. Qui ubi evadendi spem sibi praereptam vidit, astu atque cuniculis rem aggreditur. Adelaraium oneratum promissis ut liberet obsidione Velurum hortatur, viginti leches post discessum se daturum pollicitur, quindecim auri, et quinque gemmarum et margaritarum, (continet autem Lechis pagodes centum millia, qui sunt nummi aurei nostrates centum quinquaginta millia) Adelaraius Lingamanaichis dolos odoratus, litteras ad regem mitti quibus eum Velurum evocabat, nunc esse tempus, aiens, at regium erarium adimplendi, et suae ditionis fines addita urbe munitissima porrigendi. His litteris Rex, qui antea ad exterrendo Naiches Ciandagrino fuerat, regressus cum infinita prope militum, aliorumque hominum multitudine, magnoque elephantorum numero, Velurum versus castra movit, quinto idus Januarias anni 1604 January 9th. Eo ubi pervenit, militum ducumque acclamationibus ac militari plausu exceptus, Lingamanaichem qui se ad pedes regis abjecerat, bene sperare jussit, tum Lingamanaichis filiis qui tormentorum explosionibus Regem ab ingressu arcis arcebant, ut arma ponerent, imperavit. Tunc Rex cum Regina urbem ingressi in regia Laingamanaichis e marmore, auro, gemmisque distincta, opere Corinthio, commorati sunt. Totus que in eo rex positus erat ut viginti Leches, quos promiserat Lingamanaichis exprimeret, Sub idem tempus, ineunte scilicet Februario, P Franciscus Ricius Regem ut inviseret ageretque cum eo quaedam negotia, ad Regem Velurum se contulit, a quo perhonorifice exceptus, atque per quatuor menses retentus est , diutiusque

remansisset nisi quodam Regis simulato Chandagrinum regressu deceptus praecurrisset

Non multo post tempore P Belchior Coutinho, recuperandae valetudinis gratia quam amiserat, S Thomae venit ibique mansit usque ad mensem Augustum quo tempore P Provincialis eo Regem Bisnagrensem Patresque tam S Thomae quam Candragiri visurus appulerat S Thomae P Provincialis paululum commoratus, quinto idus septembris exornatus muneribus quae Regi daturus attulerat, videlicet Elephantus quem dono a Rege Jaffnapatano acceperat, cane venatitio aliisque munusculis, Patribus Rectore Belchioro Coutinho, et Emmanuele Fonseca comitantibus Velurum iter aggreditur, atque ex itinere Puley veterem Patrum Collegii S. Thomae amicum ut viseret, Canjiverano transire decreverat. Hic est qui Superioribus annis P Francisco Martino nostri Collegii Rectore, cum a Rege Tangiaorio oppido S Thomae fuisset praefectus, captus Nostrorum praesertim Rectoris consuetudine ejusque sanctitatem admiratus, ex Regiis vectigalibus quae cives S Thomae Tangiaorio solvebant quotannis trecenos nummos aureos quibus nunc victitent Patres, in annos singulos Patribus regio nomine donaverat.

Hic P Provincialis iter subodoratus certis locis qua Pater erat transiturus ut eum omni apparatu exciperent, sibi conjunctissimos quosque disposuerat. Prima itaque die cum Patres pervenissent Conducturum a Puley sororis filiis per honorifice excipiuntur Altero die pervenerunt Canjiveranum, quae arx est munitissima Tanjaorii magnificentissimi fane celebritate longe lateque maxime inclyta quam arcem et alios amplius centum pagos Puley supra 40 annos administrat. Qui P Provinciali aliquot leucas e sua familia virum nobilissimum obviam miserat, officii causa, et ut ad se spe eorum adventus exhilaratus deduceret tum ipse sub nocte duobus militum milibus circumseptum totidem ad arcis custodiam relictis egressus est extra portas in planitiem satis amplam ibique duarum horarum spatium substitit missis identidem exploratoribus qui scirent ac de Patrum itinere eum certiorem facerent, ac funalibus (nox enim iter habentes oppreseram Ubi pervenere, Pule senio facieque venerabilis, majoriqt) dignus imperio e suorum agmine procedens taedariue funaliumque luminibus noctem superantibus in P Provum alis aliorumque complexus humanissimus ruit, iis benevnclo tiae argumentis quae quivis Europaeus a sui amantmalo christianae Reipublicae principe posset optare

Post mutua salutationis officia, Patres domum suam amplam atque magnificam deduxit, in ejusque parte accomodationi, quam aulaeis tapetibusque constriverat atque ornaverat, collocavit. Ibi tres dies Patres subsistere coegit, quibus ea suae erga Patres Societatis propensae voluntatis argumenta dedit, ut plura aut majora ab alio Societatis studiossissimo expectare non possis.

Canjiverano Patribus Vellurum contendentibus, Rex qui de adventu fuerat certior factus, cujusdam pagi viri nobilissimi domum qui in arce Vellurensi, juxta domos regias habitabat jussit ornari, in quam deducti Patres, illico a Regia familia visitantur, eorum salutem ab eis nomine regio sciscitatura. Tum Ramana sororis regiae filius, nostrorum studiosissimus, per aulicos ac familiares suos Patres invisit, eisque cibaria opipare de sua mensa, uti Patribus Nicolao Levanti atque Francisco Ricio antea fecerat, missurum se dicit. Cui cum respondisset P. Provincialis Patribus comitibusque suis domi velle se cibos parare, tum ille verveces atque gallinas in magna copia, necnon butyrum et orizam aliaque cibaria, nondum parata, et paulo post aprum quem ejus frater ex venatione attulerat, misit ad nostros, tum ipse venit, eisque benevolentiae significationes exhibuit ut eorum *familiaritate diutissime usus videretur.*

Altero die Rex suos P Provincialem misit viserent, ab eoque sciscitarentur quando ad eum ingredi vellet. Quibus respondit Pater se elephantem qui Conjiverani, ut paulum quiesceret substiterat, expectare, qui ubi pervenit Pater significavit Regi, qui Optimatem qui illi est a secretis, Patrum amicissimum, cum magno comitatu misit, accitum quocum Patres ex hedris vecti venerunt ad valvas regiae. Descendit Rex in atrium ad excipiendum P. Provincialem, atque una ut videret elephantem canemque venaticum et alia quae attulerat. Tum secum deduxit in aulam sedemque in sella regia Patrem, sui Regni principibus stantibus in peristromati, apud se sedere jussit, a quo P. Provincialis petit ut alios etiam Patres sedere juberet, quod et fecit. Accepit hic P. Provincialem humanissime, maximis verae benevolentiae argumentis. Cumque Pater abeundi facultatem, eo quod tempus Coccinum redeundi ad accipiendas litteras ex Lusitania advenerat, peteret, nunquam sivit, addens nec Rgem Bisnagrensem nec Societatis Provincialem Praepositum decere, eum in primo statim congressu demittere. Ad haec habere se dicebat quiddam magni momentii tractandum, quod in praesentia tractari non poterat. Itaque illi perendiae condicit. Condita die adfuit Pater,

sed tanta in Regem moles negotiorum irruit audiendi, nam que fuere legati Mogorenses, Idalcani, Gingenses, Tanjaorenses, ac Madurenses, aliaque tot negotia gravissima super venerunt, ut non nisi sub noctem intempestam potuerit Patres audire, quos ubi hilare excepit, remotis arbitris, P Provinciali ad aurem per interpretem significavit se ad novum Proregem Indiae, qui eo tempore sperabatur, mittere vele legatos, renovandae firmandaeque cum Lusitanis amicitiae causa, sed eos sine P Rectore ab se nolle dimittere itaque se etiam atque etiam rogare ut P Rectori eundi cum suis legatis facultatem in scriptis relinqueret Cui P Provincialis respondit cum Proregis adventus certi nuntii venissent tum se ea de re concilium capturum Subdidit Rex post istos nuntios, quis hic erit qui Rectori det facultatem eundi ? Nunc necessarium capiendi consilium tempus esse postea neutri integrum fore. Tunc Pater Regis postulata concessit quibus ille laetus Patri Rectori voce ut omnes audirent Goam, inquit cum legatis eundi facultatem habes, atque ita P Provincialem officiis muneribusque cumulatum dimisit

Hinc profecti Patres, relicto apud Regem Veluri P Belchiore Coutinho, venerunt Ciandegrinum, ubi P Franciscum Ricium senio meritisque venerabilem, Badagarum linguae morum ac religionum peritissimum, in excolendis Neophytis ethnicorum sectis evertendis, X — religione propaganda, occupatum invenerunt

Illud etiam ad rem Xnam plurimum facit, nobilium puerorum schola Badagarum litteras sub ethnico praeceptore, nostris sumptibus nostrorumque moderamine discentium Decet praesertim varias canciunculas Jesu et Mariae laudes continentes, quibus teneri aetati sensim sine sensu X pietas instillatur

Nunc Vellurum cogor reverti atque inde Regem P Coutinho Chandegrinum deducer Fuit Pater Veluri, Patrum Xnorumque causas agens, regemque omnibus officiis delinitum ahabens a mense septembri usque ad Maium quo tempore Rex cum a Lingamanaichi magnum gemmarum ac margaritarum numerum expressisset, eum arce Velurensi spoliatum Ciandegrinum duxit in triumpho, de quo ipsius P Coutinho ad Patrem Provincialem libet attexere

' Perrexi tandem (quod Dei benignitas fuit) in columis Chandegrinum quamvis ut in maximis calori bus fessus via, sed itineris molestiam comitum infinita

multitudo levabat, quorum aliqui, ut omittam pedites innumerabiles, essedae, alii equis et bobus, alii elephantibus bini vel terni vehebantur. Me quamvis uno die Rex praecessisset, tum eum antequam urbem ingrederetur, consecutus sum, nec enim ingredi voluerat, antequam Tripiti in celeberrimo fano, uti ante decessum voverat voti religione se solveret. Sexto itaque Calendas Junias * quatuor post ortum solis horis, hac pompa in urbem invectus est. Viam quã, per urbem mediam, erat transiturus, aulaeis ac festa fronde visendam, arcus etiam in magno servii variis coloris vestiti terni certo inter spatio dispositi plurimum ornabant Regem, praeter instrumenta bellica, tam ex aere cavo, quam tympana et classica et praeter alia signa quamplurima, regium vexillum in quo ex auro leo et piscis depicti significant eum terra marique dominari Praeibant equites multi, ipseque Obraias, Regis socerus, aliique regni proceres auro gemmisque pellucidi. Ipse Rex una cum Connanaichi elephante pulcherrimo, croco toto corpore et capite, feoribusque ornato quem oloserico et culcita serica auro intertesta in qua ipse sedebat, gemmis ac margaritis contectus vehebatur. Non usus est corona regia quam habet maximi ponderis et pretii. Quidam ideo eum non uti ea corona dictitant, quod alii Reges statim ac capiti eam imposuerunt, morte immatura sublati sunt, alii ideo eam neque ad similes trimphos adhiberi autumant, quod nonnisi recuperatis regnis quae à superioribus regibus Mauri detraxerunt eam in triumpho Regem Bisnagrensem ferre mereatur. Cum ita in triumpho veheretur, hilares oculos benevolentiae indices, circumquaque in subjectam conjiciens multitudinem, forte nos vidit pompam spectantes, nobisque arridens, tum ad Cinnanaichem conversus, nosque ostendens, nescio quid cum eo est collocutus. Credo equidem Regem aspectu P. Francisci exhilaratum, quem jamdiu videre cupiebat. Nos praetereumtem usque ad Regiam secuti, iterum eum ex elephante descendemtem vidimus. Hic Rex in aura sella ab Adelaraio urbis praefecto, ut mos est munus accepit. Tum alii proceres Regem venerati discedebant. Nos etiam accessimus et quidem P. Franciscus Ricius ei cyathum e vitro inauratam quem ad id servaverat, obtulit, atque ita domum revertimus." Haec P. Belchior Coutinho.

Patres ad Bisnagrensem Principem uti superioribus annis praescriptum est, inopia mittendorum, nondum iverunt. Instat tum quotidie importunis litteris nec ullum finem facit

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* May 27th.

evocandi, et Provincialis, cum essot Ciandigirini ci Patres se propediem missurum promisit, sed nondum stetit promissis, quia quos mittat cum maxime cupit, non habet. Unas ipsius Principis ad Patres Chandagirinenses litteras opponam, et hanc residentiam absolvam

'Anno Subaratutii mense decimo decimo post plenilunium die Litterae Trimalaragi, Ramaragi filii, maximi principis ragi inter ragios datae ad Patres Ciandagrini Accepi vestras litteras quas mihi per vestrum Tagium misistis easque abscondi in praecordis Accepi etiam munera omnia gavisus sum vos de meo istuc adventu apud regem et principes regni studiose agisse Vos cum hac Goam iter haberetis dixixtis vos huc ad commorandum propediem venturos Miror nondum venisse Veniant, oro, ne morentur Cetera meus legatus ore ad os loquetur

XXIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(*Vellore, October 11th 1608*)

Pax Christi

O anno passado escreui a V P as nouas destas partes mas como quera q as naos forão de Goa, e nehua de Cochin pode ser q as cartas ficarião em Cochim pera onde as encaminhe e q este anno não. Nestas darei nouas do mais q este anno acaesçeo e encaminhoas p Goa por terra, pera q não foça da ficarẽ como as outras. Estamos de saude Deus seia louuado aqui en Velur o irmao Bertolameo fonte boa e eu e em Chandregri o Pe Antº Rubino, onde faz mto seruiço a Deus ( ) E posto q algus delles se desgarrarão por varios seruos dos mesmos gentios, todauia ao menos fica sempre aqlle cazal de ( ) he nomeado q sempre se mostrou alegre firme e perseverante ne fee, ( ) ven serue Ca en Velur temos tambẽ outra familia daqllas em Chan(dregri) bautizadas e pcuro o q posso de os mouer o q sabem ( ) q ( )rao e continuar alegria, etc. De nouo este anno bautizei hu uelh(o) dia de N Sa da assumçao he de 100 annos, e dizẽ q não adorava os idolos (mas) hu so Deus q lhe demos a conhecer como fez S Paulo aos areopagitas. E po(r quem) dantes sospiraua mto pollo bautismo ao dia q tinhamos conçertado ( )

e assim o bautizei, sendo padrinho hum mercader portuguez q ueo aqui uender esmareldas a este R(ei) ..

As mais nouas deste Reino são q o Rei este anno passado em ianeiro abalou daqui e foi a Ginga q está daqui 2 dias de caminho e ( ) foi q tendo ido seus capitães diante a conquistar as terras do Naique de Ginga porq tardaua na paga do tributo e indose acercando a fortaleza, quis Deus castigar aqlle Naique q nella estaua como hu epicuro e brutal nao tendo menos q mil molheres dentro no paço, e sese deixara estar na fortaleza, ningue podera co elle porq he quasi inexpugnauel, çeguro a paixão sahio fora contra os capitães do Rei, e os seus co medo o desenpararão e foi ( ) ficando o ditto Naique catiuo, a quẽ dando as orelheiras, a quẽ as (joyas) do peito porq. o nao matassẽ. foi a uictoria dia de IESV *como depois dissemos ao mesmo Rei, e a meia noite veo cà a noua roando, ( ) El Rei e foi a Ginga, o Naique catiuo se lhe deitou aos pees, e por meo da Rainha, e seus irmãos se concertou a lhe pagar 60 ( ) mil cruzados, e p^{a}. á Rainha largar a fortaleza de Cauaripa(tão) aqui perto, e co isto se recolheo outra uez o Rei cà p^{a}. Vel(ur) e o Naique de Ginga sentido da perda de sua renta e de seus elephantes ( ) foise como da çere perigrino a Cirangã hu seu pagode dizendo q não queria mais do mando etc. mas os 2 Naiqu(es) seus amigos o de Madure e Tangior lhe derão m^{tas}. dadiuas e fizerão q tornasse p^{a}. seu estado o qual possue —Este (anno) ueo o P. Prou^{al}. da costa da pescaria a uisitar esta, e ( ) a S. Thome onde o P^{e}. a todos nos consolou. .T(ambẽ) ueo a S. Thome o nouo Bispo mandado por S. S^{de}. e por S. (M^{de}.) E o P. R^{tor}. lhe fez m^{to} gazalhado ẽ nossa caza na qual (esteue), e dalli por onde do P^{e}. foi leuado a pee co m^{ta}. (honrra) e festas de danças, folias, disos, por arcos, etc —Corre (sua) amizade co nosco Todas estas materias deixo p^{a}. os P^{es}. q (naqllas) partes residẽ. E torno a estas ẽ q estamos Poucos (dias ha) q os Naiques de Tangior e Madure mandarão ao Rei seu tri(buto) de 500. mil cruzados e m^{a}. uaried^{e}. de psentes de ( )-p^{a}. receber isto se poz de festa todo ẽ si cheo de (ouro) e pedraria. e no aroia q tinha no peito de q. ( ) ual 100 m(il) cruzados, assistimos a este acto, por priuilegio e licença do Rei, (o qual) sempre se mostra amigo, posto q ha m^{to}. q não se nos paga a (renta) nos te ordenado, p. a qual agora lhe pedimos os ( )tos en olas, queirão ( ) outra paga q os Naiques lhe hão de fazer. queria Deus q decess( )pois o P^{e}. R^{o}. (q se e não outro poderia

*January 1st,

dazela) estes annos ( ) sua industria o m^te charid — tambẽ o irmão esta disgostozo p(orque) o Rei não differe a pintura, e telhe pmetido m^tas cousas de ( ) o monil has, etc. ẽ tudo sahio mintirozo como o ho estados es( ) assim q dantes era tão liberal q̃uando menos p^r Chandregri ( ) posto a privazou a Rainha aso feito tão escaçeo ou esto o fica co ( ) q todo mundo se queixa desto parentes seus, e soldados, etc n( ) chamar p cà nẽ ouvir falar a Trimalarayu o Principe, o qual de(sde Ciran)—gapatão onde esta, sempre nos escreue olas e nos chama e mostra por escrito (a) mesma amizade q ẽ presença mostrou quando nos agazalhou in(do) p Goa co os embaixadores desto Rei E a mesma nos mostrou co seu sogro e ( ) q he a caza q ha de montar m^to no tpo de seu gouerno Fizemos este anno as festas do natal co hu lindo psepio

De Madure tera V P nouas daqlla mi são, naqual não ha q notar mais q o grande fto co q o P Ruberto e tanta adificação se entrega alli ao servico de Deus disfarçado etc. q no mais he como cà e nẽ tanto ainda, pois he gente peior

De Velur 11 de outubro de 608.

De V P Minimo f em Christo

BELCH^r COUT^o

XXIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERCIO TO Fr JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, November 20, 1608)

Pax Chri

Quatorze naos partirão na fim de Marzo passado de Lisboa pera estas partes co o Visorei o Conde da Feria, co m^tos mil soldados q̃ se chegarão todas estas naos e gente fora o remedio da India, e alevatara este estado cabeça, q̃ esta quasi todo perdido co estes anos do gouerno do Arcebispo frade e co tantas naos Olandesas quãtas estes anos andão passeando p estes mares do Oriente, se auer que lhe nã á mão co ellas fazerẽ q^to querẽ em tudo Mas pareco q̃ Ds não foi seruido disto, pq̃ hu galeão dos 14 appartãdose do Visorei chegou a Moçambique ẽ Agosto, onde achando huas treze naos olandezas q̃ tinhã posto de cerco a nossa ortaleza, depois de pelejar hu dia foi dellas tomado pollo

qual sabendo os olandezes q̃ vinha o Visorei atras, leuatarão o cerco, (postq̃ nelle lhes foi m.to mal, e murrerão m.tos. sẽ faser nhum mal a Fortaleza p os nossos se defenderẽ, e pelejarẽ ualerozam.te.) e se uierão p. Goa, puse na barra, onde estando, ouue nouas q̃ hua nao nossa p nome nao Oliueira da Comp.a. do Visorei tinha tabẽ chegado, e estaua seis legoas p o Norte a uista da terra, forão de Goa nauios, tirarão o dinh.o e todo o fato de cima, e antes q̃ os olandezes chegasse a ella, os nossos lhe puserão o fogo, e ardeo toda, p. os imigos se não aproueitare della, Das outras dose naos co o Visorei até oje se nao sabe noua nhua, q̃ he cousa q̃ a todos nos magoa, nẽ parece podera ja uir se não ẽ Mayo, p terẽ já começado os Leuãtes q durão estes seis mezes, Não parece isto se não castigo de Ds, q̃ ainda se não acabou, pq̃ na verdade nesta vinda do Visorei co este socorro estaua o remedio de todo este estado, seja o Sor p.a sepre louado ..

Cochin 20. de Nouẽbro 608.

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ALBERTO LAERCIO.

XXV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERCIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, December 30th, 1608.)

As Residencias de Bisnagá, onde estão os dous P.e Belchior Coutt., e Antonio Rubino E o irmao Bertolameu fontebona muy aceitos a El Rey, e a toda aquella Corte, tem feito algus Christãos, mas não tantos como desejauamos, e ainda estes este ano co a perseguiçao de hu Gouernador de Chandrigry tiuerão bem de trabalhos, e el Rey como he muito velho, postoq' tem muita bondade natural, e partes grandes com tudo, não acode, as guerras e inquietacoes q' este ano teue, tambem adjudarão a isto ...

Cochin. 30. de Dezembro de 608.

D. V. P.

Inutil f.o em x.o

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ALBERTO LAERCIO.

XXVI

LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR
1606—1607

(1608)

He Maduro cabeça dos estados do Naique oqual postoque não tenha tit do Rei, se não de capitão que isso quer diser Naique seu poder he muito grande, i tem reis tributarios sendo o ele tambem ao emperador de Bisnagar cuío capitão antes era, e seleuantou com os estados que gouernaua quando o emperador em hua rota perdio o imperio, E tornando depois recuperar parte delle, este de Madure, e os dous de Tanjaor e de Ginja lhe derão obediencia, e pagão parcas em sinal de Vassalagem porem são absolutos, e mui poderosos porque cada qual t tresentos elephantes de peleia, a fora a gente de cauallo a pee

O nouembro passado de 606 passando po aquella residencia o P^e^ provincial deixou nella o p Ruberto Nobilli por companhr^o^ do padre Goncalo frz assi pera aprender a lingoa da corte mais pollida, como porque a cansada velhice, e as doenças do padre pedião Socessor

Custumão os padres assi nesta residencia como em Chandeguerim aser escola de ler e escreuer em Badaga com mestre gentio posto por nossa mão para que se uão affeiçoando os animos tenros dos mininos aos padres e os cousas de Deos

Pertencem ao Collegio de S Thome sete da Comp .ha m^to^ annos que esta Cidade anda reuolta com bandas a modo de guerra ciuil sem te lhe poder dar remedio algum por estar em tr^a^ de Rei gentio e longe da corte e a iustiça e capitão não ter poder d armas pera prender, e castigar os malfeitores com tudo muitos males se atalharão por meio dos nossos, hua sesta fr^a^ de quaresma tratou o p pregador com tanto espirito e zello sobre os odios, e brigas que o principal de hum dos bandos que ouuio a pregação e tinha vindo com muita gente de armas, e espinguardas, se abrandou de maneira que logo determinou deixar o odio e pretendeo amisade com seo contrario como fes na Igreia Matris do Apto de S Thome restituindo cada hum todas as perdas e danos q tinha feito, e confessandose com mostras de arrependimento e emenda, ao presente não ha odios, nem brigas

Está á cidado de S. Thome nas tr . del Rei de Bisnaga, e posto q̃ os Portugueses tem capitão, e ouuidor que os gouernem, e administrem a iustiça, em outra pouoação apartado e vecinha esta hum capitão do Rei que arecada os direitos, e gouerna os gentios, hum Portugues hua noite foi co armas a sua pouoação p^a^ buscar hua moça que lhe tinha fugido, e armandose la hua briga foi morto. Os parẽtes pedirão vingança ao capitão, o qual aiuntando muita gente d'armas foi dar na fort^a^. del Rei, e porque o Adigar se acolheo, lhe pos o fogo, destruindo m^ta^. parte da povoação, e matando algua gente mesquinha, chegou a fama deste aleuantam^to^. a el rei, o qual sentio muito à fronta que lhe fiserão em lhe queimarem sua fort^a^. allegando se o Adigar tinha culpa lhe fisessem queixume que elle o castigaria. Os moradores de S. Thome areceando que o Rei mandase exercito p^a^. lhe por cerco, pedirão|ao P. Reitor Nicolao Leuanto que fosse ter com El Rei p^a^. com resoes, e presentes o aplacar, sabendo o Rei da sua vinda lhe mandou diser q̃ se queria tratar cousas dos p^es^. que leuaria muito gosto em lhe fallar, porem tratar dos negocios de Maleapor, não era resão tendo lhe feito tão graude afronta ne menos auia de recebir seus presentes, com tudo pouco a pouco se foi abrandando, e como de sua naturesa he manso, e benigno, mandou depois chamar o p^e^. e com mostras de muito amor o recebeo e concedea tudo o que pedia, tirando aquelle Adigar ou capitão da fort^a^. e pondo outro a uontade dos Portugueses...

Em Velur reside o padre Belchior Cout^o^...

Em Janr^o^. de 607 foi mandado o Irmão Bertolameu Fonte Bona.

XXVII

A LETTER OF Fr ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, September 30th, 1609.)

M^to^ R^do^ in Chro Pre nro

Pax Chri

Gl' ani passati a scrissi a VP. il stato di qsta missione del Regno di Bisnaga, do( ) mi ritrouo co gradiss^a^. mia consolat^e^. se bene l'essere la porta si chiusa al Euangello, causa non picolo dolore. Al presẽte io inteme co il frllo Bartholomeo fontebuona, che molte uolte pinge auãti il Re ho cura d' ambe due qste residenze di Vellur, e Chandregui o così sto un poco in un luogo, et un poco nell' altro. La

causa pche no tiamo dui Padri in qste due residenze, è p no tinere co che sostẽtar li, pche sono gia 6 ani, o piu ch il Re no ci paga ne ci dà un quatrino, se bene i giorne passati diede il Re al frllo la ualuta di cento scudi d oro p coprare colori Adetto dice, che li farà pagare mille scudi ma Dio sa quello che serà pche di loro si po dire p(ro)ssima, che mẽdaces filii hnum, e qui no dice bugia fra loro no è huomo Il stato della Christianità in qsto Regno e l istenso che degl ani passatti p che no battelai se no un figliolhino d eta di 4 ani che racolhi in casa co ( ) de suoi parẽti, e quelli pochi Christiani, ch abbiamo, che sono 15 dano si mal odore di se, ch io mi risolhi, à no uolhere battellare ( ) s il Sig no li chiama co particulare uocat , p che alchi defecerunt altri auãti mi si mostrano Christiani, in sua casa uiuono como Gentili No si po credere quãto chiusa sta la porta in qsto Regno alla sãta fede, e tutto cio nasse dall auuers et odio grãde che ci portano, p sapere che siumo sacerdoti delli portughesi i qqualI mangano carne di uacca beuono uinho ( ) se bene noi in qsto regno abstinemus ab iis, co tutto cio basta isto nro uestito nero p che gli fughino et abhorrischino, come la peste, e basta come diceno il sappere che suome Sacerdoti dell Portoghesi. Per far alche frutto he necsss p uestire mangare e nelle cose politiche trattare como lore in quãtu fieri potest e qsto sempre dissi al P Prouˡᵉ il quale ha animo di mãdarmi p isto Regno uestito al modo loro a un luogo oue no seja conesciuto m il no hauere ( ) ha ipeditti qesto disegno Il mutare uestiti in qeste residenze ( ) è supefluo p che ji siamo conesciuti e fora co mᵗᵒ poco frutto cosi è è necess andar in parte oue no siame conosciuti, in qsto si gran regno no mãca no V P ordene quello, che li parera piu espediente, che stãdo del modo, che stiamo, mais faremos cosa di momẽto Il Re gia no ci mostra l afetto che ci mostraua gli ani passati à psuasione di quest maladetti Bramani che sono inimici capitali della nra sãta fede de qual il Re è piu che schiauo. Le cose particulari di qsto Regno e di qsta missione, scrissi al Pᵉ Prouˡᵉ credo che lui informarà VP p qsto io le scriuo finisco co dimãdarli humilᵗ la sua sata beneditt' pregãdole che si faci raccomãdare nelli asᵗⁱ Sacrificii et oratⁱ della Compagnia Nelli asᵗⁱ Sacrificii di VP mᵗᵒ mi raccomãdo Di Vellur città del Regno di Bisnaga li 30 di Settẽbre del 1609

D V P MinimoFigliuolo nel Sigʳᵉ

ANTᵒ RUBINO.

XXVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(*Cochin, November 20th, 1609.*)

Della Missione, et Residenza di Madurè.

Accio messo si possa intender quello, che Dio N. S. si è degnato di oprar per spatio di qsti tre anni in qsta missioni di Madurè, dal mesi di Nouembre dell' anno di 606, nel quale il P. Rub^{to}. Nobili fu mandato a quella residenza, sino a qsto presenti di 609., he uoluto far qsta informatione, et perche sia piu chiara, repetivo prima in breue, quello che gia si scrisse a V. P. nelle due annue passate, dipoi andarè seguitãdo quel' che nell' anno psenti è succeduto.

La città di Madurè, che sta lontana da qsta di cochino cinquantana leghe per la terra dentro, restando nel mezzo le alte montagne, chi si chiamano il Gatte, è Metropoli delli stati, et terre del Naiche, il quall' è molto gran' signore di molte terre, uassalli, et ricchezze, et è come uno de i gran' Duchi de europa et ancor che non tenga titolo de Rè, ma solamente di capitano, che tanto ual qsta parola Naiche, tutta uia tiene molti Re tributarii, com il di Trauancor, di Manamadurè, , di Tengange et altri, essendo egli ancora tributario del Re di Bisnagà, del quale è capitano, et si ribello con li stati che governaua nel tempo, che il Rè di Bisnagà in una rotta persi l' imperio, et tornãdo dipoi a ricuperar parte di quello, questo Naiche di madurè, et li due di Tangiaor, et di Gingia gli resero obedienza, com pagargli tributo in segno di vassallaggio, ma tuttauia restarono signori assoluti, molto potenti, et di gran' forze, perche ciascun' di loro mette in campo 300. elefanti di guerra fuera della molta gent' a pie, et a cauallo.

Per causa de negotii de i Parauà com questo Naiche, che è signor della costa di Pescaria, son gia 17 anni che si fondo qsta residenza com casa, et chiesa assai buona, per dar' ancora con questo pretesto la prima luce dell' euangelio ai Badagà, i quali ben che restarono marauigliati della santità del Padre, et particularm^{te}. della sua castità, non dimeno fuorono sempre disprezzando la legge che predicaua, come legge bassa, et uile, tenendo essi in questo concetto i Parauà et nostri Padri che la stanno per esser' Potughesi, li quali sono da loro stimati per la piu uile et bassa genti del mondo. Vero è che si marauigliano, et stupescono del soa animo, et

ualore, et dell atti heroichi, et gloriosi che hanno fatto, et fanno in guerra, i quali si come fanno per fama, cossi esperimentassero nelle sue terre, il che per star molto dentro la terra non puo essere, formerano altro concetto de Portu ghesi Si marauigliano ancora delle sua richezze, liberalità, apparato, etgentilezza nel uestire. La onde intendo che la causa di formar aglino tal opinioni di Portughesi, fu il uederli beuer uino et mangiar uacca, et lasciarsi toccare, et portare in lettica da i Parià che è tra di loro genti abietta, et uilissima, la qual superstitione è in qsta gente inuiolabil, che una gente nobile non tocchi ne tratti con altra men nobili di manera che un Bramen si lasciara piu tosto morir di fame, che mangiar cosa fatta, o datagli per mano di alcuno che non sia Brameni Et per esser li gentili di Madurè venuti in questo concetto si basso del Padre che li dimoraua, in 14 anni di tempo non gli fu possibile far ne un solo xpiãno in una citta si grũde, et populosa come è Madure che diceuano che facendosi xpiãni perdevano la casta, et nobilta, et che si faceuano franghi che cosi chiamano li Portughesi et resteuano per sempre disonorati, et infami

( )trattar con quei gentili, et nuoui xpiãni et del lore feruor et molta capacita che non mi parece ragione impedir il frutto che chiaram mostraua lo Spirito S^{to} uoler oprar in qlla gentilità, et cosi gli concessi piena licenza si Sdaro alla scoperta et di dar il battes• a tutti qlli che fussero chiamati da Dio senza timore di qllo che potrebbe auenire sperãdo nell aiuto, et fauor Diu^{o} gia che Dio N S l haveua scielto por qlla impsa. Et pche penso, che riceueranno piacere di saper il modo del suo uestire, mãgiare, et trattar co quei gentili, lo discriuero qui breuemente.

Il uestito del P Rub^{to} è una ueste longa sino alle piedi qual chiamano Cabaia, di color bianco ue o il giallo sopra di qsta un come roscetto di tela piu fina del medesmo colo, et sopra il roscetto un panno o costo, e dell istesso color della cabaia qual gle ua gettato per le spalle in testa tiene un panno di tela fina bianco a modo di berretta rotonda a trauerso al collo un cordone di cinque fili tre di oro et due di fil bianco, con una croce, chi gli viene a dar nel petto Et cio fece il Padre per qsta causa, perche si come i Brameni i quai sono i loro maestri in qsta guisa portano un cordone di tre fili il qual ancore che sia principalm segno della sua stirpe, è ancora in alcuna parte segno della legge che insegnano cosi ancora uole il padre portar segno della sua legge spirituale la qual fa professione di insegnar come

publico maestro conforme al costuome della terra, perche li tre fili d' oro in un' cordone significano tre Persone diuine, et un sol' Dio, gl' altri dui fili bianchi, il corpo, et l' anima santiss^a. di xpo. N S., et la croce è chiaro segno, di passione, et morte dell' iste(so.) Di maniera che in qsto cordone professa li misterii della della santiss^a Trinità, Incarn^ne, et Redentione, Quanto al uitto il suo mãgiare, che è una sol uolta il giorno alle 22. o 23 hore, è riso, legumi, herbe, latti, et per nessun caso ha da mãgiar carne, oui, ne pesce, perche i Gurus Saniassi, che professano castità, guardano qsta legge nel suo mãgiar inuiolabilm^te., ne per nesuna necessità, o infirmità per grave che sia despẽsano in carne, che qsti gentili si burlano di quei che dicono, che si puo consomar la castità mangiãdo carne. L' habitatione del Padre, è in una strada doue habitano la gente nobile, et per acqitar' maggior credito, non esci fuora di casa, ne pmette che altri lo ueggia, ne che gli parli qualsi uoglia psona, ne in qualsi uoglia tempo, ma dipoi, di ir la 2 o tre uolte et pregar il suo interprete, che lo lasci parlar con l' Aier, che è l' istesso che Signore, et finalm^te dipoi di si uendere molto caro, conforme all' uzãza del paesi, et per maggior riputatione, essendo eglino introdutti a parlar col Padre lo trouano che sta sedendo in un' loco alquanto eminẽte, coperto con un panno rosso, e del color del vestito, auanti del quale sta distesso in terra un' altro panno rosso, et piu auanti una stoia di paglia fina, Tutti qlli che entrano, etiandio li piu nobili, et principali della corte, gli fanno riverẽza alsãdo le mani giunte sopra la testa, et dipoi abassãdole con una profonda inclinatione, et quei che uogliono esser suoi discepoli fono l' istessa ceremonia tre uolte, et dipoi si postrano in terra, et si tornano a star' in piedi. Impero il Padre la lingua Tamul piu polita et cosi ben la pronutia che gli piu periti Brameni nella lingua non gli leuano uantaggio. Sa legere, et scriuere nell' istessa lingua, et gia ha letto molti libri delle sue historie, et mandato a memoria le cose principali della sua legge, et molti uersi de i loro piu famosi, et rominati poeti, de quali essi fanno gran' conto. Impero ancora molte cansonette, le quali canta con tanta ( ) et gratia, che causa a ciaschedun' che l' ascolta, ugual admiratione, et piacere Va adesso studiãdo il guesedano, che è il latino de Brameni, et gia legge, et parla ragioneuolm^te. Piglia comunem^te occasione delle loro historie, p li confodere, et prouar che no possono esser molti Dei, ma un' solo, il quale è spirito, et non tien' corpo. gli ragiona a cosa della breuità della uita, della certezza della morte, delle pene dell' inferno, come fece particularm^te. a uno de 4.° gouernatori del Naiche, il qual

successe nello stato al suo frẽllo magior, che pochi di auanti era morto, etfu quel che dono al Padre il piano per fabricar la nuoua casa, doue adesso dimora Fu qsto signor gentile a uisitar il Padro p l amicitia che co lui teneua, et fu mezano, accio il suo frello gli desce quel piano Il Padre comincio il ragionam^{te}, con gli dom'idar che era fatto del suo frello tanto nobili, et ricco, et da tutti stimato, et honorato, il quale per non hauer conosciuto la legge, et uia della salute, staua gia penãdo nell' inferno et gli parlo di questa materia, con tanto feruor, et sp(iritu,) che il giouan non potendo r g mesce il sentimento, et uolendo ritener le lagrime, prompe in un' singulto, c(on) tanta copia di lagrime che tutta la sua gente resto stupita et marauigliata, et maggiorm^{te} il P Rub ueggendo (la) compuntione, et sentimento in un petto gentilesco et la fede, et credito che daua alle cose, che gli diceua Si parti il gioua(ne) desideroso di udir altre molte le prediche del Padre, et pigliare il sentiero della salute, et promissi di farli dipoi di concludere alcuni negotii de importanza, perche va cercãdo settanta mila scuti per dar al Naiche per l inuestitura dell stato, del suo frẽllo al quale il Naiche accrebbe altre terre, et ua essẽdo ogni giorno piu fauorito del Naiche, p esser gia uani di belle parti et anco di tante forze, che alza con li mani ( ) molto grande, et a fin di non le perdere tiene una sola moglera, il che li fara il negotio della sua conuersione molto piu ageuole

Procuro ancora il Padre, che arriuasse la notitia del euang^{o} alle signori di altre terre, et a qsto effetto mando il suo interprete per nome Giorgio, a un signore di Barraposano che è una Prouincia lontana do Maduré ( ) per la te(rra) dentro, al quale scrissi una lettera in che gli diceua, che quei solam^{te} saluar si possono, iquali cognoscono il vero Dio U(iuo) et esseruano la sua santa legge, et come egli staua appareglliarro per gli mostrat la uia che guida a la salute eterna. La resposta del gentile. La risposta del gentile migle si entendera per la copia della medesima sua lettera che cosi dice. Γissãdo gl' occhi per qlla parte doue stanno li piedi de V S il suo schiauo Ciaruaviouálèm facẽdo riuerenza sriue, Ja tutto qllo che V (S) comanda sto pronto per seruirla sempre. He receuuto una sua con grãde piacere, et festa in che me scriueua che des(i)deraua venir nelle mie terre, per m insegnare il diuino secreto et qsto fu il principal negotio che V S mi scrisse ma per si ritrouar al presenti qsta terra con molte guerre, non puol essere ma come si acquite subito mandare (a) nuoua alli santi piedi de

V. S., ei all' hora sia ella seruita di venire. Signor non riceua la sua uoluntà alcun disgusto, per gli dir, che tardi un poco in uenire, per star la terra in guerre, et morte Jo non so per qual ( ) sorte sia accaduto, uoler V. S. venir qua di tutto il successo gli mandaro de poi ragguglo con lettera.

Nella stessa forma mando una ill P. Rub[to]. al Ré di Nana madura per inuitarlo, et ueder si uolesse udir le cose pertenecenti a sua salu(atione) come haueua auanti mostrato. L' interprete fu dal Re molto ben riceuuto, et tratto con lui delle cose di Dio, mostrand(o) gran' desiderio de ueder, et udir il Padre. In risposta della lrã disse, che haueua da uenir a Madurè per uisitare il Naiche, et all' hora commodam[te] trattarebbe col Padre , et cosi lo fece, perche uenne il primo di Agosto, et tratto con i(l) Padre per mezano, et lo mando a uisitare per un sue Bramene con molti compimenti, et segni di amicitia mostrad(o) ogni di Maggior desiderio di egli stesso ir' a parlar col Padre sopra il negotio di sua salute , ma per causa di una infirmità che gli sopravenne si no a hora non l'ha potute fare. Era qsto Re anticam[te]. molto potẽte, ma hora il Naiche gli preso molto terre. E di buon ingegno, et molto desidera de si saluare. il che da grãde sperãze della sua conversione.

Fra gli xpiani che il Padre fece, uni si chiama Alessio Hatebe, come habbiamo gia ditto. Soleua la madre di qsto giouan(e) et suoi pareti en certo tempo far' alcune offerte all' Idoli , et essẽdo gia uenuto il tpo vennroe i Brameni a dima(n)darle, ma come la mdre gia staua piu affettionata alle cose di Dio, che del Dem[o] . gli mando in buona o mal' h(ora) et non gli diede cosa lacuna, del che non solam i Brameni si lamentarono, ma ancora aminaciarono, che n( ) piglie ubbero buona uendetta, et non passarono molti giorni, che senti la donna darli un gran' colpo nell coll(o) senza ueder alcuna persona, et subito si ammalo si grauem[te] che la tenniano per morta, et gia non parlaua, ne(n) faceua alcun' mouim[to] Il figiolo magiore, che ancora era gentile, corsi con molta fretta a chie derai medio al Padre, il qual gli mando il suo reliquiario per Alessio xpiãno, et ponendolo sopra il petto dell' infirma subit(o) torno en si, et lomãdo,che cosa era quella, che l' haueua touata , et finalm[te] , ricebe perfetta sanità dando gratie al Signore, che la libero dalla potestà del Dem[o] , et perche ancora l' anima restasse libera, determino di far(si) xpiãna, et a desso va imparãdo il cathechismo, Ne fu minore il mouim[to] . che fece qsto miracolo nel figlio maggiore, perche subito comincio a impara la dot-

trina et il giorno dell Assutione della B Vergine, si bath(eo, et) ua auanti con molto feruore, udindo messa ogni giorno et recitando due o tre rosarii, il che so potra uedere dal caso seguenti auanti del qual contero un altro, che prima occorsi Andaua questo giouane in mala conuerstione con una donna dalla qual decideraua la madre di staccarlo et non potẽdo per nesun modo fece uoto alla Vergina Maria, della qual gia haueua alcuna notitia, che gl infioreria la sua cappella con rose si il figlio lasciasse qlla mala occasione Fatto il uoto di tal maniera si moto il cuore del giouane, che gia mai non puose udir nominar qlla donna, il che rigognoscendo la madre per beneficio della Madonna, mando le rose alla chiesa, et gli fu qsto grande motiue per si conuertire. Il caso doque del giouanne, che poco fà diceua, fu qsto

Alle 23 di Settẽbre, giorne consecrate a un Idolo per nome Anadà cosumaua Casturu Naiche è qsti un Signor principal in corte del qual staua il giouane del qual parliamo, et si chiama Visuada digiunar, et pigliar un cordone di seta da i Brameni il qual tutto l anno portaua legato al braccio, sin che gli desseri un altro Fu Visuada al Palazzo confor me all oblige che teneua, et gli domãdarono gli Brameni si digiunaua, al che rispose che no ma c.si gli feceuano forza dicẽdo, gia che Casturu digiuna, et è deuoto de Visnu, uoi ancora lo douete essere ancorche cento di uoi altri mi pre dichino, non mi faranno gia mai far cosa contra il douersi. al Naiche nelle cose che toccano al corpo gli seruiro io di molto buona uoglia, ma nelle cose che apartengone all anima, non e egli mio signore ei si mi comãda cose alcuna contra qlla non l ho da far ber niun caso. Dissero all hora i Brameni al Naiche che non era ragione che Visuada stesse in sua casa ne uedesse mai la sua faccia, perche rinegaua gli Dei dicẽdo di piu (   ) che era molto graue peccato i mirar nella faccia di Visuada al che egli rispose anzi a mi parce che è grande peccato i mirar ne la uostra, che di certo hauete d andar a casa del Dem   ignorano che non sapete niente Occorsero molte altre particolarita nelle quali si prouo la constanza di qsto giouane, et principalmente coi nom uoler riceuere in neuna maniera il nuouo cordon di Visnu, che Casturu gli daua anzi dicẽdogli il Naiche che era di qllo dell anno passato rispose che l haueua fatto in pezzi. et git tato per terra.

Il mese di Giuglio di 608 stãdo nel principio della notte un Mahomettano con altra gente tra quali èra il xpiãno chiamato Alberto apparece al ditto mahomattano il Dem in figura humana, et il timor, con che resto ispantado ben

mostro qual qual fusse la uisione, et dicendole al christiano che lui staua, egli li fece nella fronte il segno della S^{ta}. croce, il che fatto il Dem^{o} con molta colera gli disse, con esta arma che ti diede quell' huomo ti ua bie, d' alra maniera io pigliaua hora vendetta di se domandogli il Mahomettano, di chi era quell' arma, al che rispose il Dem^{o} che era arma di Dio onnipotente, dal qual era stato creato, et il Mahomatt^{o} et egli medesimo, et cio ditto disparece.

Nell' istesse tempo entro il Dem^{o} in un gentile in psēza di molti, et arriuãdo la Alberto, in cui tutti riconosceuano poter contra il Dem^{o} lo pregauano che gli fecesse alcune interrogationi. La prima cosa che gli domando fu si qllo che il P. Rub^{o} insegnaua era uerità, et si era uero maestro. Rispose il Dem^{o} che il Padre era huomo di grande autorità et che qllo che insegnaua tutto era uverità. Demãdo di piu il xpiãno si qllo che il Padre hauu cominciato anfaria uanti al che rispose, che nel principio farebbe poco ma che dipoi di tre anni farebbe molto, et che l' impsa che haueua comincia-(to) anderebbe in grande aumento del che tutti retarono marauigliati, et bem puol' essere, che il padre de la mentiyra dicesse il uero del progresso di qsta missione, come p forza lo disse della uerità, et bontà della dottrina del Padre.

In Agosto de 608. uenne un' gentile per si catechizare di bel giuditio, et tal si mostro subito nelle cose della nra santa Fede dandogli tanto credito, che non, che non uolse mai piu por cenice nella fronte, ne conxentir che tre figlioli suoi se la ponessero, facẽdo grand' instanza al Padre che lo battizasse subito. Ma il Padre per far proua della sua costanza gli prolango il tempo. Continuo il gentile con le prediche del Padre, della quali si seruiua poi per disputar con li gentili. Cadde qsto huomo infermo, et con i figli insieme, et ume alcuni dicono entro il Dem' nel maggior di loro, et uenẽdo i Brameni con cenice per far le sue superstitioni, li butto il buon catecumeno fuora di casa et mando achiedere alcun' reimedio al Padre, dicẽdogli che qsto era inuentione del Dem^{o} ma che egli staua de(ter)minato, di piu tosto morir, che far cosa che fusse ( ) alla legge del uero Dio. Il Padre mando la Alless(o) con l' acqua benedetta, ei con l' euãg^{o} di S Jiou^{e} scritto, con la qual medicina se gli fu la febre, et restaron(o) tutti sani, et certificati della uerità della nra S^{ta}. Fede.

In una lrã, che il P. Rub^{o} mi scrisse alli 25 d' Ottobre di 608. diceua. Un Raggiu molto nobile, il quale mostra essere di 40. anni, uenne molte notte alla porta della mia casa con

grande sentimento, et parlãdo con il patron di quel piano, gli disse che gia era uecchio, et che la sua morte era uicina, p cio lo pgaua con grũndo instanza che lo uolesse far parlar con il mio interprete, accio l introducesse a parlar meco per poter esser mio discepo(lo) e sẽdo che molti gli diceuano in qsta citta, che io insegnaua la legge dell' eterna salute Finalmte io lo fe-entrar et egli gittandosse alli miei piedi con molta deuotione mi scoperse li suoi desiderii, iqual i erano di essere incamin(ato) per il uero sentero della salute. Parlai con questo uechio molto tempo parendome di buon ingegno, et pruden(za) et la conclusione fu, che udisse il Cathechismo, et promisse, de cosi lo farebbe, et insieme procurerebbe che molti (al)tri Rgiu, che stanno sotto di lui fussero suoi discepoli.

Un altro Balàla maestro con extraordinario feruor mi venne a pregare che lo insegnasse. Credo che senza dubbio n(on) hauerebbe V R. potuto ritener le lagrime, ueggendo con quanta deuotione qsto gentile le spargeua, quando stãdo prostrate aali mei piedi caldamte mi pregauache lo saluasse Al psẽte ua udindo il catechismo, et forma buon conce(tto) delle cose di Dio N S

Hora daro conto di qual che soccesse a Badamurti signor di qsto piano nel qual io habito il qual gia era catecume n(o) Alli 23 d Ottobre di 608 doppo pranso posse in tutto la parola Fui io a sua casa et lo ritrouai che staua in agon(ia) de morte. Subito lo battizai, et di li a poco tempo si leuo in piedi, et abraciando li miei piedi con molte de(uo)tione disse che a Dio et a me devea la uita. Et aggiunse che stauano iui alcuni huomini, che serian(o) Demonii de quali uno lo uoleua strãgolare, et non gli lasciaua formar parola, un altro *gli rompeua le gamb(e) un altro gli diceua che la finisse* presto per lo poter leuar uia Staua il pouerello in qsto traua glo et contras(te) quando io giunse ma con la uirtu del Sto legno che gli posi al collo, et dell acqua benedetta, subito li Demon(ii) fuggirono. Resto egli molto debole, et fiacco con la gola tanto indebolita, che non poteua dir parola, et facẽd(o) mi di cio cenno gli feci il segno della sta croce sopra la gola et subit ocomincio parlar, et io gli dissi (che) gia l haueua battizato al che ripose che molto ben lo sapeua, et che qlla era la sua uolontà. Torno hier l altr(i) di nuouo a star male fui a dir messa p lui et quãdo la cominciaua mi dissero, che staua spirãdo et finindo io la messa mi diedero nuoua, che gia staua bene, come hora sta senza febre, et hoggi venne à udir messa. Ha posta nelle mie mani tutta la sua famiglia accio li dia il sto battesimo, nella qual stanno piu di

uen(te) persone. Egli è huomo di tanto credito, et stima, che speriamo p suo mezo si conuertino molti a Dio N. S., Sino aq la del P. Rub° Dipoi della quale mi scrisse dell' altre, dandomi ragguaglio di qllo che Dio N. S. fu oprando, et pche p le sue ist( ) si intēdera piu chiara, et distintam[te]. il tutto, li porro q disteram[e] nella maniera che stanno.

Copia di una Lettera del P. Ruberto Nobili al P. Prou[le]. del Malauare de 24. di Decēbre 1608.

Sono obligato a dar sempre conto a V. R di qllo che Dio N. S. uao prādo in qsta nuoua missione Gia scrissi, come dipoi (la) partita di V. R. di qsta città nel fin di settembre haueua battizato quatro persone, cio è Badamurti che è il signor di qsto piano, doue sta la mia casa, al quali trio diede la sanità miracolosam[te] Christinada, che è un, maestro statuario, che faceua Idoli, et altri lauori, molto eccelle(nte) nella sua arte, et dal Naiche, et da tutti i signori di Madu(rei) molto stimato. Il 3° fu il nro giouane Golor frēllo del portinaio maggior del Naiche. Il 4° fu un huomo nobile che V. R. non lo conosce, per non l' hauer uisto nel tempo, che quiui stette. Adesso nel giorno dell' Apto S. Tomaso battizai noue, cioe li tre frēlli di Badamurti, et due suoi figlioli. Il Calistu che uenne a udir una pdica del Catechismo, quādo qui staua V. R., il quale mostraua molto feruore, et con lui battezai' il padre, et due suoi figlioli, un' picciole di cinque, o 6. anni, et un' altro maggiore. Il Calistu, et suo padre, essēdo ancora gentili erano molto deuoti dell' Idoli, et sue ceremonie, et tanto che dicendo Calistu, à suo padre, che haueua parlato un esso meco, et che io insegnaua una legge spiritual, la qual gli parecia la uera, dissegli il uecchio, che non sapeua cosa alcuna, et che egli parlerebbe con esso meco, et mi conuincerebbe, et mi farebbe ( ) Venne il buon uechio accompagnato dal suo figliolo, et ancorche nel proncipio uolse argumētare, et disputare, resto non ( ) cosi appagato delle ragioni, che io gli diedi della legge di Dio, che mi apporto grandissima consolatione il ueder qnto concorre Dio N. S. con qsta gente. et cosi fu continuādo egli con il suo figliolo in udir le prediche con tanto feruor, et formarino si buon concetto delle cose di Dio, che mi obligarono a non gli differir il S[to] battesimo. Il uecchio essēdo getile teneua una casa solam[te] palbergar' li pellegrini, nella qual teneua un Pādara, accio lesse acqua a tutti li pasaggieri...

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XXIX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, December 16th, 1610)

No Collegio de S Thomé em Meliapor foy estes anos Reitor o P Nicolao Leuãto co satisfação, e era may accepto à qlle Prelado, q se mostra nosso amigo e a el rey de Bisnagá e a toda aqlla corte e teue sempre muy bom cuidado de conseruar aqllas Residecias de Vellur, e Chandrigri Agora o P Visit^or fez Reitor da qlle Collegio ao P Simão de Sà, o qual nhum talento te p isso e bem o (tẽ demos)tado Entendo ha de padecer m^to a qlle Collegio c̃ tudo, e na disciplina religiosa, e ainda na amizade co a Bpo, por não gostar do modo do Prẽ, q nño he p isso e por este respeito no ano passado lhe tiramos o cuidado da casa de Negapatão

Cochim, 6 de Decẽbro de 610

D V P

Minimo f c̃ Chro

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ABLERTO LAERCIO

XXX

AN EXTRACT OF THE LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR 1609

(1610)

Quod ad D Thomae Collegium spectat scimus Reverendissimum Meliaporensem ducemque et Senatum Civitatis a Patre Collegii Rectore quem apud Regem Bisnagarum gratio sum esse sciunt multis precibus contendisse ut eundem Regem adiret, et ab eo impetraret litteras ad Giniianum Dynastam quibus ageretur de Olãdensibus ex sua dictione rejiciendis illos enim amice exceperat et portum quo appellerent, locumque in quo arcem aedificarent illis concesserat qui quidem minime segnes arcem extruere jam incipiebant Quae res si processisset, grãde certo malum Lusitanis et Xnis. omnibus pervenire potuisset. Non potuit Pater nec debuit tam officiosum laborem recusare Regem adit litteras impetrat, eas ad ipsummet Dynastam defert benigne atque

honorifice ab eo excipitur, de postulatis serio cum ipso agit, res difficilis videbatur, propter non modicum lucrum quod ex novorum hospitum commercio ille se percepturum sperabat, prohinde Patrem bene sperare jubendo, responsionem differebat. Interim Rex cum videret Patrem diutius in ea quasi legatione immorari, causam morae suspicatus, suopte ingenio impulsus alias litteras, non sine increpatione ingeminat, Dynastae imperat ut Patris postulata faciat, et omnino Lusitanorum hostem a se repellat, si portum quem illis dederat frequentari vellet, eum traderet Lusitanis, quos utiliores amicos quam Olandenses esset habiturus, His ille acceptis litteris, Patrem accersit, velle se dicit Regis voluntati satisfacere, quaeque postulabantur concedere. Illico ad Episcopum, ducem et Senatum D. Thomae dat litteras, ad quos etiam cum patre legatos mittit, ut cum illis de adeunda Portus illius possessione ac frequentatione agant conditionem apponit ut Pater Rector cum Lusitanis ad ejus portus traditionem revertatur Ita fit. Designatur qui futurus sit dux inceptae ab Olandẽsibus arcis, illis alio amandatis. Qui ducem comitarentur milites conscripti sunt, dona que ad Dynastam deferrentur praeparata. Denique res solemmiter acta est. Jacta erant arcis fundamenta et parietes ad aliquatulam undequaque altitudinem excreverant. Erat ingens calcis, laterumque copia, nam ex lateribus arcem extruebant. Unus illis sacerdos ex Nostris remansit, quae una est ex Residentiis quibus in principio diximus auctam hoc anno fuisse Proviciam Locus Tavanapatnam appellatur, unde copiousum Deo volente fructum speramus.

XXXI

SOME EXTRACTS OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, ... 8th, 1611.)

(A quotation from a Letter of Fr. Roberto de Nobili, dated Madura, December, 12th, 1610.)

Iddio p sua misericordia uá ogni giorno agiuntando noue pecorelle al suo ovile, distrugendo il culto del Demonio como diceua un Pandara d'autorità ad un xpãno, che la uenuta del Re di Bisnagá a Madure era distruttione del Naiche, et il star mio in questa terra era destruttione de Pandarj..............................

(A quotation from another letter of Fr de Nobili dated Madura, November 22nd 1610)

In questa Citta di Maduro ha Molti Studj ne quali uanno piu di dieci mile studentj Bramanj, diuisi p uarij maestrj a chi ducenti et a chi trecenti et p megliore studiare et darse in tutto alle scientia Il Re di Bisnaga, et Il Naicho della Città hanno fondatj uarij collegij con molte buone rendite, p sustentam(ento) dei Maestrj et studentj mentre studiano nō (solo) del uitto mā anco do uestire pse, et loro case se cho mentre studiano no anno hanno altre pensiero che le sue biuo ma in tutto il necessario son prouedutj dalle rendite di Collegij Quel che legone et Insegnano sono cose molto uarie p che hanno molte dottrine Primieram^te fanno alcunne questionj proemialj como de Argumētatione de Scientia, de Euid et fide et copia queste quatro cose se stendo la lore filosofia, percio che in quaesto mede simo trattamo piu diffusamēte diuidndo la filisofia che esti chiamāno chinta manj che uol dire agiuntamete o coc ( ) de pensieri et argu intra Capi nel P ć de Euidentia et qui riducono questo questionj De Inuocatione seu Adora tione Vtrum sit initio operis aliquis Deus inuocandus, De Certitudine De bona sev pfecta certitudine, De Certitudine qua habemus p generationē productione de nouo De formalitate certitudinis De speciebus Objector, De Vnione locali, seu p contiguitatē et De Vnionibus diuersis Id est formali accidentali et aliā quādā quā no percipio, quia no est ex subst et natura. De Praedicato et Subjecto p negationē De objecto uisibili seu visus De indiulsibilitate uolutatis. De Splendore Auri. De Actus reflexione quo quisq se cognoscit et intelligit. Queste sono le questionj che nel P^o Capo de Euid trat tano há alcune altre ma p la strettella del tēpo no le posso p se( )an^te uedere Nel 2^o Capo che é de Scientia trattano le sequenti questioni. De Signis Illationis De Sequella tātu, De Inductione. De fallentia. De Semine fallentiae seu de modo impugnandi fallentiā. De subiecto, De discursu De Signo causatiuo. De omnimoda fallentia. De Coniunctione secudu quid De Priuatione De effectu p causā. De omni moda coniunctione De Vlti Certitudine seu consequentia. De causa, De euidentj probatione De certitudine a Simili De errore. De dubitatione. De Variatione suppositionis. Ex uero Antecedente de falsa conclusione. De Deo Ruden De Multiplicitate causar De Naturali vi et virtute de sup addita de nouo Virtute Nel 3 capo che é de Auctoritate seu auditu trattano queste questioni cio é De Correspondentia Verbor De Conuenietia in Communj De Vnione affectionis

De Desiderio. De Corruptione Sonj. De Corruptione totius mudi De Merito Legis. Quod no est utru possit affirmarj. De Nouitate. De Annihilatione. De Propria impositione, et Deniq, quo modo debeat esse signu. Queste sono le questionj du una dottrina sola che loro insegnano, la qle finiscono in 4. e 5. anni Di piu hanno altre cinque molto piu diffuse altre la Scienta che chiamano Vedãdam oue trattano de Deo, et eius Vnitate...

(Another quotation of a letter of Fr. Antonio Vico companion of Fr. de Nobili, relating the fruit of the latter's life and preaching. Fr. Vico's letter is dated Madura, December 24th, 1610 It runs as follows)

Haura giá due mesi che uenne qui un Regolo tributario del Naiche grande p Nome Vttapa Naiche di buonissima natura et desideroso di saluarse , Questo in arriuando all aposento dell' Aier si prostro con la faccia in terra nẽ se leuo dali insinche due, e tre uolte il Padre no gli lo dicesse. Ragiono depoi col Padre dalle miserie di Questa uita, et certeza della morte, et nel fine prego con molta instanza il Padre uolese venire alle sue terre, p che in ogni modo uoleua riceuere la sua dottrina .

XXXII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611.)

A missão de Bisnagá tem a sua conta o P. Ant°. Rubino depois da morte do bom P^e. Belchior Coutinho, e agora lhe dey por comp°. o P Ant°. Diaz. Esperamos uenha cá o P. Visitad^{or}. pá lhe aplicaremos outros dous P^{es} . e buscaremos todos os modos pá se colher desta missão o fruito q' se deseja, o qual este anno foy m^{to}. menos, por el Rey for ja muito velho, e doente, e ter intregue o gouerno á huã das molheres, e a seu Irmão della, os quaes nuca se mostrarão amigos dos Prẽs e m^{to}. menos dos Portugueses, a mas agora fizerão guerra a Cidade de Meliapor tendoa de cerco algus meses, de modo q' foy necess^{ro}. recolherẽse os nossos P^{es}. e moços ao Coll°. de S. Thomé até se faserem os concertos e as amizades. Quando foy uisitar Ceilão em Junho passado achey o P Ant° Rubino em Columbo, onde pgara as sestas feiras de Coresma co m^{ta}. satisfaçao da quella Cidade, onde tinha ydo á requerimento do seu Rey de Bisnagá (que lhe não puderão negar) ço seus embaixadores, q̃ elle mandou ao Gouern^{or}. D. Jero-

nimo p.ª lhe uender algus elefantes, como o P Leuanto in formara á V P, mas como nada se affeituou, o P não tinha ja aly que fazer, e torney leuar comigo até S Thomé, onde o deixey no mez de Agosto, pera q tãto q el Rey concluisse os concertos e amizades co a Cidade q se esperaua seria cedo, se tornasse a Vellur co o P Ant Diaz continuar a sua missão

Cochy 25 de Nouembro 1611

D V P

Ind f em x

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Alberto Laerzio

XXXIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin November 25th, 1611)

A cerca do q escreuerão da compra dos Elefãtes del Rey de Bisnagá mostrey o capitolo da carta do V P ao P Leuanto q está agora aqui descãcando neste Collegio e elle responderá, e enformara de tudo o q nisso o uo Pore nhuã cousa ovue nisso menos decente, mas antes tudo se fez co muita edificação e são meos muy neces.ª e q á Comp.ª custão pouco, pera estes Reys gentios se affeiçoarẽ a nossas couzas, e permitirẽ co facilidade, q em suas terras se prègue a ley de Ds

Cochim. 25 de Nouembro, de 611

D V P

Ind f em x.

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Alberto Laerzio

XXXIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611)

Questo anno andando a uisitare la Prouincia el mese di Maggio, arrivando sino a Meliapor che hé longè daquesta Città ducente leghe, e raccogliendomi en aquesto Collegio a 22,

de 7bré non potei passar per Madurej, e consolarme con aquelli Pdrij e cristianj, come haueua determinato, impedito dalla guerra che haueua frá il Naiche di Madure, et il di Nagapatano...

di Cocino a 25 di 9bré 1611.

D. V. P.

Indº. fº. in xº

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ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XXXV

AN EXTRACT OF THE LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1611

(1612.)

Velluranae et Chandragirinensis Residentiae vacant in praesentiarum. Quo enim tempore Patres in Collegio convenerant ut spiritum renovarent, et mutuis colloquis se ad divinum servitium magis accenderent, Badagae bellum Lusitanis intulerunt, et D Thomae urbem obsidione premere coeperunt, Causa fuit cupiditas pecuniarum. Dum enim Rex jam nimium senex stupet, qui regnum administrant quidquid libet licere sibi arbitrantur. Regis nomine ingentem pecuniarum summam a D. Thomae civibus postulavere, recusarunt illi tam insolitam exactionem, recusantes armis aggrediuntur. Illi contra armis se defendunt, in armis sunt utrique, illi urbem oppugnant ut eam depraedentur, isti propugnant ut suas res tueantur, Hostium jam permulti, ex Lusitanis etiam nonnulli sunt occisi. P. Rubinus Ri. Episcopi et Magistratum rogatu cum duobus civibus ad tyrannum missus est ut de pace ageret. Sed quia postulatas pecunias secum non deportarunt, comprehensi sunt et in vinculis tenentur. Quem finem res habitura sit ignoramus.

XXXVI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr. JOAO ALVARES

(St. Thome, November 29th, 1617.)

Ouue por bẽ a Sãta obedª. depois de 4. anos de tirarme a carrega q̃ tinha deste Collº. do q̃ diu particulares graças ao Senhor. As guerras deste Reino de Bisnagà uão tomãdo bom

termo, porq o menino legitimo successor da coroa uai cada dia mais alcãçãdo maiores uictorias, o os messes passados cortou a cabeca a Jagaralu seu cotrario aleuãtouse ẽ seu lugar hu Ir seu por nome Etiralu mas no pode resistir ao poder de menino por onde se crè, q ẽ breue sam coroado, e a nossa missão se tornara a renouar

Do S Thome os 29 de 9bro de 1617

D V R

Minimo Seruo ɩ o Senhor

ANT° RUBINO

XXXVII

MEMORIAL AGAINST THE JESUITS OF VIJAYANAGARA AND SPECIALLY AGAINST THOSE OF CHANDRAGIRI

Que em Chandegri Corte D Elrey de Bisnaga reside hum religioso da Comp^a e dous em Velur, que he outro lugar onde este Rey custuma estar m p^te do tempo que nestas duas p^tes nao ha conuersão nem Christãos, mais que tres ou quatro moços, que seruem a estes religiosos, e que o fim principal que tem nq^las duas terras hè acquirir rendas pera sy como ya tem em Meliapor mais de cinco mil pardaos cada anno sendo os religiosos que aly residem tres sacerdotes, e dous yrmãos que servem mais estes religiosos na Corte daquella Rey de atrauessarem tudo quanto ha atè as pelles pera as botas e canas de palanquins, que atè nestas meude zas poem estanque Que seruem em lugar de pregação euangelica de andar falando a Vontade dos Bramenes, e Jogues que sam os Sacerdotes, e penitentes entre aquelles gentios. E de por seu meo acquirirem o que pretendem, porque todos os religiosos da comp que andão por aq^l costa aprendem a lengoa não pera pregarẽ a ley Euangelica (que o não fazem) se não pera por este meo, com mais segredo se comunicarem com aquelles gentios e acquirirem rendas para sy e não pera pregare a fè E converterem almas porque o não fazem e se S Magestade tem outra informação he errada, que tem chegado a tanto dasaforo da ley Christam que em Velur, onde ficaun, El Rey de Bisnaga, tem hum Irmão Italiano que se chama Fuente buena o qual hè pintor de profissam e se ocupa em pintar ao Rey gentio suas molheres nuas abraçadas com elle em tanques de agoa, e em actos deshonestos, pintalle mais os seus idolos fazendo retratos desta calidade somente por enganarẽ ao Rey, elhe ganharẽ a vontade com estas pinturas pera que lhes dé rendas como

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